

JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

FOUNDER OF THE LOUVAIN

COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE

HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS

EDITED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR ENTIRETY

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

Dr. Ph. & Litt., Dr. Phil. Tartuensis *ad. hon.*

Professor in the University of Louvain

with the generous help of the Belgian
FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE



TURNHOUT
AT THE BREPOLS PRESS

1950

¶ HVMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

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IN GRATAM AC PIAM
FLORENTIÆ ADÆ TASKER
MEMORIAM



JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

1470-1517

PREFACE

This book is intended as a respectful homage to the man who endowed Louvain University with the most famous of her institutes, and this country with one of the most beneficent sources of civilisation and prosperity. Busleyden's foundation was not the planting of a small bed of flowers for a privileged few ; it was the broad and generous swinging of the arm of a sower. The teaching was free and public, and the professors both able and enthusiastic ; in so far that the lecture hall, built for three hundred listeners, had to be enlarged to double its size before ten years had elapsed. It made Louvain take the lead as well for theological studies, for science and medicine, as for linguistics ; and through the influence of clever workers on all domains, our provinces came and remained at the head of all nations in culture and prosperity until invidiousness closed our access to the sea and, consequently, to the wide world. Although comparatively ignored, it appears that Busleyden, as councillor and ambassador, was one of the first and ablest artisans of the welfare of this country; his splendid mansion, still adorning Mechlin, shows that he was as great a protector of arts as he was an experienced politician ; and his partiality for literature results from every page of his writings. Although less clever and less acerb than those by some of his contemporaries, they give a most felicitous idea of the influence which humanism had on the youth of the leading classes that up to then had been inaccessible to refined thought and manners ; if duly studied, his poems and letters call up from the past a crowd of remarkable personages of all ranks, thus reconstructing the varied social and intellectual life in the first years of the most interesting XVIth century, like those of Cranevelt do for its twenties. When, from 1910, I was preparing this latter correspondence for publishing, I found an abundance of information about teachers and students in the Louvain *Trilingue*, and about the fine work that was going on there ; my researches during the first World-War in the archives of the Old *Studium Generale*, at Brussels,— of which I eventually made an *Inventory* (Louvain, 1927),— allowed me to check and to enlarge that information far beyond all expectation : it ripened, and even developed further, in the years favoured by peace, so that, from the beginning of the second World-War, I was able to write a detailed and accurate history of the beginning and of the development of Busleyden's institute up to 1550. I should wish to publish it as soon as circumstances will allow : to that 'History of the *Trilingue Lovaniense*', this book is meant to serve as introduction, representing the founder before explaining his admirable foundation.

* * *

The greater part of the information about Jerome de Busleyden is based on his writings : during the author's life, they were carefully copied out, and adorned with frames and coloured initials, by no less a man than the historian Conrad Vegerius, secretary to Prince Charles

and to two Popes. That volume, now preserved as MS 15676-77 in the Royal Library, Brussels, which throughout the centuries tempted several editors¹⁾, appeared highly interesting for the subject I was investigating, in which I was heartily encouraged by the Conservator of the Manuscript department, Mr. Eugène BACHA; on account of the difficulties of heating and lighting the reading-room in the dire winters of 1916 and 1917, he graciously allowed me to take the precious document to my rooms, where I had the advantage of examining it at leisure. I soon found the solution of the puzzle of its disorderly state, in the nearly invisible signatures on the lower edges of the pages (cp. pp. 143, *sq*), and could compare the writing, the orthography and the ink used on different pages, as well as that of the notes added at various times. That, and other details enabled me to build up a chronology, which is totally absent from the original. The most welcome loan also gave to my friend and hostess Mrs. Florence A. PESSERS-TASKER the occasion to make for me in 1917, during the endless War days, a perfect replica of the document, reproducing the text line by line and page by page, with the red borders and the ornamenting in blue, yellow and red colours, so as to give an exact idea of the original, with which it was duly collated. That 'beautiful copy', as P. S. ALLEN called it in 1920, inspired by the sympathy with Louvain scholars deprived of their precious Library in 1914, has been of inestimable value to me, as it helped me constantly in my studies (cp. *MonHL*, 134, 154, &c), explaining allusions and illustrating personages. It allowed me to start the printing of this book in 1946, and was most convenient in the correcting of the proofs so that the final collations with the manuscript in Brussels were most efficient. That copy is moreover highly precious as a remembrance of the most beneficent atmosphere of calm peace which I enjoyed in my hostess's home; it allowed me to conceive and bring to an end a good amount of patient research work, in which she willingly helped: not only did she read over and correct my English, but she assisted me in checking the proofs. She made more fine copies of manuscripts: from 1918 to 1920, she reproduced the famous *Epistolarium Stephani Vinandi Pighii*, 1557-1597, of the Brussels Archives (*Cart. & Man.*, 187); she also transcribed the crowded *Fasti Academici* of J. L. Bax (Royal Library Brussels, MS. 22172-73) for the period that interested me. She moreover rendered my research work both easier and securer, by composing many indexes, as accurate as detailed: amongst them, one for the histories of Louvain University by Nicolas Vernulaeus and Valerius Andreas; and one for the eighteen volumes of J. N. Paquot's *Mémoires*. It is in deep gratitude for that, and for all her unrecorded kindness, that I dedicate to her this book, to which she greatly contributed; unfortunately she was not even to see the beginning of the printing: broken by the endless and desponding War, she lost conscience in the enthusiastic thanksgiving on hearing of the first good piece of news, in the evening of September 8, 1943, and passed away in the Mercy of the Lord two days later. *Requiescat in pace*.

1) When this book was nearly finished, a transcript of it was found in the Royal Library, Brussels, which reproduces the wrong order (cp. pp. 143, *sq*) and is ascribed to the XVIIIth century.

* * *

Most hearty thanks are offered to my most reverend friend Mgr. Fr. TESSENS, dean, and to the Rt. Rev. Mgr. J. de TRANNOY, canon-archivist of St. Rombaut's Chapter, Mechlin, for allowing me to inspect and use several most interesting documents under their care. Deep gratitude is also expressed to the authorities and officials of the Royal Library, Brussels, and of the University Library, Louvain, where at any time I have found ready help, and where my requests have always been granted. — As journeying was still difficult when I was preparing my manuscript, I have been most fortunate in finding valuable assistance from various quarters. Thus the Rt. Rev. J. de LADONCHAMPS, parish priest of Marville, Meuse, gave me every available detail about Jerome de Busleyden's family, and provided the engraving of his mother's tombstone (on p. 3). — Details were communicated about Chancellor von Enschrigen, by the Rt. Rev. prof. H. Ries, librarian of Treves Seminary, and about senator Zeigler, by Mr. Alph. SPRUNCK, of Luxemburg Library; a text about Peter Jacobi, which was not available in Louvain, was most obligingly copied by Miss Joséphine DACKWEILER, of Arlon. — As to the Aire Provostry, I was favoured with most welcome information by the Aire mayor, Mr. Auguste BAR, and by the historian C. le PRINCE, thanks to the kind interference of the Rt. Rev. Alb. de VEER, of Lormoy Institute, who also directed me to the Rt. Rev. Canon COOLEN, of St. Omer, who procured me J. Rouyer's study on the St. Peter's Chapter of the venerable town. My student Jos. HINNEMAN, of Nieuport, has abundantly supplemented that information by details gathered from various town archives of the North of France, and on the strange domain of musical history I was guided by another of my hearers, the Rt. Rev. Leop. ENGELS, of Antwerp, which allowed me to identify the Nuremberg organ-builder.

* * *

My work has been largely improved in usefulness and in outward appearance by the invaluable assistance of my friend the Rt. Rev. A. LOURIER, parish priest of Cressy, near Dieppe, who bestowed on it the benefit of his exquisite art for several original drawings : I am under the greatest obligation to him, as well as to my secretary Miss Charlotte SCHAEPMAN, who, for several months, has assisted me with untiring and highly appreciated care and attention in the reading of proof and revise.

The publishing of this book, finally, has been favoured not only by the noble generosity of the Council of the Belgian '*Fondation Universitaire*', but also by the most gratifying encouragement in my undertaking, of which it is the unequivocal proof. Nor can I close this long chapter of thanks without expressing my deep gratitude to them, nor that which I feel for my kind well-wishers who recommended my work to the BREPOLS PRESS : the dear friend of olden days, Director Mr. J. van GESTEL, and Mr. Ed. van BAELEN, who introduced and patronized most effectually my book, to the printing of which Mr. H. van den BERGHE bestowed the wealth of his careful and most able craftsmanship.

ICONOGRAPHIC NOTE

The fine portrait of Jerome de Busleyden facing the title, reproduces in part the photo which, several years ago, was supplied by Louvain University Library, and which represents the Councillor in the glory of his robes as well as his coat of arms. It offers striking family likeness with Janus Secundus' medal of his nephew Giles (on p. 27), and makes it evident that the Daniel of the *Banquet of Baltasar* is devised as a likeness of the owner of the mansion (pp. 54-55). As all my endeavours to find the original of that photo remained fruitless, I ventured to borrow merely the face, so as to join it to the edition of his writings and to this study, so much the more as the photograph of the picture was exhibited in 1935 for days at the Royal Library, Brussels, as n° 56 of a display of documents about Brabant literature. It is recorded that a small painted portrait of Busleyden was bequeathed to his friend John Wyts (cp. p. 108), and that another adorned one of the rooms of the *Collegium Trilingue* : possibly the present reproduction may lead to the finding or to the identifying of those lost pictures. In former centuries it was the custom that presidents and professors, when they left Louvain at the approach of an invading army, took some of the treasures of their institutes to save them from danger : the objects thus preserved, often remained in the sheltering homes of safe countries, like the Liège principality or the Rhine-lands, and were lost sight of for a long time, until turned up by accident. One of the instances I experienced, refers to the original document of Busleyden's Diploma of Doctor (pp. 34, *sq.*, 125, *sq.*) : I bought it in 1930 from the parish priest of Fize-le-Marsal, (16 kilom. to the N. W. of Liège), the Rt. Rev. B. Charpentier : it had been given to him as a charity by one of the inhabitants, in whose family it had been for several generations. No doubt it had belonged to the Trilingue College, and had been left in that forlorn country hamlet by a refugee : a similar fate may have befallen to the portraits : possibly they are waiting for their hour of reappearance.

I

BUSLEYDEN'S LIFE

1. ORIGIN AND FAMILY

Busleyden's Parents

1. — The family of Busleyden was originary from the place of that name *Bauschleyden*, *Buschleyden*, *Busleyden*, *Boulaide*, a lordship situated within Bastogne provostry, a few miles to the south-west of Wiltz, in the present Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg ¹⁾. History records a John Lord of Busleyden as early as 1282, as well as several descendants whom he had by his wife Frances de Binsfeld ²⁾ : thus squire Baldwin († 1366), married to Margaret de Malberch ; his son Peter, Knight († 1412), husband of Odile de Dobbelstein ; and his grandson Henry († 1459), husband of Margaret (or Mary) von Elteren. That filiation, repeated by all genealogists ³⁾, with some variants in names and dates ⁴⁾, is unable to explain the respective connection of the many *de Busleyden's*

¹⁾ There now exists a Low and a High Bauschleiden.

²⁾ She was the daughter of Warnier, knight, lord of Binsfeld.

³⁾ Antony d'Auxy, Christ. and Henry Butkens ; also Joseph van den Leene, author of the *Théâtre de la Noblesse du Brabant* : Liège, 1705 : 279, sq. ; and colonel de Patoul, *Généalogie de la Famille Busleyden*, in *La Noblesse Belge, Annuaire de 1892* : Brussels, 1892 : 3-4.

⁴⁾ J. N. Paquot sketched a genealogy in *PF*, I, 476, reproduced in *NèveMém.*, 373-74, which reads *Binsfeld* as *Brusfeld*, *Malberch* as *Matborch*, *Elteren* as *Etteren* ; also *Peter* for *Baldwin* ; he makes Henry die in 1419, as is also found in *BrabNobl.*, 279.

mentioned in the XVth century as citizens or aldermen of Arlon and Luxemburg, as priests and even as tradesmen ¹⁾. No doubt the name of the birthplace was often used as surname, and thus causes confusion ²⁾.

2. — For certain Jerome de Busleyden did not derive his nobility nor his crest from the Lords of Bauschleiden, since his father Giles was called a commoner, 'homme franc', and described as issued from good and notable people of ancient citizenship, when he was knighted in February 1471 by Charles the Bold in Bruges ³⁾. In the beginning (viz. by 1476), his scutcheon was *azure with a rose gules*; afterwards it was *azure a fesse gold, with a rose gules, gold-tipped, in the middle base* ⁴⁾; it thus was borne by his descendants ⁵⁾.



3. — He was most probably a native of Arlon, for in 1506 his three sons Jerome, Giles and Valerian, founded anniver-

¹⁾ *BuslGén.*, 4-5.

²⁾ Thus the 'Joh. de Busleyd(en) de Lutzenburga' who, on June 27, 1478, matriculated in arts in Cologne University (: he passed the *actus determinantiae* under 'Mgr Herman Berchem' on November 23, 1479, before he went to Orleans University, where he was inscribed in 1482 : Keussen, 43), may have been a relation, but was certainly no brother to Jerome de Busleyden. The identity of names even caused the wrong identification of a Francis and a Giles de Busleyden with his brother and his father : cp. further, § 4. — Another instance is provided by the brothers John and Gabriel Deunius, born at Bauschleiden, who studied in the *Collegium Germano-Hungaricum*, in Rome, from 1581 tot 1587; John, who entered the Jesuit order and became the confessor and adviser of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and his wife, was always called *Buslidius* : Duhr, I, 701-2; A. Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanikum Hungaricum in Rom* : Freiburg i.B., 1906 : I, 220, 236, 365, II, 223.

³⁾ Publications of the Historical Section of the Luxemburg *Institut Royal et Grand Ducal*, xxxiv, 72; *BuslGén.*, 6.

⁴⁾ *BuslGén.*, 3; the rose is pierced with gold and sinople tipped in *BrabNobl.*, 284.

⁵⁾ *BruxHist.*, II, *planche vi*.

saries there in the Carmelite Convent for their parents and their deceased brother Francis ¹⁾. No doubt Giles, recorded as



PIERRE TOMBALE D'ISABELLE DE MUSSEY

Musset, or Mussey, of Marville, where she is buried under a stone with her effigy and her and her husband's scutcheons ³⁾; he used his

son of Tilman, worked himself up : he was alderman of Arlon from 1455 to 1488 ; from 1459 to 1470 he acted as secretary and registrar, and, from 1482 to 1484, as vice-provost of the Noble State of Luxemburg. He moreover served in Duke Philip the Good's household, and was Charles the Bold's chamberlain ; on September 7, 1473 he was appointed attorney-general of the duchy ²⁾, and councillor in 1474 ; at the Duke's disaster before Nancy in 1477, he saw to the safety of the Luxemburg territory, providing all strongholds with men, ammunition and provisions against any hostile invasion. It caused him to be promoted afterwards to the office of Warden of the Charters. He had married Jane, or Elizabeth, de

¹⁾ Cp. further, § 81.

²⁾ It is hardly believable that at that time he had a daughter of age to marry the 'Nicolas Haltfast', who is said to have resigned that place in his favour : *BuslGén.*, 6 ; it possibly refers to the father and namesake of Giles's son-in-law.

³⁾ *BuslGén.*, 6, refers to L. Germain, *Notice sur la tombe d'Isabelle de Musset, femme de Gilles I^{er} de Busleyden, à Marville.* — The monument consists of a large slab of white stone, on which is carved in high-relief the effigy of the deceased, lying down, with her rosary in

growing authority to secure his social position, acquiring, for example, the lordship of Guirsch, or Ghiers, near Arlon, although he evidently thought before all of promoting the welfare of his children. He introduced his eldest son Giles, born about 1465, into the Court of Philip the Fair, which led to his appointment as receiver for the domains of Luxemburg, Arlon and Thionville on March 20, 1490, and receiver-general for Luxemburg, which offices he left to become councillor, afterwards president, of the Audit-Office, Brussels.

Francis de Busleyden

4. — The second son Francis went to study in Louvain where he matriculated on January 22, 1482 ¹⁾, and afterwards

her joined hands; her head reposes on a cushion, and her feet, on two Artois dogs. The richly adorned gothic framework, surmounted on each side by a vase with a lobated cover, has highly ornamented columns serving as niches to two statues, one above the other, on either side, St. Christopher with the Divine Child, and St. Jerome with a lion, on the right, St. Giles with a hind, and St. Michael with the dragon, on the left. Over the lady's head are her and her husband's scutcheons joined by a baldric. On the top of the frame and outside of it, is cut hollowly the date 1411, which is spurious, as all the rest of the carving is embossed; moreover the design of the tombstone is much younger than the date, which is not mentioned in the first description of the monument in 1847, when the lady was identified thanks to her husband's and her own crest: '*taillé, de sable à l'aigle d'or, et de gueules*'. The stone was found in 1842 when the floor of St. Hilary Chapel was restored: it had lain with the carved side down, which explains its excellent conservation, although it is cracked broadwise. Cp. the descriptions by H. Viasson-Ponté, in *Mémoires de la Société des Naturalistes et Archéologues du Nord de la Meuse*: x, 1898, and F. Houzelle, in *Bulletin des Naturalistes et Archéologues du Nord de la Meuse*: x, 1907.

¹⁾ *LibIntII*, 162 v: 'Franciscus de busleiden treuirens. dioc.' Francis de Busleyden, second son of Giles, born between 1465 or thereabouts, when his eldest brother Giles was born, and 1470, when his second brother Jerome came into the world, cannot be identical with the 'Franciscus Busleiden Trevir. dioc.', who matriculated in Cologne University in the summer of 1468: Keussen, I, 319, 12, and afterwards studied at Dôle and Paris, where he became B.A. in 1471-72, M.A. in 1473, and took the degree of Dr. of Canon Law from the 'Collège d'Italie' before going to Italy, where he obtained the same degree, it seems, at Perugia: Allen, I, 157, 59, and further, note 2; cp. § 1, for the ambiguous patronymic.

at some Italian University, most probably Padua, where he later sent his brother ¹⁾. He promoted there in 1484-5 Doctor of Canon Law, on which he returned to his native country and entered the service of the young archduke Philip ²⁾ as chamberlain and 'Maistre d'escole' ³⁾; he soon became councillor, and ample ecclesiastical preference was granted to him. In 1483 he was received as canon, and, in 1485, as provost, of St.-Lambert's, Liège ⁴⁾; when on June 10, 1487, his countryman Nicolas Ruter became provost of St. Peter's, and consequently chancellor of the University, of Louvain, Francis took possession of it on his behalf ⁵⁾, which shows that he had become familiar with some of the most important personages of his time. On December 23, 1490, he was offered the dignity of provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, as successor of Antony Haneron, and thus became Chancellor of Flanders ⁶⁾. Still it was not merely favour which fell to his lot as preceptor of his Prince; for about October 22, 1492, when Alexander VI complained about inroads in Brabant on the immunity of the clergy and on the rights of the Roman See, he applied not only to Philip and to his warden Albert, Duke of Saxony, governor of his estates, but also to Francis de Busleyden, provost of Liège, with bitter reproaches for not informing the

¹⁾ Cp. further, § 26.

²⁾ The memorial poem by Jerome *In mortem Fratris : Carm.* 1, 9-14, distinctly mentions his return to the Netherlands, where he wanted to work for the general welfare, immediately after his promotion, which must have taken place about 1485. He therefore cannot have been the 'Franciscus de Busleyden', who pronounced an *Oratio in funere Leonardi de Robore*, who died in 1476; nor have been the bishop of Coria, the Papal *datarius*, and the papal ambassador of that name to France, Spain and Granada : Allen, I, 157, 59; *Diction. d'Hist. et Géogr. Ecclés.* (Paris, 1938).

³⁾ Moeller, 39, 107, 222.

⁴⁾ He may have been recommended to Pope Sixtus IV by Henry de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, and thus been provided with expectancies at Liège and Coblenz; he took possession of a canonry at Liège on February 26, 1483 : *BuslGén.*, 6. He had succeeded Joannes Jacobi as provost of Liège cathedral by 1487 : *GallChrist.*, III, 922.

⁵⁾ Vern., 41.

⁶⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 76-77; Haneron, Charles the Bold's secretary, died Dec. 10, 1490.

Roman Court of the illegalities that had taken place, and with earnest injunctions to educate the Prince in the respect of the prerogatives of the Church ¹⁾.

5. — The influence which Busleyden exercised on his pupil was as beneficent as it was profound; it was fitly sanctioned, at least in the beginning, by his father, the Emperor Maximilian : when, in the summer of 1494, he made his son start reigning for himself, he gave him for his central government two Regents, namely the Great Chamberlain, first Lord of the Nobility, John de Berghes, Lord of Walhain, and his preceptor, who was not even a nobleman born. ²⁾ Francis used the confidence which his Prince had in him for the welfare of the country, by making him attentive to the Burgundian State, which his maternal grandfather and great-grandfather had been building up, and he thus prevented that the Netherlands should become a mere tributary of Austria. Working according to those views in the various embassies with which he was entrusted ³⁾, he tried by all means to steer free from the anti-French coalition concluded between Maximilian and Ferdinand of Aragon, sealed by the marriage of Philip with Jane of Castile, which would have exposed our provinces to the horrors of the war ⁴⁾. Unfortunately, when in 1496 the young Prince went to see Maximilian at Innsbruck, Busleyden could not prevent the reacting influence of the father, with whom he even came to an open breach. Still, although the Emperor decided in 1497 to divide the nominations to the Golden Fleece between Austria and the Burgundian States in order to secure an influence on the leading nobility ⁵⁾, his son soon showed clearly the decision to free himself from his father's tutelage : on May 1, 1497, he issued from Bruges a new arrangement for his finances, by which he appointed his preceptor as their 'Chief Principal', with the title of 'First

¹⁾ *LiègeDoc.*, I, 51-52 ; Pastor, III, 506 ; *GallChrist.*, III, 922.

²⁾ Walther, 58 ; Moeller, 39 : Busleyden was entrusted, contrary to all custom, with the 'Privy', or the 'Small, Seal'.

³⁾ He was one of Maximilian's delegates to arrange the conditions of the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1489 : *Brug&Fr.*, v, 92.

⁴⁾ Walther, 3, 43 ; Pirenne, III, 62-63.

⁵⁾ Gachard, *Lettres de Maximilien*, in *BCRH*, 1852 : III, 279.

Master of Requests' ¹⁾). It was as a stepstone to his concluding, on August 2, 1498, the treaty of Paris which, contrary to Maximilian's desires, made him a frank ally of France so as to secure peace for his estates, which made Louis XII remark that the young Archduke's and his councillors' feelings were as French as Orleans wine ²⁾). As an effect of Philip's gratitude, his former preceptor was appointed Archbishop of Besançon on Septem. 12, 1498 ³⁾); that same year brought him the office of dean of Our Lady's, Antwerp, which he took possession of on October 1 ⁴⁾), whereas the list of his preferments had been enlarged meanwhile by a canonry at Cambrai, by another in St. Peter's, Anderlecht, and by one united to the treasurership, in St. Gudula's, Brussels ⁵⁾). He generously helped his old friends and, especially, the University, whose privilege of jurisdiction he aided to vindicate against Philip the Fair's decree about Conservatorial Courts of 1500 ⁶⁾). Notwithstanding those numerous avocations Francis de Busleyden was known for his order and diligence : Erasmus, who may have made his acquaintance at the time he was in bishop Henry de Berghes' service, proposed him as a model to Peter Gillis on October 6, 1516, for the order with which he studied, never starting a new book before having quite finished with the other, and having marked what had to be annotated in it ; nor even beginning writing one thing before having achieved the preceding one ; and certainly for the habit of noting down every day what he wished to remember, so as to form chronicles for several years ⁷⁾).

¹⁾ Walther, 59, 144.

²⁾ H. Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I* : Stuttgart, 1884-91 : I, 610 ; Pirenne, III, 63.

³⁾ Walther, 43. The care of the diocese was entrusted in the Archbishop's absence to John Farel, a Dominican, bishop of Nazareth. Cp. *ErasRott.*, 106, mentioning the splendid entrance into Besançon.

⁴⁾ *AntvDiercx.*, III, 218 ; *AntvEpisc.*, 105, 107.

⁵⁾ *GallChrist.*, III, 922 ; *BrabArchEcc.*, I, 28, 67. He also owned a canonry at St. Simon's, Treves ; it was given to his brother at his death : cp. § 30 ; *Epp.* 14, c, 19, b.

⁶⁾ *ULDoc.*, I, 469, sq.

⁷⁾ This is suggested in the letter to Peter Gillis, October 6, 1516 : Allen, II, 476, 39-51 : *Noui qui hac diligentia plurimum profecerint ; in primis egregius ille &c.*

6. — Busleyden's ascendancy over his Prince in the managing of affairs grew with the years ¹⁾. When, in November 1501, Philip with his wife Jane left for Spain, he was accompanied by Busleyden : 'die' as the chronicler relates, 'onsen Prince ghehelick op sijn hant hadde ²⁾' (*viz.*, who had our Prince completely in his hand) ; he had become Chief of the Council, and so vast was his authority that, on July 23, 1502, after a quarrel with no less a person than Henry de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai and Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, he caused him to be sent away at once from Court and from Spain, and had his brother John deprived of his Chamberlainship, and sent back to his estates ³⁾. His wise and prudent, yet tenacious, statemanship had smoothed the conditions in which his Prince paid the first visit to his parents-in-law, and to what was soon going to be his Kingdom, but he himself did not see the full end of his endeavours : he died on August 22, 1502, in the monastery of St. Bernard, near Toledo, just when Alexander VI had nominated him Cardinal and appointed him to the see of Cambrai at the next vacancy ⁴⁾. He was buried in the Cistercian Abbey where he had died, ⁵⁾, but his heart was taken to Besançon ; these inscriptions were placed to celebrate the services he rendered to the nation and to humanity at large, in the cloister of the Louvain Charterhouse, one of the religious institutes which experienced his generosity ⁶⁾ :

¹⁾ Henne, I, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38 ; Walther, 3.

²⁾ John of Naeldwyck's *Chronicle* : Brit. Mus. MS. Vitellius, F. xv : 346 v ; Allen, I, 49, *pr.*

³⁾ Moeller, 107 ; Walther, 144.

⁴⁾ Dunod, *Histoire de Besançon* : I, 274-78 ; *GallChrist.*, III, v, xv ; Pontus Heuterus, *Rerum Belgicarum*, xv, 254 ; E. Le Glay, *Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche 1500-1530* : I, 1 ; J. A. Buchon, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet* : Paris, 1827-29 : 318 ; *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Franche-Comté* : 1839, II (catalogue of archbishops of Besançon) ; Allen, I, 157, 59, II, 476, 51 ; *Joh. Burchardi Argentinenensis, capelle pontificie sacrorum rituum magistri, Diarium 1483-1506* (ed. L. Thuasne) : Paris, 1883-85 : II, 512.

⁵⁾ *NèveMém.*, 375 : in his will his brother Jerome expressed the wish to be buried in the same tomb if he should die in Spain or beyond the Alps.

⁶⁾ *Mol.*, 296 : he had founded in 1499 and richly endowed the prior's cell ; the inscriptions are reproduced in *SweMon.*, 236-237 ; *BrabNobl.*,

FRANCISCI

ARCHIEPISCOPI BISUNTINI

SVM Bisuntinus flamen BVSLIDIVS, almæ
 Pacis opus, Martis hostis, amorque Ducum.
 Me Luxemburgum terris, Hispania Parcis
 Addidit, ast claris facta decora viris.
 Cor Bisuntinis misi, liqui ossa Toleti :
 Fleuere exanimem Rex pius & patria.

QUOD magneti adamas, Æneæ fidus Achates,
 Quod Marti alma Venus, Aegeria atque Numæ :
 Hoc Franciscus erat patriæ regique Philippo
 BUSLIDIVS, reparans fœdera, bella fugans.
 Reddite iam cuncti laudes, & iusta sepulto,
 Quem merito in patriam, quis neget esse patrem ?

SVM Luxemburgus patria, sum semine claro,
 Clarius hic nostro lumine lumen erit.
 Ad mea Rex magnus lusit rudimenta Philippus
 Austrius, Hispanum quem sequor vsque solum.
 Composui Reges, digessi publica pacis,
 Et Regi & patriæ suasor opusque fui.
 Mars sese pulsum queritur, Mors sæua querentem
 Vindicat, hincque furens me rapit, ille redit. ¹⁾

The memory of the great Prelate was probably kept by votive tablets given to those churches of which he had been a dignitary. One, apparently offered to St. Donatian's, Bruges, was saved from destruction during the French Domination, and presented to the Chapel of Our Lady of the Blind ²⁾, an old alms-house of that town, where it still adorns a side altar. ³⁾ It is a finely carved and painted reredos, representing

282-83; *LouvBoon*, 461, a ; — in St Donatian's, Bruges, he had founded the chaplaincy of St. Jerome : *BrugInscr.*, 1, 12, b.

¹⁾ *SweMon.*, 236-37.

²⁾ It was given to that hospital in 1812 by doctor George Fisco.

³⁾ Cp. W. H. James Weale, *Bruges et ses Environs* : Bruges, 1884 : 206 ; *BrugHist.*, 287, 376 (with a print of the votive tablet), 511-512.

Christ on the Cross between Our Lady and St. John, standing, and two adoring angels near the arms ; on the foreground are kneeling, to the left, a most impressive St. Mary Magdalen in prayer, and, on the right, Francis in a crested ¹⁾ cope, with the cross, whilst his mitre lies on the ground in front of him. The painting was made by a Brussels artist ²⁾, which suggests that this remarkable votive picture was ordered by the brothers in their affectionate admiration and deep gratitude soon after Francis's decease. — More than twenty years later³⁾, Erasmus inserted the Archbishop's eulogy in his colloquy *Epithalamium Petri Ægidii*, in which the Muses, who are supposed to be talking in 1514 ⁴⁾, announce the creation of an 'amœnum domicilium' to be erected for them in Louvain by one bearing the 'toto orbe celebre Buslidianorum nomen'. Alypius, the collocutor, then remarks :

Heroicum genus nominasti, & ornandis summorum
Principum aulis natum. Quis enim non veneratur
magnum illum Franciscum Buslidium Besontinæ Ec-
clesiæ præsulem, qui unus non unum Nestorem præ-
stitit Philippo maximi Maximiliani filio, Caroli, qui
major futurus est, patri ? Mv. O felices nos, nisi fata
virum illum terris invidissent ! Quantus erat ille
Mæcenas honestorum studiorum, quam candidus fautor
ingeniorum ! Sed reliquit fratres duos, Ægidium, ad-
mirabili judicio prudentiaque virum, & Hieronymum ⁵⁾.

Brothers and Sisters

7. — Giles de Busleyden did not see the glorious ascent of his second son : he and his wife died whilst the third son was still a young boy. For when he praises his brother Francis

¹⁾ In the front ornaments of the cope is the crest : 'd'azur à la fasce d'or, accompagnée en pointe d'une rose de gueules' : cp. § 2.

²⁾ The drapery of Christ has the inscription : IO DE VALLE PINCXIT ME D OS IN BRUXELLE. The artist, John van Dale, or Duval, was still alive, it seems, in 1542 : *BrugHist.*, 376.

³⁾ In his *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulae*, of August-September 1524 : cp. further, § 85.

⁴⁾ Gillis married Cornelia Sanders in that year : cp. *Epp.* 80, b.

⁵⁾ EOO, I, 747, b. c. ; cp. further, § 85.

to his Prince a few weeks after his decease, Jerome writes of him : *qui a teneris (ut aiunt) unguiculis utroque me parente orbatum atque annos iam aliquot procul a patria rei literariæ operam nauantem... unico pro filiolo semper habuit* ¹⁾. The term *a teneris unguiculis*, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων, evidently refers to the age, at the least, before eighteen or nineteen, which implies that the parents had died by 1488 or 1489, — no doubt after the boy had been away already for a few years at his studies in Louvain, *procul a patria*, in order to acquaint himself thoroughly with Latin at the Lily, *rei literariæ operam nauantem* ²⁾ ; for the sentence indicates that he was only adopted as a son by his brother after their parents' decease, and after he had been away from home for some time. It consequently is inadmissible that Jerome's father should have resigned his office in 1498, and died in the following year ³⁾, as he could not refer to that period as connected in any way with *teneri unguiculi*, since he was going on for thirty. There must be a confusion with the eldest brother Giles, who resigned in 1498 ⁴⁾ : for it is out of the question that a son could make such wrong statements about his father, when writing to Prince Philip, who must have been intimately acquainted with the family of his preceptor and favourite councillor.

8. — Without any doubt Francis de Busleyden took an affectionate care of the education and instruction of his brother Jerome, who, in his turn, contributed greatly to the honour of the family by the founding of the *Trilingue*. He entered the Archduke's service as soon as he finished his studies ⁵⁾, and so had done, long before him, his youngest brother Valerian, who had joined him in the Lily, most probably for the autumn term of 1488, for, according to custom, he was

¹⁾ *Epp.* 5. 5-8.

²⁾ As the youngest son Valerian came to Louvain in the autumn of 1488, Jerome probably had been there at least since 1485 or 1486 ; and the taking possession of St. Peter's provostry in the name of Nicolas Ruter by Francis in June 1487, may have been occasioned by his wish to go and visit his favourite brother at college : cp. before § 4.

³⁾ *BuslGén.*, 6, gives June 20, 1499 as date of his death.

⁴⁾ Viz., as receiver for Luxemburg, in favour of Valerian : cp. §§ 8, 12.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, § 29.

inscribed in the matriculation register with his fellow-students on February 25, 1489 ¹⁾. Valerian did not wish to follow an erudite career, but was introduced by his eldest brother Giles in the financial administration of the Duchy. On December 5, 1498, he succeeded him as receiver-general for the province of Luxemburg and as particular receiver of the domains of Arlon, Luxemburg and Thionville, which had been their father's office, and which Giles resigned, as he was appointed to a similar position in Brabant ²⁾. Valerian moreover became ordinary councillor of the Duchy of Luxemburg in 1501, in which capacity he gathered and organized in February and March 1505 an army that was to help in the war against Duke Charles of Gelderland ³⁾. He was Lord of Guirsch, Aspelt and other places inherited from his father, and he married Anne de Kempf, or de Keymich ⁴⁾, who bore him a son, Francis. He died before, or in, the summer of 1514 ⁵⁾ ; in that year his widow is reported as unable to separate from her young son, *filium ætate adhuc tenera*, who then had become the only consolation left to her in her bereavement: *unicum defuncti mariti solatium*. She therefore secured, in the autumn of that year, through her brother-in-law Jerome, the services of his old protégé John Becker of Borselen, who since 1513 was canon of Middelburg ⁶⁾.

9. — That scholar came to live with the *mulier probissima*, residing at times at Arlon, and at times at Luxemburg ⁷⁾, and, no doubt, gave the boy the benefit of his sound erudition and great experience which, ten years earlier, he had lavished on

¹⁾ *LibIntIII*, 23 v : Valerianus de Busleyden, Dioc. Leod. In Lilio.

²⁾ *BuslGén.*, 7-8 ; cp §§ 7, 12.

³⁾ His account of his gestion is preserved in *BelgArch.*, Military Accounts, 2634 : Henne, I, 65, 166 ; *MargvOK*, 262.

⁴⁾ She was the sister-in-law of Soeger Daichs, and a cousin of Gabriel de Goncourt, provost of Chiny.

⁵⁾ An entry in the account of the execution of Jerome's will mentions the expense of having Valerian's will and a letter translated from German into French : *Rek.*, 37 v.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 32, b-e.

⁷⁾ Letter of John Becker to Erasmus, Arlon, January 4, 1515 : Allen, II, 320, 11-23.

another of Jerome's nephews, Cornelius Erdorf ¹⁾. Although most honourable and advantageous, the position did not please the elderly tutor, who, by the end of November 1515, hoped, by way of a change, to be sent with the boy from those un-intellectual surroundings to a Burgundian or French University in the following summer ; for he did not exactly want to abandon the task he had assumed in affectionate gratitude to his protector ²⁾. Once again death put an end to that preceptorate : Francis died in the summer of 1517, soon after June 22, when his uncle Jerome mentioned him in his will, expressing his fear of the boy's untimely decease ³⁾, — and at any rate before the end of August, for there is no mention of Valerian's son in the account of the execution of the will, although if he had survived his uncle, one third of the Mechlin mansion would have been bequeathed to him ⁴⁾. At the latest in October 1517, John Becker came to Louvain and resided in the Lily, where Erasmus had settled on September 11 ⁵⁾ ; biographers have wrongly concluded from it that the preceptor had accompanied his pupil to the University ⁶⁾. Yet the various references in Erasmus' letters show that Becker was then without employment : he was recommended on December 12, 1517, to a nobleman, — most probably John de Berghes, — as a fit preceptor for his son, having had several years' practice : *instituit enim*, Erasmus wrote, *nepotes reuerendissimi D. Francisci Buslidii, episcopi Bizontini pia memoriae*, in which the verb *instituit* is in the past perfect ; the *nepotes* meant are Cornelius Erdorf and Francis ⁷⁾. On March 26, 1518, Erasmus requests the Dean John Robbys to hasten and appoint John Becker in the new College, as he

¹⁾ Cp. further, §§ 11, 50, and *Epp.* 31, *b-c*.

²⁾ Letter of John Becker to Erasmus, Arlon, November 22, 1515 : Allen, II, 370, 35-50.

³⁾ *Will*, 116 : Et si forte (quod absit) contingat praefatum franciscum nepotem meum diem suum extremum obire ante me...

⁴⁾ *NèveMém.*, 376.

⁵⁾ Allen, III, 643, 6, 11-14, 651, 10-13 ; *MonHL*, 184, 186 ; in October Erasmus wrote to Peter Gillis that Becker shared his table and society: Allen, III, 687, 16-17.

⁶⁾ Allen, I, 291, *pr* ; cp. *Epp.* 32, *c*.

⁷⁾ Allen, III, 737, 7-12.

is the fittest man to teach Latin, and as he can hardly afford to live in Louvain, *ubi iam menses aliquot non sine dispendio sedit, adeo ut cogatur de augenda alicunde fortuna cogitare*; he even expresses his fear that the sad remembrance of the two deceased pupils might harm his appointment: *tantum oro*, he writes to Robbyns, *ne illi fraudi sit quod Buslidianae familiae vetus, notusque et addictus sit fueritque cliens* ¹⁾! All that proves that Becker was without employ until he was offered the Latin professorate ²⁾, which he soon resigned to accept the place of Dean at Veere, in June 1518 ³⁾.

10. — Valerian's widow exchanged in 1519 the Lordship of Guirsch against one half of the Lordship of Aspelt, which, at her son's death, had fallen in heritage to her brother-in-law Giles ⁴⁾. She is mentioned in the account of the execution of Jerome's will for 15 golden and 200 silver medals which she stated to belong to her ⁵⁾, as well as for a golden ring with a diamond point, which she had lent to Jerome, — probably part of Valerian's share of the valuables of their deceased brother the Archbishop. Jerome, moreover, had bequeathed to her by his will a golden ring with an emerald ⁶⁾: he had both

¹⁾ Allen, III, 805, 13-19.

²⁾ Allen, III, 794, 13, 805, 4-5, 836, 8.

³⁾ Allen, III, 849, 6-7, 852, 74-76.

⁴⁾ *BuslGén.*, 8.

⁵⁾ Indeed there was no clause in the Will that those medals should be forfeited at Francis's death to whom they were bequeathed — as was the case for the third part in the amount realized for the mansion: Item gevonden xv medalien van goude wegende tsamen een onse ende xix jngelschen een quart de onse geschat op xvii Rgs ende noch ij C medalien van silver ongeschat / ende want de weduwe van wylen Valeriaenen des testatuers brueder affirmeerde die al te samen huer toe behoiende soe zyn huer die doen leueren bij meester claese gouuerneur ende rentmeester van meruille tot hueren behoef die dair van quitantie gegeuen heeft: *Rek.*, 3, r, v 101, v: these medals probably constituted part, if not all, of the numismatic collection in Busleyden's mansion.

⁶⁾ *Will*, 147, sq, 151, sq; — Item betaelt der weduwen wylen valeriaens de busleyden na vutwijzen vanden codicille des testateurs voer eenen Rinck met eenen point van dyamant der seluer weduwen toebehoirende ende den testatuer geleent ende tusschen wegghen na spaignen

rings with him on his fatal journey, and both of them were lost by accident before he reached Bordeaux ; he mentioned the fact, and settled the matter in a codicil before he died ¹).

11. — Besides their four sons, Giles de Busleyden and Jane de Musset had three daughters : the eldest, Jacqueline, had married Nicolas Haltfast, or Haltfest, and their daughter Elisabeth, or Lysbeth, Haltfast ²), wife of Bernard of Hondelange, Lord of Elle, was amongst Jerome de Busleyden's heirs as her parents had died ³). The two younger sisters, Mary and Catherine and their husbands had also died by 1517 : Mary had married John le Fèvre, Lord of Hemstede and Lysvelt ⁴) ; Catherine, the wife of an Erdorf, had had, besides

verloiren was de welcke jnde deylinghe van den iij gebrueders <no doubt at Francis's death, to whom it belonged> onderlinghe gheschat was iij C £ : *Rek.*, 24 *r.* — Item betaelt der weduwen wylen Valeriaens... derwelcken hij gemaect hadde bij zynen testamente eenen Rinck met eenen steene van smaragde dewelcke tot tours in vranckrycke met oick andere Ringhen verloren was jnde plaetse vanden welcken voer huer gecocht js geweest eenen zelueren vergulden cop wegende xxj onsen iij jngelsschen ende elck onse betaelt xlvj stuuers geleuert mr. gielise <om haer te sendene> : xlvij £ x s : *Rek.* 24 *v-25r.*

¹) Cp. further, §§ 82, 91.

²) The Account of the Succession, written by Jerome's chamberlain and executor Bartholomew van Vessem, who must have known the names of the relations, reads *haltsast* ; still it may be a clerical error of f for f : *haltsast* ; *BuslGén.*, 8, calls him : Haltvast, or Schellart, of Bastogne.

³) Jtem noch gesonden bij handen van Nicolas le gouverneur, Receueur de thionuille bernart de hondelaeye Heere de Elle man ende momboir van Juffrouwe lijsbeth haltsast dochter wijlen Jouffrouwen Jaquelyn van busleyden outste zuster was van wijlen den testatuer de some van hondert ende vijftich Rijnguldenen voer huer portie gelijk dander vier nichten gehadt hebben. / hoe wel zij jnt testament niet genoemd en was, dat gedaen es om te scouwen den twist die hij nemen mochte mitten anderen nichten ende huer mans ter causen vanden legaet voirscreuen : *Rek.* 24 *v.* The fact that Jacqueline's daughter had not been mentioned in the will may perhaps be due to the displeasure caused by the second marriage which she contracted with Henry Hocclin, <possibly *Hoeklin* : *Mansfeld*, 1, 30>, lord of Birtingen, councillor-secretary of Luxemburg Council, as *BuslGén.*, 8, notes ; or, may be, 'lijsbeth's' husband was objected to.

⁴) *Brug&Fr.*, 1, 302.

one, possibly two, daughters, also a son, Corneille, of whose education the uncle had taken care with scant result ¹⁾ : he had died in 1512 or 1513 ²⁾. So the two younger sisters were represented in their brother Jerome's succession by four daughters with their respective husbands ³⁾. Only one of the four nieces seems to be recorded, Cornelia le Fèvre, Lady of Hemstede, daughter of John and of Mary de Busleyden ; she married Florent de Griboval, Lord of Berquin, Pressy, Jumelles, member of Mechlin Great Council, 1543-1562, after having been mayor of the Franc of Bruges in 1539-1540 ⁴⁾.

Giles de Busleyden

12. — Thus by 1518, when the will of Jerome de Busleyden was executed, there remained of the numerous family ⁵⁾ of which he was a member, only five nieces besides the household of the eldest brother Giles, who was very prosperous. After leaving the Luxemburg receivership to his brother Valerian in 1498 ⁶⁾, he became master of the Board of Accounts in

¹⁾ *Epp.* 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 51 ; it follows that Catherine and her husband were dead by 1508, from the fact that Jerome took care of the boy from 1505 ; when commenting on his failure in 1508 to Becker, he did not as much as mention his mother : *Epp.* 51 ; their children were, no doubt, the *nepotuli*, the wards of Jerome and Valerian, mentioned in *Epp.* 53, 16-37.

²⁾ *Epp.* 68, 3, *sq.*

³⁾ Item betaelt ende gesonden den vier nichten wijlen des testateurs van tweewijlen zijn susters Jouffrouwe marie ende katrijne van busleyden nae vuytwijzen des testaments by quitantie van hueren mannen... vj C £ : *Rek.*, 24 v.

⁴⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, I, 302 : Florent de Griboval married Adrienne van Halewyn at Mary van Busleyden's death ; *FlandIll.*, II, 186, b ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. IX.

⁵⁾ The *BuslGén.*, 8, makes of Catherine a nun in St. Agnes convent, Treves, and mentions another daughter of Giles, Margaret, who was in the same convent ; the account of Jerome's will shows the inanity of the first statement, by which the second also falls. The 'M. Claeze de naue neue van den testateur', who received a large ring with a turquoise : *Rek.*, 99 v, was, no doubt, the son of his maternal aunt, Nicolas de Naue or Naves : cp. § 83.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, § 8. A deed of Philip the Fair and of his first Master of the Requests Francis de Busleyden, granted on July 16, 1498,

Brussels, and, by 1510, first Master, or president of that Council¹). He had inherited from his father some tithes of Bauschleyden and other rents and properties, to which he added in 1505 the jurisdiction of Over-and Nederheembeek ²). He married Adrienne de Gondeval, daughter of Nicolas, knight, chief house-steward of Charles the Bold and of Philip the Fair, viscount of Grimberghe ³), and of Gertrude van der Vucht, who had inherited from her mother the castle and Lordship of Horst with the jurisdiction over St. Peter's Rode and Cortelke ⁴). They had a numerous family which they educated with great care, thanks to the estates that were gathering in their hands, and which were constantly enlarged either by exchanges, like that of the Lordship of Guirsch, against a half part in that of Aspelt ⁵), or by purchases, like those of Ter-Tommen, Rumelingen, Ter Borcht, &c ⁶).

13. — Their brother Jerome had bequeathed to them a large part of his possessions ⁷); yet, although burdened by a heavy household, Giles generously seconded his brother's great plan by encouraging Erasmus in the founding of an independant College ⁸) and, at any rate, by not claiming for the family the considerable portion of the heritage attributed to the institution which was being made impracticable by the opposition

invested Giles de Busleyden with the quality of Brabant subject, so as to be able to fulfil all functions there and on the rest of the left side of the Meuse : *LouvArch.*, I, 135-136.

¹) *ConPri.*, I, 17 ; cp. *ConPriT.*, 221.

²) Henne, I, 63.

³) That viscounty was bought in 1512 from Hercules of Enghien de Kestergate : *GramB.*, 35, a.

⁴) Cp. E. Gens, *Ruines et Paysages en Belgique* : Bruxelles, n. d. : 43, sq.; E. Pouillet, *Sire Louis Pynnock, Patricien de Louvain* : Louvain, 1864 : I, 336, sq.

⁵) Cp. before, § 10.

⁶) Cp. Roy, II, 27, sq ; A. Cosyn, *Grimberghen* : Brussels, 1909 : 46, 55-62, 99, 108. — Amongst the rents of the Brussels Charterhouse, there was one drawn up in 1535 for Giles de Busleyden on the lordships of Breda, Diest, &c (probably on the family of Nassau) : *BrabArchEcc.*, iv, 57.

⁷) Cp. further, § 83.

⁸) Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. III.

of the very University of which it was to be part and parcel ¹⁾. He afterwards continued protecting the heavily assaulted establishment with his efficient advice and assistance ²⁾, which Erasmus highly praised in his letters ³⁾ and in the colloquy *Epithalamium Petri Ægidii* ⁴⁾; he moreover helped it with the most valuable example of handsome patronage. Amongst the first students of the *Trilingue* were his three eldest sons : 'Franciscus, Nicolaus & Jheronimus buslidius fratres', who matriculated on March 25, 1519 ⁵⁾; when, in 1526, his two brothers left the University, Jerome entered the College as a boarder, and remained there from June 6, 1526 to June 29, 1527 ⁶⁾.

14. — Three years later two other sons came to the University, Giles and John, who were inscribed on the Matriculation Register on December 24, 1530 ⁷⁾; and on July 6, 1534, was 'intitulatus' the last of the Councillor's sons, William ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ It has been said that Giles abandoned a large part of the heritage, which has to be taken in the sense suggested here : for, on the one hand, the family was entitled to the portion allotted to the *Trilingue* if it proved impossible to realize it ; and, on the other, the first accounts of the College do not mention the least amount which should have been ceded by Giles ; on the contrary he is represented as 'tenax', even for what was only entrusted to his care : cp. further §§ 15, 92.

²⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chaps. v to vii ; Allen, III, 686, *pr.*

³⁾ There are several letters of Erasmus addressed to Giles de Busleyden in the most affectionate style and feeling : Allen, III, 686, 691, 699, 804, 971, IX, 2588, ranging from October 1517 to December 1531, chiefly about the management of the *Trilingue*. Such is Busleyden's letter of July 1, 1524, in which he sympathizes with Erasmus, just then beset by growing difficulties : FG, 30, 1³⁴ ; Allen, v, 1461. In his letter of April 2, 1524, Erasmus requested Goclenius to transfer the money deposited with him, to Dorp, to Giles de Busleyden or to Martin Davidts in case death should overtake the Louvain professor : Allen, v, 1437, 149 ; cp. FG, 67, 23. In a letter of March 28, 1527, Max. Transsylvanus calls Giles, Erasmus' 'strenuum propugnatorem' : Allen, VII, 1802, 12¹³ ; and in a letter of November 19, 1531, Davidts announces to Erasmus : 'Buslidius... valet' : FG, 195, 30, 314.

⁴⁾ EOO, I, 747, c ; cp. §§ 6, 85.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIII*, 254 r.

⁶⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chaps. IX, XI.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 30 v ; cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xvi.

⁸⁾ *LibIntIV*, 66 v ; cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xvi.

No doubt they attended the lectures of the school founded by their great Uncle, for which they had been prepared, like their elder brothers, by chosen tutors, Peter de Vriendt, *Amicus* ¹⁾, and James Teyng, *Ceratinus* ²⁾. It was no doubt in appreciation of the eminent protection and patronage bestowed on the *Trilingue* that Rutger Rescius, by a letter of July 31, 1529, dedicated to Giles de Busleyden the first issue of his printing-press, namely Xenophon's *Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Libri Quatuor*, which was published *Mense Septemb. Anno MDXXIX* ³⁾. It was most probably a copy of that issue which Giles promised, and actually presented in November of that year ⁴⁾ to a young friend of the family, the Latin poet Joannes Secundus. In one of his *Epistolae*, the latter thanked with effusion ⁵⁾ for the gift :

Quæ tibi promisso gratus Xenophonte rependam
Munera, Buslydiæ celeberrima gloria gentis ?

He mentions that Giles continually helps and protects those who devote themselves to the cult of the Muses, thus adding his share to the glory which his deceased brother Jerome had conferred on Poetry and the Study of languages, when he led the glorious waters of the Pierus from the Helicon to the 'patrios... agros,

posuitque superbo
Marmore laurigeris habitacula splendida Musis,
Lovaniij decus, & terræ ornamenta Brabantæ :
Quæ nunc cum populis merito certare Latinis
Audet, & ingeniis felix contendere Graijs,
Et sancta Hæbræorum mysteria pandere Vatum ;

He predicts an immortal fame on that account to the family, for, as he says, all may happen, and everything may be destroyed before

¹⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. ix ; *ULDoc.*, I, 315.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 218, a-d ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. III, XI and XIII.

³⁾ Iseghem, 339-40, 105, sq. ; *NijKron.*, II, 4098.

⁴⁾ Joannes Secundus declares in his *Epistola* that when he received the Xenophon, he had accomplished a few days before, *ante dies paucos*, his eighteenth year : he was born in November 1511 : *Cran.*, 280, 1.

⁵⁾ He mentions the grains of sand, drops of snow, &c, concluding : Tot tibi sint, pluresque, dato pro munere grates.

Buslydiæ gentis quam ter veneranda peribunt
Nomina, & eximij morietur fama laboris.

Besides the first letter of his second book of *Epistolæ*, inscribed to Giles de Busleyden ¹⁾, Secundus addressed his seventh *Ode* to his friend Nicolas, Giles's son, praising him for his success in the practice of music ²⁾; and his third *Ode* to another son, *Ægidius junior*, with whom he was not only joined in intimate friendship, but in a common bent for poetry, for drawing and for carving ³⁾.

15. — Those connections with the young Latin poet most fortunately provide a glimpse of the intellectual and artistic atmosphere of Giles de Busleyden's household. Another is given by Albrecht Dürer's *Diary* : visiting Brussels at the end of August 1520, that famous artist was princely entertained by the painter Bernard van Orley, who invited three of his best friends, John Ruffault ⁴⁾, John de Metteneye ⁵⁾ and the treasurer Busleyden ; Dürer gave the latter a *Passion* engraved in copper, and received in return a black Spanish bag ⁶⁾. — One more glimpse of Giles is supplied by his townsman Bartholomew Latomus, who, a few months before he became lecturer in St. Barbara College, Paris, dedicated from Treves, on February 14, 1531, a *Carmen Gratulatorium in Coronationem Regis Romanorum ad Invictissimos Carolum Cæsarem & Ferdinandum Regem, Fratres Augustos*, to the 'Ornatissimo Viro Domino Egidio Buslydio... viro primario & patrono suo colendiss.' ⁷⁾. Not all the information thus afforded is laudatory : the letters of Erasmus and Goclenius about that period, referring to the efforts to secure the

¹⁾ *JSecOp.*, 189-191 : *Epistola I Libri II.*

²⁾ *JSecOp.*, 154-155 : 'Ad Nicolaum Buslydium'. Cp. further, § 17.

³⁾ *JSecOp.*, 149-51 : 'Ad Aegyidium Buslydium, juniorem'; cp. further, § 21.

⁴⁾ Treasurer of Charles V and Margaret of Austria : *Cran.*, 140, *e.*

⁵⁾ One of the house-stewards of Margaret of Austria : *Cran.*, 127, *a.*

⁶⁾ DürerD, 65-66 : Darzu haben sich von ihn selbs geladen... der Stadt Schatzmeister mit Namen von Puscleidis. Den schenket ich ein *Passion* in Kupfer gestochen, und er hat mir wieder geschenkt eine schwarze spanische Taschen, 3 fl. wert.

⁷⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. XII.

clever professor of Latin to the *Trilingue* by an increase in his ridiculously low wages, mention the stinginess of the chief executor : 'Aegidii Busleidii nota est tenacitas ; non audet de alieno esse liberalis, ne quando discat etiam esse de suo' ¹). Still his interest in his brother's great Institute did not flag : at the resigning of John Campensis, he caused Goclenius to insist on asking Erasmus to find a successor ²), and in all lawsuits he gave a ready help ³). When, in March 1536, Rescius roused the animosity of the whole university by explaining a juridical text in Greek, Giles was resorted to ⁴) ; about the same time Goclenius also experienced his help in his contest for an Antwerp prebend ⁵). It happened that when that cause was being debated at Court, Henry of Nassau's wife, Countess Menzia de Mendoza, inquired about Erasmus from Busleyden, who introduced to her Goclenius, who was just then in the palace, as having the latest information : it made her take an active part in the suit, and bring it to a good end. That way Goclenius could send to Erasmus her greetings and those of Busleyden ⁶), in what seems to have been the last letter he received from Brabant ⁷). Giles did not survive the great Humanist for more than three days : he died in Brussels on July 14, 1536 ⁸). His wife followed him only on May 2, 1554 ⁹).

¹) Letter of Goclenius, July 14, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2352, 330-331 ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. XIII.

²) *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xv, xvi ; Allen, IX, 2587, 59, sq (to Goclenius), 2580 (to Busleyden) : Freiburg, 14 & 15 Dec. 1531.

³) *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xvii.

⁴) *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xv.

⁵) *HisTriLov.*, chapt. XIII, XIV, XVIII.

⁶) GoclE., 20 r, v ; Allen, XI, 3111, 98, sq, 169.

⁷) Erasmus' last letter to Goclenius of June 28, 1536 : EE, 1521, A-1522, B, is the reply to that of Goclenius of March 21, 1536, which brought him the news of the good end of his suit for the Antwerp prebend.

⁸) The month-date is implied by the fact that his anniversary was celebrated on July 14 : *BuslGén.*, 9, which adds that he was buried in the vault of Nicolas de Gondeval in St. Gudula's, near the chapel of Our Lady of the Seven Dolours ; there may be a mixing up of the churches, as his grandson Giles was buried in the chapel of Our Lady of the Seven Dolours in St. Gery's : *BrabNobl.*, 280-281.

⁹) *BuslGén.*, 9 : the sharing of her estates and goods took place in Brussels on July 1, 1555.

16. — Giles II left a numerous progeny. His eldest son Francis, Lord of Guirsch, Horst, St. Peter's Rode and Cortelke, had been bequeathed by his uncle Jerome with all his musical books and instruments ¹⁾; he became Mary of Hungary's Great Falconer, Chamberlain and first Squire. He does not seem to have been prosperous, as he had to sell most of his possessions in Luxemburg. He made his will in the house of Louis van den Berghe, Abbot of Parc, on July 20, 1554, and died soon after, being buried in St. Peter's Rode Church. His widow, Margaret van der Stappen ²⁾, remarried; their son Charles, Lord of Horst and of its dependencies, as well as of Wespelaer, married Mary, daughter of the knight John van den Tympel, Lady of Perck and Boortmeerbeek; he died in November 1578 at Mechlin, and was buried there in St. Rombaut's. Their two sons, Charles and Anthony, lost the Lordship of Horst in 1606, and as good as ended that branch ³⁾.

17. — His brother Nicolas, viscount of Grimberghe, Lord of Borcht and Ter Tommen, was Councillor of Brabant, and continued in that capacity the protection and help to the *Trilingue* which his father had started ⁴⁾. He married in 1542 Philippote van der Noot, daughter of Adolphe, knight, councillor and Chancellor of Brabant ⁵⁾, and of Philippote de Watermael, who possessed several rents and fees, some situated at Herent and Waesmont. He died on March 30, 1559; his wife survived him until 1581. Their eldest son Giles, who was under age at his father's death, studied in Louvain, where he

¹⁾ Item francisco den ouden zoen des voirs. M. gielis zijn gelaten ende M. gielisse geleuert alle de Instrumente musicalia van luyten, fluyten, claesimbelen &c. met oick vele boecken van musiken gelijck die alle jnden Inuentaris jnt lange gespecifieert zijn by stucken ende met hueren custodien : *Rek.*, 99 v.

²⁾ *BrabNobl.*, 280, calls her Mary.

³⁾ *BuslGén.*, 10-12. A Christina van Poederbeke, widow of Charles de Busleyden, and another lady Busleyden, widow, are recorded living in Louvain in 1597-98 : *LouvBoon*, 358, b, 382, a ; Gestel, 1, 210, 247, 249.

⁴⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chaps. ix and xxii.

⁵⁾ *BrabCon.*, 11, 513, with his coat of arms in colour.

matriculated in October 1562 ¹⁾, and in Rome, where he still was in 1571. He married Catherine van der Dilt, lady heiress of Leverghem and Doorne, daughter of the son of Erasmus' friend Edward, knight, and Helwich Sandelyn ²⁾; he was Lord of Guirsch and became Lord of Herent in 1586; having been repeatedly alderman and mayor of Brussels, he was dubbed knight when Archduke Albert entered Brussels on November 30, 1599 ³⁾. He died on July 20, 1623, and his wife, on June 16, 1650; they were buried in the chapel of Our Lady of the Seven Dolours, in St. Gery's, Brussels ⁴⁾; their daughter Mary-Anne, Lady of Doorne and Leverghem, married, on Febr. 4, 1615, Louis Verreycken, knight, baron of Boulez ⁵⁾, secretary of the Privy Council, and started a new branch ⁶⁾. The rest of Nicolas of Busleyden's family hardly kept the name much longer; two daughters entered convents, one, Anne, the abbey of Val-Duc; the other, Adrienne, that of La Cambre ⁷⁾; a third, Mary, married to Gaspard de Mol, died without offspring on July 10, 1610; whereas their brother William had died before Sept. 1, 1571. A third brother, the

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 385, r : Egidius Buslidiu Bruxell. nobilis.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 139, h.

³⁾ He was often alderman between 1585 and 1619, and mayor in 1592 and 1593 : *BruxHist.*, II, 18, 540-544; he accompanied Archduke Albert to Louvain on Sept. 5-6, 1599 : *LouvBoon*, 402, a. Cp. *BrabNobl.*, 240, 280-82, (where it is said that he was the last of the Busleydens, although he left a nephew Philip-René who became a Dominican); *BuslGén.*, 17, 19; Gestel, I, 215; *GramL*, 35, b.

⁴⁾ *BuslGén.*, 16-18; with them is buried their second daughter Philippine, who died unmarried in 1672.

⁵⁾ Louis Verreycken was the son of Louis, councillor of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, who died in 1621, and of Louise Micault who followed him in 1622 : Gestel, II, 97-98; *BrabNobl.*, 239, 280-82; *ConPri.*, I, 265-67; *ConPriT.*, 220-21 : he died on May 6, 1654, being buried in O. L. 'de la Chapelle'.

⁶⁾ There still exist four deeds, provided with their seals, by which, from 1724 to 1726, Albertine Josephine de Verreyken, Countess of Sart, granted scholarships in the *Trilingue* to two young men of Arlon, to one of near Bauschleiden, and to one of Marville; of 1728 there is a similar deed by which a scholarship was granted by Francis-Joseph de Varick, Count of Sart — no doubt her son — to a student of Mabouge : *FUL*, 1463.

⁷⁾ Cp. *BrabArchEcc.*, III, 101.

second son, Adolphe, viscount of Grimberghe, Lord of Ter Tommen and of the Borcht, married Philippote d'Oyenbrughe ¹⁾ : they had a son Philip-René, who became a Dominican ²⁾, and one daughter Jane, who inherited all the rents and lordships ³⁾, and married, in 1632, James T'Serclaes who, at his father Antony's death, became baron.

18. — Besides those two sons Jerome de Busleyden's brother Giles left several other children ⁴⁾. Amongst them three daughters : the eldest, Anne, married Arnold of Eynatten, Lord of Schoonhoven and Heukelom. At her death, on October 14, 1545, she left a son Henry de Schoonhoven, and other children, who had several famous men amongst their descendants ⁵⁾ ; she was buried in Our Lady's at Aer-

¹⁾ Adolphe died on March 3, 1614, and Philippote, his wife, on October 19, 1656, outliving even her son-in-law James baron T'Serclaes († Sept. 29, 1639) ; they are buried in St. Catherine's, Brussels : Gestel, II, 69-70, *ConPriT.*, 221 ; *BuslGén.*, 18-19. About 1596 a contestation arose between Giles and Adolphe de Busleyden, as heirs of Francis d'Ayala, with Anne and Christine d'Ayala (cp. *BrabNobl.*, 301 ; *AntwAnn.*, II, 391-93 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 96 ; VAnd., 234 ; *BibBelg.*, 861), against the Faculty of Theology in Louvain in behalf of the Holy Ghost Colleges on account of a house, that used to belong to William Lombaerts, Knight, in the Orchard Street, now Chapel Hill, opposite the gate of van Dieven College, to which the president Henry de Grave had bought some rights in 1582. After several years of haggling, the house was definitely sold in March-April 1624 to the president William Merchier by Catherine van der Dilft, Giles's widow, and her daughter Anne-Mary, with her husband Louis Verreycken, as well as by Philippote van Oyenbrugge, Adolph's widow — the rest of the family of Nicolas de Busleyden having, no doubt, died out : FUL, 1519, 1797, 1798.

²⁾ In 1623 he founded with his *confrater* Pierre Malphi the convent of Dominicans at Vilvorde : *BrabArchEcc.*, IV, 370.

³⁾ An account book, about her children and family affairs, of Jane de Busleyden is still preserved ; it was edited by viscount de Ghellinck Vaernewyck : *Le Livre de Raison de Jeanne de Busleyden* : Antwerp, 1915. Cp. Gestel, II, 70.

⁴⁾ It seems that he had twelve children : some died very young.

⁵⁾ Viz., Maxmilian of Eynatten, Antwerp Scholaster and *Sigillifer* († 1631 : Paquot, V, 76-8) ; two Bishops of Ghent, the XIIIth, 1694-1730, Philip Erard van der Noot (1638-1730), and the XVth, 1742-

schot ¹⁾. Of her sister Adrienne nothing seems to be known except her name. The third, Mary, had married in 1554 the knight Antony van Oss, Lord of Ransbeek and Over-Heembeek, who was Mayor of Brussels in 1567-68, and 'amman' in 1574 and 1585 ²⁾. They died childless and were probably buried in St. John's, Mechlin ³⁾.

19. — The eldest of the other (4) boys in the household of Giles de Busleyden and Adrienne de Gondeval, Jerome, stayed some time in Louvain after his two elder brothers left in 1526 ⁴⁾. He later on went to Rome, where, at least from 1545 to 1547, he was active at the Papal Court ⁵⁾, and even wished, about that time, to secure for his life one of the houses of the confraternity of the natives of the Netherlands, the *S. Maria dell' Anima* ⁶⁾. He was Paul IV's chamberlain, and was granted a canonry, besides the provostry, of Alba. He died before January 19, 1559, when a rent, which he had inherited from his father, was divided amongst his heirs ⁷⁾. The fifth son, John, licenciate in both laws, married Margaret de Merode, daughter of Arnold, Lord of Royenberg, and of Catherine de Gottignies ³⁾; he probably was connected with the Great Council of Mechlin, in which town he died on November 3, 1556 ⁸⁾, leaving his widow who survived until March 23, 1601, and a son under age, Giles, who married Anne de Plaine, Lady of Norderwyck, daughter of John, and of Anne Kerremans; he died on January 17, 1596, leaving a son, Louis de Busleyden, Lord of Norderwyck, and several other children, one

1770, Maximilian-Antony van der Noot (1685-1770), judging from their heraldic quarters Busleyden and Eynatten : *Brug&Fr.*, II, 325.

¹⁾ *BuslGén.*, 9; Gestel, I, 241.

²⁾ *BruXHist.*, II, 507, planche xx, 538.

³⁾ *BuslGén.*, 10.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, § 13.

⁵⁾ *MélMoell.*, II, 114.

⁶⁾ The *Congregatio* decreed in reply : 'Inscribat se in confraternitate, postea petat' : *Anima*, 381.

⁷⁾ *BuslGén.*, 9-10.

⁸⁾ *MalInscr.*, 63; *BuslGén.*, 13; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. XVIII.

⁹⁾ He was buried in St. Rombaut's : *ConPriT.*, 221; *MalInscr.*, 61, 230; Laenen, II, 238.

being Margaret, Lady of Norderwyck, wife of John de Tiras, governor of Grevenbroeck, Brunswick and Breda ¹⁾).

20. — The sixth and youngest son of Giles de Busleyden and Adrienne de Gondeval, William, had promoted licenciate in both laws, probably in Louvain ; he was advocate in the Great Council of Mechlin in 1555, and is repeatedly mentioned as *maître* in the list of aldermen of Brussels, of which dignity he often discharged the duties between 1563 and June 18, 1574, when he died in office ²⁾. He was Lord of Guirsch, which had been purchased from his elder brother Francis ³⁾, and he owned the big family mansion near St. Gudula's, called the Castle *Boots*, or, of de Busleyden ⁴⁾. He was buried in the Church of the Minimes in Brussels, and left two natural children from one Elizabeth van Weede, or Isabeau van der Weyden : a girl, Agnes, who became a *béguine*, and a boy, John, who after becoming licenciate of laws, obtained his legitimation from King Philip on November 17, 1592, and married, on June 30, 1594, Suzanne de Croys, or Croy, thus founding a branch which continued until far in the XVIIIth century ⁵⁾. William took a most vivid interest in the *Trilingue* : in 1569 he recommended

¹⁾ *BuslGén.*, 13-15 ; J. Th. de Raadt, *De Heerlijkheden van het Land van Mechelen : Norderwyck en zijne Heeren*. At the death of the sons of Louis de Busleyden, Adrian († 1639) and Giles († 1617), the lordship of Norderwyck passed to Margaret and John de Tiras, who did not leave any offspring ; it passed into the hands of Jane de Busleyden, married to James, baron T'Serclaes, and those of her second son John Francis T'Serclaes : *LivRais.*, 101, 105, 110, 113. Cp. *Cran.*, lxxvii.

²⁾ *BruxHist.*, II, 357-258 ; *planche* VI ; he attended as alderman the founding of the seminary in the Brussels school of the Brothers of the Common Life, March 17, 1569 : P. Lambinet, *Recherches... sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie* : Bruxelles, 1798 : 344, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 16 ; that lordship seems to have been inherited by his nephew Giles, husband of Catherine van der Dilt, who is called by that title in 1585 in *BruxHist.*, II, 540.

⁴⁾ It was left to his nephew Adolphe, husband of Philippote de Oyenbrugge.

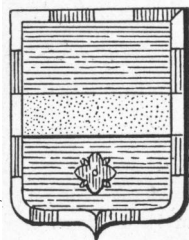
⁵⁾ *BuslGén.*, 20-28 ; William de Busleyden's descendants used the family crest with a border silver and gules, as long as there were

Peter Pierius a Smenga for the lectureship of Hebrew ¹⁾, and bequeathed unto it a rent of 300 florins, yielding interest in February and in August, which was added to the patrimony of his Uncle's great foundation ²⁾.

21. — Strangely enough, one son of Giles de Busleyden and Adrienne de Gondeval is never mentioned in the genealogical lists, although he was by far not the least interesting, namely Giles, the fourth son, who matriculated in Louvain in 1530 with his younger brother John ³⁾. He was one of Janus Secundus' favourite friends; the great poet addressed one of his *Odes* to him ⁴⁾, and carved about 1530 his portrait in a medal ⁵⁾, inscribed :



descendants of the right branch; his great-grandson Andrew-Giles de Busleyden, 1634-1691, advocate, obtained for him and his five brothers, on April 22, 1672, the use of the simple scutcheon, notwithstanding some contradiction: *BuslGén.*, 20, 24; *BrabNobl.*, 282-295. That advocate Andrew-Giles is mentioned in a lawsuit between the herald Maurissens and the family T'Serhuyghs, in October 1672: *BrabNobl.*, 390-91. He was lawyer in the Brabant Council when on Oct. 8, 1676 he was appointed councillor and Procurator-general of that body; he died in 1691 leaving posterity from his wife, a de Coninck: *BrabCon.*, III, 859.



¹⁾ *NèveMém.*, 248, 373.

²⁾ *Inv.*, 26, r: kk: Eenen rentbrief van 300 gulden erfelijck gelege-teerd der Collegien van wijlen heer Willem van Busleyden bezegelt met twee roode zeelen verschijnt in Augusto voor eenen termeyn ende in Februario voor den anderen termeyn.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 14, and *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xvi.

⁴⁾ *JSecOp.*, 149-51 (Ad Aegydiū Buslydiū, juniorem); cp. before, § 14.

⁵⁾ Simonis, 59-61, reproduces the medal on *Plate v* and dates it 1532.



ÆGID. BVSLIDIVS. AN. AETATIS. XVI

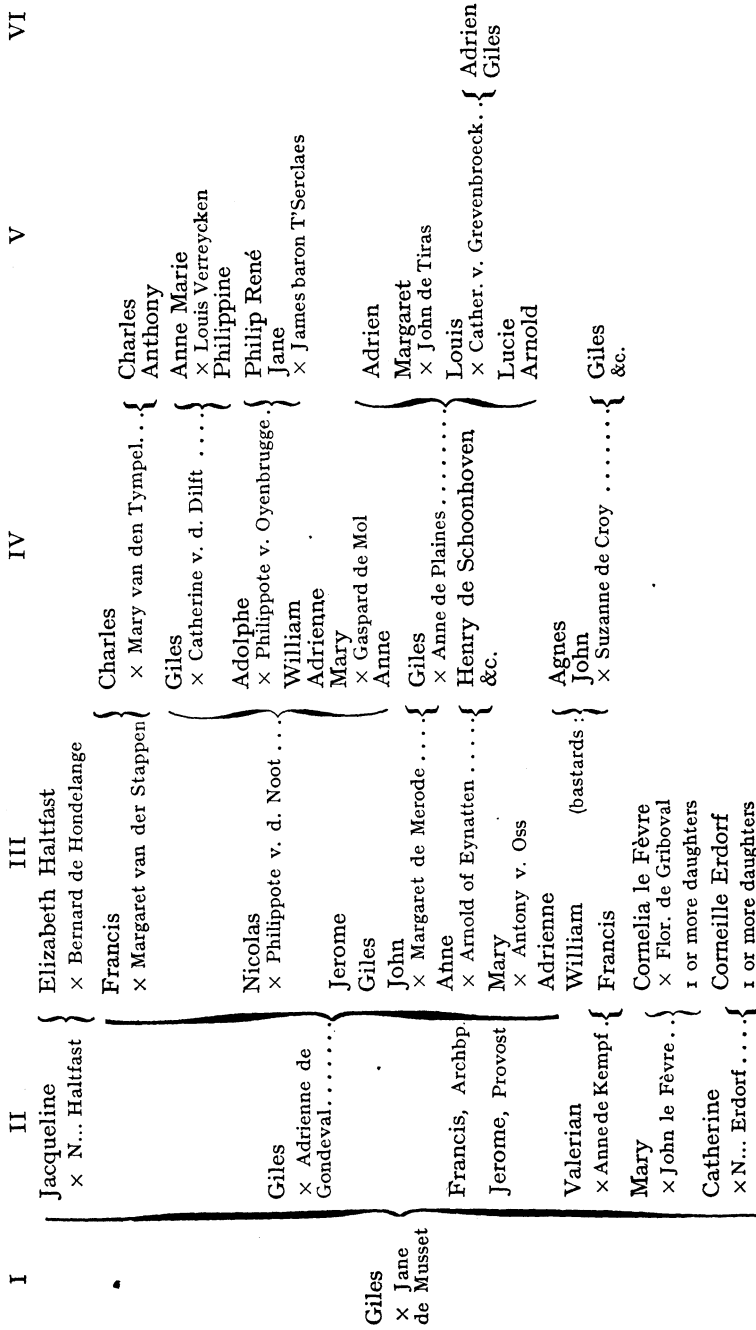
Afterwards — possibly after he had left the Netherlands for Spain, or at any rate after he had left Louvain, — Janus Secundus mentioned that medal in the *Ode* written to beseech his friend to return him for some time the portrait he carved, — no doubt the die, — so that he might make some casts for himself to enjoy continually the pleasure of his features ; he avails himself of the opportunity to praise his ability both in writing poetry and in sculpting and painting ¹). Giles probably died long before his time, and but for Secundus' poems and the portrait, as well as for the inscription in the Louvain Matriculation register, that gifted young nephew, in whom Jerome would have glorified, would have been entirely forgotten ²).

Busleyden Pedigree

22. — The information about Jerome de Busleyden's family, critically tested for as far as is possible, allows to draw up the following pedigree extending over six generations ; the illegitimate branch is not worked out. Unless a surname is added, all the names refer to Busleydens.

¹) *JSecOp.*, 149-51 : *Ode* III ; cp. before, § 14, and, for the interest of this *Ode* in the history of Engraving, Simonis, 60-61.

²) Simonis, 62-63, judging from the very inexact genealogy composed by Henry de Barnaba in 1761, wrongly concludes that the young Giles should have been a natural child of William de Busleyden, son of Giles II. Nothing can be more absurd, for since that William, born in 1519, went to the University in 1534, he should have met there his 'natural son', who had matriculated there four years before him. Giles must have been born either in 1514 or 1516, according to whether his medal was made in 1530 or 1532. Secundus' ode calling him 'Ægidius junior', evidently points him out as a son of Giles, Jerome's brother ; the entry in the Louvain matriculation register leaves no doubt whatever on that head.



2. STUDIES AND TRAINING

23. — Jerome de Busleyden, who has been called one of the most eminent men of his century ¹⁾, was born about 1470 at Arlon, where his father was then residing as councillor ²⁾. He was the third son of the hard-working man who brought up his children with a due sense of the responsibilities of life. Unfortunately with the staunch endurance and the indomitable energy proper to the families of stubborn Ardenne, he could not endow them with a strong constitution, and his children and child's children only exceptionally reached the fifties. Most probably Jerome got his first instruction in his native town, from which he was sent as a very young man to be trained at a school: in his letter to Prince Philip of Castile he relates that, at some distance from home, he had already exerted himself at the *rei literariæ operam* for some years when he lost his parents before he had come out of childhood: *a teneris unguiculis... utroque... parente orbatu<s>* ³⁾. His brother Francis most generously and affectionately took care of the young student ⁴⁾, who in all likelihood, had been sent to Louvain by 1485.

24. — As his brother Valerian was, by 1488, an inmate of the Lily ⁵⁾, it looks most likely that Jerome, too, boarded and studied there, and thus got thoroughly trained in Latin. For at the time of his studies, in the latter eighties and the first nineties, the Regent Leo Outers ⁶⁾ had started checking the grammatical rules of Alexander de Villa-Dei by the very texts of the Latin authors of the best period, of which the marvels had been disclosed by Lodovico Bruni and the other Italian literators, who had been teaching in Louvain since 1478 ⁷⁾. The movement was most enthusiastically taken up by his

¹⁾ *ErasRott.*, 26.

²⁾ *Guicc.*, 292.

³⁾ *Epp.* 5, 5-6; cp. before, § 7.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 5, 7, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, § 8.

⁶⁾ *MonHL.*, 125-26.

⁷⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. II; *MonHL.*, 125-127, 303-308.

disciples John de Neve ¹⁾ and Gerard Cannyf of Meuwen ²⁾, which led to the famous treatises by John Custodis, Ceusters, of Brecht ³⁾, and by John de Spouter of Ninove ⁴⁾ : no doubt from that atmosphere of eager and appreciative study Busleyden derived that deep interest in language and literature which characterized him throughout his life, and suggested the foundation which has rendered his name immortal. He made there the acquaintance of several erudites, chief amongst them John Becker of Borselen, who was one of the most promising of the group of workers in the Lily by the end of the fifteenth century ⁵⁾. Jerome himself probably had then left that pedagogy : for after his promotion in the Faculty of Arts, he had started the study of jurisprudence, which he continued for several years ; he thus was for a time a disciple of Peter l'Apostole, who afterwards was his colleague and friend at Mechlin Great Council ⁶⁾. That Peter l'Apostole succeeded in 1492 to John Noyens, or Nouts, of Turnhout, who had been professor from 1482 to his decease, September 14, 1492 ; he had amongst his colleagues Thierry van Groenedael, *de Viridivalle*, of Hilvarenbeek (1476-1501), Peter van Thienen, *a Thenis*, of Louvain, president of St. Ivo College (1485-1523), John Godefridi, of Wemeldingen (1487-1525), and Walter de Leeuw, *de Beka* (1496-1517), who were the most conspicuous members of the Faculties of Law at the time of Busleyden's training ⁷⁾.

25. — His brother Francis, who was becoming one of the most powerful personages in the country, knew from experience what good could be derived from a stay abroad ; he therefore sent Jerome to France. The young man attended the lectures of jurisprudence in Orléans, and was still there in

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 26, a-f ; *MélMoell.*, II, 82-86.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 288, c, d ; *MonHL*, 126.

³⁾ *Cran.*, xxxvii, 26, d, 288, c ; *MonHL*, 126 ; H. de Vocht, *Gabriel Madaeus* : Antwerp, 1940 : 5-8.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 125-127 ; *Cran.*, 288, c, d ; *Trit.*, 466.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 12, e ; *Epp.* 32, b-e.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 20, b-c.

⁷⁾ *VAnd.*, 155-156, 173-79.

the summer of 1500, when Erasmus, driven out of Paris by the plague, took shelter in that town ¹⁾. For three months the Austin monk was the guest of James de Vocht, *Tutor*, of Antwerp ²⁾ a graduate in Laws, who after his studies in Louvain, had settled as a preceptor for young Belgian noblemen ³⁾ in what was then considered as one of the foremost universities for jurisprudence ; later on he returned to Antwerp, where he became pensionary on February 10, 1506 ⁴⁾, along with Adrian Herbouts, whose acquaintance Busleyden may have made at Orleans as well ⁵⁾. For certain he met Erasmus there ; for, seven months after his return to Paris, in his letter to Tutor of July 17, 1501, the eager erudite, referring to his ineffective longing for a visit to Italy in the following autumn, mentions, that he has heard that the brother of the powerful Archbishop of Besançon was leaving for that Promised Land of the Humanists ; he regrets that, but for his unfortunate ill-luck, he might have found some cleft or other through which he might have got into a familiar connection with the wealthy youth, who, as he hears, protects scholars and erudites, and does not judge at all unfavourably of his character ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, I, 129, *pr.*

²⁾ Allen, I, 137, 31, *sq.*, 147, 46, *sq.* : he warmly recommends Vocht's house for Dismas de Berghes to Antony of Luxemburg, steward of Antony de Berghes, abbot of St. Bertin.

³⁾ *BN* (c1477-29 Jan., 1541) ; Allen, I, 152, *pr.*, 147, 56, *sq.*, naming as pupils in Vocht's household Henry and William of Nassau, sons of Count John of Nassau-Dillenburg, who at the death of his brother Englebert of Nassau-Breda, May 31, 1504, inherited his estates of Breda, Diest, &c. At their father's death in 1516, Henry († 1538) succeeded him for the estate of Breda, which, through his second marriage, he enriched with the principality of Orange, whereas William († 1559), the father of William the Silent, got Dillenburg : Moeller, 106, 256, 260, &c ; *MonHL*, 416, 476 ; cp. *Epp.* 23, b, 24, c.

⁴⁾ In 1526 'Mgr. Jacques de Voight' Antwerp pensionary, was appointed with Arnold van de Werve, mayor, to represent Antwerp at the census of Louvain : Cuvelier, *ccl.*

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 23, b-c.

⁶⁾ Allen, I, 157, 58-63 : *Audio Hieronymum... studiosos in precio habere neque de meo quidem ingenio pessime sentire.*

26. — Jerome de Busleyden did leave for Italy in the summer of 1501 ¹⁾, and went to study at Padua, where, just at that time, the Juridical Faculties were developing into rivals of those of Bologna, thanks to the patronage of Venice, attracting the best professors by all kinds of privileges, and even spurring them on by the strange decree of 1489 fining them 10 *lire* for each lecture given before less than six hearers. At that University, where Pietro Pomponazzi was enlarging since 1495 the ken of philosophy, and where Mark Musurus succeeded Lorenzo da Camerino, *Creticus*, for Greek by 1503 ²⁾, Busleyden made the acquaintance of Cuthbert Tunstall ³⁾, who had arrived there before 1498-99, and had promoted *doctor utriusque juris*; between 1501 and 1503 he enjoyed *longa familiaritate* with that erudite and generous man ⁴⁾. Prompted, no doubt, by the example given by that and other excellent companions, Busleyden made the most of the opportunity offered to him and acquired a thorough knowledge of the Italian Renaissance. He took a vivid interest in Latin

¹⁾ It is generally said that he studied and promoted in Bologna, although no mention is made of him in Knod.

²⁾ Prowe, I, 300-307; Young, I, 99, *sq.*, II, 153; Brown, 195; Fr. Fiorentino, *Pietro Pomponazzi*: Florence, 1868: 15, *sq.*

³⁾ Cuthbert Tunstall, Tonstall, the natural son of a Yorkshire nobleman, born in 1474, studied in Oxford and Cambridge before he went to Italy in 1498-99, where he graduated doctor of laws in Padua. By December 1506 he was back in England and had entered the *familia* of Archbishop Warham, whose chancellor he became. He was sent as ambassador to Charles of Austria in 1515, and spent several months in the Netherlands. He was sent on other missions by Henry VIII, who had him appointed Bishop of London in 1522, and Bishop of Durham in 1530. He was deprived of his bishopric about the end of Edward VI's reign, but it was restored under Queen Mary; he was deprived again of it under Elizabeth and died on November 18, 1559. Cp. *DNB*; Wood, I, 97-98, 590, 65, 703; Cooper, I, 198-202, 552; &c. Tunstall was an able statesman; he was a faithful friend and protector to Erasmus, and was greatly praised by Thomas More, to whom he dedicated his *De Arte Supputandi Libri Quatuor* (London, R. Pynson, 1522): Stapleton, 24; Allen I, 207, 22; *Cran.*, 80, 5, &c.; *MonHL*, 4, 10, &c.; Trit., 445; Hamilton, I, 71, II, 223; Gough, 759; Aubrey L. Moore, *The Reformation*: London, 1890: 174, 201.

⁴⁾ Brewer, II, 1383. It is possible that when Tunstall met James Lefèvre d'Étaples in Italy, Busleyden, too, made his acquaintance: Allen, III, 663, 53-56, II, 315, *pr.*; *Epp.* 46, b, c.

Literature ; also in art and archeology, in coins and medals, as the most efficient means to master a thorough understanding of the civilisation of ancient Greece and Rome. That interest drew to him several of his fellow-students, such as the eager Christopher Frauenberger, who made him acquainted with his former preceptor Frederic, a 'German nobleman', reputed to be most erudite ¹⁾; also with the Portuguese Andrew, to whom he offered a copy of Martial's poems as an agreeable recreation in the midst of *tetrica illa ac seuera legum studia* ²⁾).

27. — Still his love of literature did not prevent him from applying himself strenuously to the studies of law under the experienced guiding of authorities like Giovanni Campeggi and Filippo Decio, like Bertucci Bagarotto and Carlo Ruino ³⁾. After an examination and the necessary tests under the presidency of Louis de Rugeriis, doctor of canon law, vicar-general of Peter Barocius, Bishop of Padua and Chancellor of the University, acting in the Bishop's name, in the presence of the Rector of the body of Padua jurists Thomas de Brandis ⁴⁾, at the request of his promotors Philip Decius and Charles Ruinus, professors, the one of canon, and the other of civil, law, as well as by the co-promotors John Campeggius and Bertucius Bagarotus, Jerome de Busleyden, who was then already provost of Aire, promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* on Wednesday, February 8, 1503. The *Privilegium Doctoratus* that testifies to it is signed by the Bishop of Padua ; written on a large parchment in a most ornate hand, with a big initial in miniature representing St. Jerome and the Busleyden coat of arms ⁵⁾, it contains a eulogy of Canon Law ⁶⁾, and describes

¹⁾ *Epp.* 2, 1⁻²⁰.

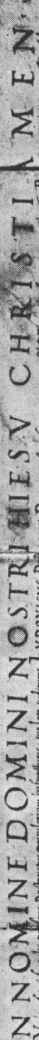
²⁾ *Epp.* 3, 8⁻¹⁶.

³⁾ Antonio Favaro, *Lo Studio di Padova al tempo di Niccolo Copernico* (1503-1506) : Venice, 1880 : 33, sq ; Prowe, I, 300, sq, 319, sq ; Franklin, 57, 127 ; Trit., 365, 483 ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. II.

⁴⁾ Padua University had then, like the other Italian universities, as head a *Rector Scholarum*, a student, representing the Ultramontane and the Cismontane jurists, who nominated their professors : Kaufmann, I, 217-18.

⁵⁾ Cp. its reproduction, p. 35 and its text, § 98.

⁶⁾ Ll 10 to 25 of the document : § 98.

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Busleyden's *Privilegium Doctoratus*
Padua, February 8, 1503

the putting on of the Doctor's cap and ring ¹⁾ and the various ceremonies used in promotions. It further mentions several of the new doctor's fellow-students and friends who witnessed the function : amongst them two protonotaries : Roderick de Carvajal, nephew of the Cardinal of the Holy Cross, Bernardino de Carvajal ²⁾, and Raymond Baraille 'nepos Cardinalis Gurgensis' : no doubt Raymond Perauld, bishop of Gurk and Cardinal of S. Maria Nova ³⁾.

¹⁾ An item in van Vessem's account mentions Busleyden's doctoral ring : *Rek.*, 4 r : Item van een groot signet sonder de wapenen die vuytgedaen waeren weghende xvij³ Jngelschen Ende noch van eenen Rinck sonder steene ende was des testateurs doctoirs Rinck wegende xij Jngelsche 1 fierlinck den Jngelschen xvij *st* ontfaen tsamen xxv *£* v s ix *d*.

²⁾ Cp. *Epp.*, 54, b-i ; Albergato, 24.

³⁾ Raymond Perauld, *Peraudi*, a derelict boy of La Rochelle, became doctor of divinity in Paris : Imbart, I, 347, II, 541 ; Pastor, III, 223 ; he went to Italy, where he entered the *Curia*. He preached indulgences for the building of the St. Peter's church of Saintes granted in 1476 : PaulTetz., 9, 87, 161 ; Polain, 2099. By December 1486 he was sent to Emperor Frederic, and managed to make him approve of a crusade schemed by Innocent VIII, and proposed by his bull of May 1487 : Pastor, III, 220-21 ; Polain, 2082, *sq*. In the spring of 1488, he helped Chieregato to bring about an understanding between Charles VIII and Maximilian, prisoner of Bruges, which town had been laid under interdiction by the Archbishop of Cologne, instead of by a French bishop : Pastor, III, 223. He afterwards collected money in Germany for a Crusade in preparation of the congress convened for March 25, 1490 : Pastor, III, 225, *sq* ; PaulTetz., 9, 87, 99, 151 ; his virtuous life and his proved disinterestedness made an excellent impression ; since, moreover, he had made peace between the Emperor and King Matthew Corvinus, of Hungary, he was appointed as bishop of Gurk, near Salzburg, and, recommended by Maximilian, the newly elected Alexander VI created him *Cardinalis S. Mariae Novae* on September 20, 1493 : Pastor, III, 65, 220-21, 319-21 ; Lang, 5. Sent by the Pope to placate Charles VIII in 1494, who was said to have entered Italy to break the simoniac election, and to reform the Church before starting to attack the Turk from Naples, he rather joined the King, with whom he entered Rome on December 31, 1494 : Pastor, III, 338, *sq*, 343, *sq* ; Renaudet, 210, 347 ; Savonarola, I, 287. He bitterly remonstrated with Alexander, who had reinstated him, though, in his dioceses : Savonarola, I, 170, *sq*, 292, 496, II, 1025 ; Pastor, III, 373 ; he followed Charles VIII to Naples, and urged him to start a crusade at once ; to help him, he had obtained, on Sept. 6,

1494, from Andrew Paleologue, an exile in Rome, the transfer of all his claims on Constantinople. Still instead of securing the Empire of the East, the King was spilling his time and his forces, until the *Liga Santa* of March 31, 1495, made him hurry home : *Savonarola*, I, 347, 350, sq. Perauld returned to his diocese, watching all the chances of a Crusade : when, in 1500, it was finally decided, he prevented a legate of Turkey to propose peace : *Pastor*, III, 373, 464-66. In the autumn of 1500, he was sent to preach the Jubilee-indulgence in Germany and the Scandinavian North : *Pastor*, III, 468-69 ; *Geiler*, 246, 248 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 101 ; *Gothein*, 79, sq ; *BeitSchlecht*, 307 ; the produce was to have served for the Holy War, which caused a temporary disagreement with Maximilian, claiming his share : *KkHutVag.*, 240 ; *CMH*, I, 310-11. During his stay in Germany, Perauld had in his service Jerome Emser : *CorpCath.*, IV, 10, 94-5 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 173 ; *BeitSchlecht*, 337 ; as well as John Wacker, Vigilius, afterwards Vicar-General of Worms : *KkHutRef.*, 580-81 ; *Reuchlin*, 43, sq ; *ReuchIE*, 61 ; *PaulTetz.*, 6, 94, ; he made the acquaintance of John Reuchlin ; promoted Conrad Wimpina as Doctor : *Reuchlin*, 53, sq ; *ReuchIE*, 76-77, 79 ; *Wimpina*, 66, 78-85, 208-9 ; *Scheel*, II, 346 ; and installed the Wittenberg University consecrating its church : *Kaufmann*, II, 573, sq ; *Scheel*, II, 333, 340-44 ; *FuggRom*, I, 67, sq ; *KkLuRPFfor.*, 63, 184. He contended courageously to save the large amounts he had gathered from the cupidity of some of his officials, but especially from that of ecclesiastical and civil authorities : *KkHutVag.*, 259 ; *Gothein*, 90-91 ; unfortunately, he was unable to prevent them being used for other things than for the Crusade he longed for : *FuggRom*, I, 41, sq, 185, sq. Still his labour was not lost, for he was before all an apostle : he successfully directed all his efforts and sermons towards the moral improvement of the people : *PaulTetz.*, 125 ; he settled quarrels, reformed convents, and renewed the religious spirit of town and country : *Pastor*, III, 513 ; *KkHutVag.*, 251 ; *WimpfLeb.*, 175, 186, 340. He gave an example of Christian charity and abnegation, in so far that he generously left to others the preferments which the Papal Court granted him : such was the Abbey of Our Lady of Middelburg, of which he received the expectancy in 1499, and which he resigned to Peter a Capella on April 29, 1504 : *Brom*, I, ii, 654, 658, 708 ; *Fruin*, 424. He returned to Rome from Germany in 1504 : *FuggRom*, I, 259, 277, and, suffering for some time he died on September 5, 1505, in his diocese ; as late as January 8, 1506, his decease was ignored at the Papal Court. He was a glory of the Church in those dark days, and, as Jules II said of him : *Erat... rectus et sedi apostolicae admodum utilis* : *Pastor*, III, 65-66 ; *A. Ciaconius, Res Gestae Pontific. & Cardinalium* : Rome, 1677 : III, 172. Cp. J. Schneider, *Die... Wirksamkeit des Legaten Raymond Peraudi* 1486-1505 : Halle, 1882 ; A. Gottlob, *Der Legat Raimund Peraudi* : Munich, 1885 ; C. Bauch, *Leipziger Frühhumanismus* : Leipzig, 1899 : 156-160 ; G. Mehring, *Kardinal Raimund Peraudi als Ablasskommissar 1500-1504* : Jena, 1915 (*Festschrift D. Schäfers*) : 334-409 ; *Anima*, III, sq, 211, 255.

28. — There were further two archdeacons : one of Cambrai, John de Moscheron, of Bruges ¹⁾ ; the other, of Valenciennes, Balthasar de Cordes ²⁾ ; also the Queen of England's chaplain Robert Fisher ³⁾, provost of the Collegiate Church of

¹⁾ *Epp.* 15, b, c, 77, a-b.

²⁾ Balthasar de Cordes, on his return to his native country, entered the service of the Bishop of Tournai whose Official he became; in that capacity he was sent with the provost and the dean and other dignitaries on September 21, 1513, to Emperor Maximilian and King Henry VIII, who had attacked Tournai : Henne, II, 32, *sq.* In the two deeds referring to an action of the Tournai official against an unruly priest, September 4 and November 4, 1517, *CorpInq.*, II, 294-299, his name is not mentioned. Cp. Vos, 295, 392.

³⁾ Robert Fisher, a kinsman of John, the Bishop, went to Paris in the summer of 1497 for his studies ; there he met Erasmus, who tutored him, and probably composed for him the small Latin Grammar based on Valla's *Elegantiae*... intended as a help to a backward English pupil. For certain he wrote for him *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, about March 1498, in which he once more gave as aim the wish to aid somebody's lack of proficiency in Latin : Allen, I, 23, 106, 71, *pr.* Soon after that date, Fisher proceeded to Italy, where he studied jurisprudence, in which he promoted doctor in Padua by 1502. Already in December 1499, when Erasmus wrote to him from London to enliven his zeal : Allen, I, 118, 6-8, he had started acting as agent ; by 1503 he was styled 'Doctor Fysher, the Kyng's solicitor at Rome' : *LPH*7, iv, 5465. He did not stay many years, for on May 10, 1507, he supplicated — and, to all appearances, in vain — to be incorporated in Oxford as 'Doctor beyond the Sea' : Wood, I, 646. The King, whose chaplain he was, provided him on December 18, 1508, with the parish of Chedsay (or Chedzoy) in the diocese of Bath and Wells, Somersetshire : Wood, I, 553 ; and nominated him canon and prebendary of the chapel of St. George, Windsor, on May 18, Rector of Gresforthe, St. Asaph diocese, on November 5, 1509, and provost of the College of Stanethorp, Durham, on January 11, 1510 : Brewer, I, 74, 638, 824. On January 24, 1511 he had resigned the church of Chedsay : Brewer, I, 1442, and on February 17 following, his canonry at Windsor was given to Wolsey: which implies that he had died by then : Allen, I, 62, *pr.* He is evidently distinct from Bishop John Fisher's brother, Robert, a layman, who survived the martyr : Ortroys, 50, 82, 104, 290, 326. — As one of the small treatises written for Robert Fisher was printed by J. Siberch, at Cambridge, in 1521, Erasmus hastened to issue a revised *De Conscribendis Epistolis* at Basle in 1522 : Allen, I, 71, *pr.* ; of the *Elegantiae* an edition, more worthy of the Great Man, was also prepared : it was published in the Basle *Opera* of 1540 : *EraBib.*, I, 55, 152.

Hoveden, — no doubt, Howden, East Riding, Yorkshire, and *custos spiritualitatis* of the Collegiate Church of Hemenburg and its territory — namely, Hemingbrough, five miles from Howden ; finally there were two clerics : Adrian Sandelicus, who became canon of Antwerp ¹⁾, and Michael Picquot of Arras diocese ²⁾ : with most of those fellow-students, who witnessed his triumph, Busleyden kept a lifelong and hearty friendship.

3. APPOINTMENT AND PREFERMENTS

29. — A few months before his promotion, on August 22, 1502, Busleyden lost his brother Francis ³⁾ ; that untimely death deeply affected him, as results from the letters to his friends Ferry de Carondelet ⁴⁾ and William of Enckenvoirt ⁵⁾, who happened to be in Italy. Not only had the deceased proved an affectionate brother and a second father, taking care of Jerome's instruction and education ⁶⁾ : he certainly would have established him safely and prosperously in life. In his destitution, the student of laws threw himself on the generosity and gratitude of Archduke Philip, whom Francis had served with utmost devotedness and skill ⁷⁾ ; nor did he appeal in vain : soon after his return from Italy, the new doctor of laws was appointed councillor and Master of Requests in the Great Council of Mechlin ⁸⁾, when it was re-established by a decree of January 22, 1504, annulling the decree of February 11, 1477, by which Mary of Burgundy had been compelled to suppress it ⁹⁾. It had as president John

¹⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 39, b-c.

²⁾ Neither de Cordes nor Picquot are further mentioned in Busleyden's writings.

³⁾ Cp. before, §§ 4-6.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 7 & 8.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 6.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 5, 6, sq.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 5, 19, sq, 26, sq.

⁸⁾ *MalConC.* 38 ; he had been looking out most eagerly for an appointment after his return, and had applied for help to his old friends : *Epp.* 11, 14 ; *Carm.* xxii.

⁹⁾ Henne, I, 49 ; that Council was to reside in Mechlin ; a smaller one, intended to accompany the Prince, became the 'Privy Council'.

Pieters, and counted five ecclesiastical members : — 1. John Vincent, provost of Cassel, 2. Richard de la Chapelle, 3. John Carondelet, 4. George de Themseke, provost of Harlebeke, 5. Jerome de Busleyden ; it had, besides, ten lay ones : Philip Wielant, Thomas de la Papoire, Fernand de Lucena, John Sucket, Peter l'Apostole, Jerome van den Dorpe, William le Gros, John Guillet, Jean Auxtruyes, and John Roussel, with Pierre Midi, as substitute, and Philip Haneton, as 'audiencier'¹⁾.

30. — About that time, Busleyden entered Holy Orders, or at least decided on an ecclesiastical career, — not without having had at least an experience in wordly life, which ended in grief ²⁾, as he afterwards mentioned in a letter to his friend Adrian Herbouts ³⁾. At any rate, soon after his brother's decease, the Chapter of St. Gudula, Brussels, spontaneously offered to him the office of treasurer ⁴⁾, and that of St. Simon, Treves, a canonry ⁵⁾, both preferments in succession to Francis, who, no doubt, had procured him the office of provost of St. Peter's, at Aire on the Lys, by which title he was generally called during his life. — The sense of deep gratitude towards his brother found an expression in his bent for literature : in the generous atmosphere of the Italian University, he composed an epitaph in the form of an autobiography ⁶⁾. No doubt, he wished to publish it; besides several distichs he

¹⁾ *MalConC*, 11-13.

²⁾ To that incident may refer the following entry in van Vessem's account : *Rek.*, 35, 1 : 'Item betaelt eender lijsken van bruessel dair jnne de testatuer gehouden was vut Redenen dairaf men genoech gejnformeert was by gemeynen accordt xxv £'. — In the margin is added the note about the execution : 'per ordinationem executorum Informatorum de causa' ; cp. further, § 84.

³⁾ About the middle of 1508 : *Epp.* 52, 17-19.

⁴⁾ *Epp.*, 10, 15-23. — Some of the emoluments for it were still due at his death : the account mentions : *Rek.*, 6, 1 : Item ontfaen van adriaenen maroyen ontfangher van des testatuers prouenden ende vander tresorien van bruessel de Reste van zijnder Rekeninghe beghinnende St. Jans[miss]e xvij die hy sculdich bleef xlvij £ iij s.

⁵⁾ That Chapter had as Provost his protector Rudolf von Enschringen, and one of the canons, Peter Jacobi, was his friend : cp. § 5 ; *Epp.* 14, c, 19, b.

⁶⁾ *Carm.* 1.

added a letter to request the reader ¹⁾ to mind, not the outward form of the verses, but the brotherly love that inspired them. Maybe Jerome published along with this poem two other epitaphs : one on the Bishop of Arras, Peter de Ranchicourt, who died on August 26, 1499 ²⁾ ; the other on James Antonii, Vicar-General of Henry de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai ³⁾ ; they were no doubt two of the many favourers and protectors of the young jurispudent.

31. — Preferments came his way soon after he took up his position as councillor : he was appointed canon of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin ⁴⁾, of St. Lambert's, Liége ⁵⁾, of St. Waldetrudis', Mons ⁶⁾, and of Our Lady's, Cambrai ⁷⁾ ; he also was given the parish of Steenberghe, in North Brabant ⁸⁾, and already

¹⁾ *Epp.* 9.

²⁾ *Carm.* II, c, i.

³⁾ *Carm.* II, b, ii.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 6 v : 'Jtem noch ontfaen van ouden Resten diemen den testatuer sculdich was van zijnder prouenden van mechelen van diuersen Jaeren tot St Jansmisse anno xvij xciiij £ vij s iiij d / Jtem ontfaen dabsentie die hem compt ter causen vander seluer prouenden vanden jaere beghinnende sint Jansmisse xvij. als hij Reysde ende dair Jnne hij sterf gedraegende tsamen lxxvij £ xvij s / Jtem ontfaen dabsentie vander seluer prouenden nade doot vanden testatuer die hem schuldich was te volgene gedragende lxxj £ xix s vj d'.

⁵⁾ Possibly the third part of 150 Rh. flor., which the town of Liége owed yearly to Busleyden, may have been the pension due for the canonry in St. Lambert's : *Rek.*, 8 v.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 7 v : 'Jtem vander prebenden van sinte wautruyt tot berghen jn henegouwe dair van den testatuer quam na Rekeninghe dairaf gehouden vanden jaeren xvij ende xvij ontfaen net ij C xxij £ ix s ix d'.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 7 v : 'Jtem noch ontfaen vanden scolaster van camerijcke meester Jan Wailpois ter causen vander prebenden van Camerijcke de Reste comende den sterfhuise bij twee zijn Rekeninghen ouergesonden vanden jaeren xvj ende xvij van zijren ontfanck ende vutgeuenen gedragende de selue Reste soet blijft bijder seluen Rekeninghen hier gethoent tot xix £ iij $\frac{3}{4}$ d art'.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 5 v-6 v : 'Jtem ontfaen by mr. adriaen < Josel > jn afslach vanden schulden diemen sculdich js der executien vander cueren van steenberghe jerst — xxx £. / Item by h. bertholomeeus < van Vessem > opte selue scult noch — ij C £. / Jtem ontfaen vander cueren van steenberghe allet ghene desmen den testatuer sculdich js gebleken nae Rekeninghe gehouden van achterstel van zekeren jaeren

on November 27, 1503, Erasmus, writing to William Herman, referred to him as Archdeacon of Cambrai ¹⁾, namely for the district of Brabant; that office, conferred on him on Oct. 13, 1503 ²⁾, explains the title of 'archdeacon of Brussels' by which he is occasionally designated ³⁾. That considerable number of preferments was hardly an exception in those days, and Busleyden may be fitly compared to Adrian of Utrecht for more than the plurality of their benefices ⁴⁾ : if he came short of the Dean of Louvain in frugality of life and house, although spending more on arts and literature than on himself, he certainly made as good use of the riches gathered from the various prebends, since the *Trilingue* was quite as lofty in its aim, and as beneficent in its working as the *Collegium Adriani Sexti* ⁵⁾. The Mechlin Councillor, for certain, surpassed his friend in disinterestedness, for whereas Adrian appears to have been most eager in the claiming of his rights in contestations about some preferment or other ⁶⁾, Busleyden desisted from pursuing

hangende aen diverse pachteneeren van zijne thienden aldair gedragende nae vuytwijzen van eender compositien dairaf gemaect met anthonijs van etten secretaris vander stadt van steenberghe bouen de betalinghe voirs. dair op gedaen ende quijtschellinghen van zekeeren partijen oncrijchbaer de somme van iiij C lxxvj *£ art'*.

¹⁾ Louvain, November 27 <, 1503 > : Allen I, 178, 11-15 : archidiaconus Cameracensis : evidently meaning, not the district, but the diocese, of Cambrai, which was divided into many archdeaconries.

²⁾ *CamChrist.*, 388.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 7 r-v : Vanden seluen scolaster <van camerijck meester jan Wailpois> noch ontfæen een Reste vander prouenden van camerijck vors. ende vanden archiadenscap van bruessel dairaf hy administracie hadde jn dat quartier na vutwijs zynder Rekeninghen gedragende... xx *£* xij s viij *d* / Jtem van heeren Jan van Ekelen prochæen van sinte Katherijnen tot mechelen vanden Jnstituten bij hem geexpedieert als vicarijs vanden testatuer archidiaken van bruessel... sindert... mayo anno xvij... gedragende xlij *£* xvj s / Vanden landdecken van bruessel ontfæen dat hij sculdich bleef bij zijnder Rekeninghen gedaen tot camerijck te bamesse anno xvij vanden emolumenten compererende den testatuer van ascensionis domini eodem anno totten daghe van zijnder afliuicheit gelijk de vicarissen van camerijck die getaxeert hebben opte voirs. Rekeninghe xiiij *£* iiij s j3 *d'*.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 21, b, sq.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 76, a-e, 81, a-c, 213, f, 258, b ; *FUL*, 2471, sq ; *ULDoc.*, III, 197 ; &c.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 118, b, 141, c-g, q, 228, f.

his title at least in two cases. In 1497, at the death of Peter Basin, canon of St. Donatian's, in Bruges, he was appointed as his successor to the fourth prebend in that church, and, as newly-appointed canon, he even paid the tax of 2 *£. gr.* in favour of a house for the choir-boys ¹⁾. Still he left the prebend to Louis Barradot, Dean of Cassel and Courtrai, and Canon of Anderlecht, who occupied it from 1497 to 1510 ²⁾. On February 7, 1500, the canons of Our Lady's, Bruges, chose him as successor to the provost John of Burgundy, who had died on January 25 before; unfortunately Philip the Fair had, on February 5, ordered the Chapter to confer that dignity on his chaplain Louis de Veyere, and convened a meeting to that effect on March 22. Still the Chapter persisted in the original choice; it was Busleyden who, after some negotiations, resigned the provostry on November 10, 1500 in favour of de Veyere, who in return made over to him the chaplaincy of the high altar in the oratory of the Count of Flanders ³⁾, which belonged to his office of archducal chaplain ⁴⁾. Of that benefice there does not seem to be any further mention in connection with the future Councillor's life.

32. — The provostry of Aire, Busleyden's chief ecclesiastical attribution, had been conferred upon him on February 17, 1500 by the Chapter, who generally chose a personage eminent by his achievements or his family, and, most probably, the influence of the Archbishop of Besançon had been conclusive ⁵⁾. He succeeded to John of Burgundy (1482-1500), the natural son of Philip the Good, provost of Bruges and St. Omer ⁶⁾. Although he was not entitled to take part in the deliberations of the Chapter, the provost of Aire enjoyed large powers: he had a right to appoint the canons when a vacancy occurred

¹⁾ Receptum in receptione Mgri Jeronimi de Busleiden successoris quondam D. Petri Basin XL s. gr.: 'Accounts of the *Chorales* 1495-97: Schrevel, I, 45. ²⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 117.

³⁾ Viz., ad majus altare capelle domus seu curie comitis Flandriae.

⁴⁾ *Acta Capituli Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Febr. 5 and 7, March 22 and November 10, 1500), Schrevel, I, 260; *BrugInscr.*, II, xi.

⁵⁾ *Acta Capituli Sti. Petri* (1500), 162, r; 166, r: report of the election, sent for approval to Philip of Luxemburg, Bp of Thérouanne.

⁶⁾ *AireSP.*, 82, 90: Busleyden was succeeded by John Rickelin.

amongst the fourteen, and Busleyden no doubt made use of that privilege to appoint his faithful 'factor' van Vessem ¹⁾. The provost, as the very first ecclesiastical person, occupied

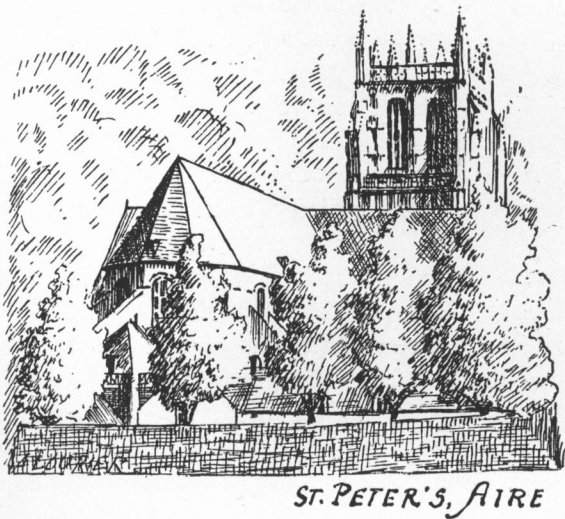


the foremost place in all functions ; he was expected to officiate on the chief feasts in the year, and to administer the last Sacraments to the canons and the other *suppositi* of the Chapter. He was, on the other hand, bound to give them every year two meals, *pastus*, one on Palm Sunday and the

¹⁾ Van Vessem contemplated starting his residence at St. John's feast 1518 : *Rek.*, 29, r.

other on White Thursday ; and once during his career he had to offer a cope to the church : his predecessor had omitted that part of his duty : so his heirs had, in 1502, to pay the value, 50 £¹⁾. Usually the provosts did not reside, and Busleyden's office in the Prince's service, constituted an unobjectionable excuse ; yet he had a *vicarius* to take his place, and he kept the provostry-house in good order ²⁾. The dean in function, John Derville, a scholar and a literator, hastened to get into correspondence with his Provost soon after his return to the Netherlands ³⁾.

33. — No letters survive that refer to his connection with the Aire Chapter ; yet it is more than likely that the Mechlin



Councillor was duly kept informed. The spirit of the community seems to have been very good, for, when in 1512 the priest Fremault, entrusted with the care of one of the two parishes, wanted to free himself from the Chapter's authority, because he had been liberated of that of the Théroutanne archdeacon, he was compelled to full obedience ⁴⁾. The canons took great care of the fine building that was St. Peter's : it wanted

¹⁾ *AireSP.*, 84-85 ; P. Bertin, *Aire-sur-la-Lys* : Arras, 1947 : 81, sq.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 36, v. ; cp. further, §§ 80, 88.

³⁾ *Epp.* 13, b, and *Epp.* 17 and 18.

⁴⁾ Possibly Fresnault : *AireSP.*, 206-207.

repairing, so they allowed, on May 25, 1515, four 'clerici' to transport and expose the relics of their treasury in various places, in order to collect the necessary money ¹⁾. As the old manuscript choirbooks were worn, it was decided, in 1514, to have a breviary printed; it was made ready and used, as the preface said, on the authority of the Provost, of the Dean and the Chapter ²⁾. Without doubt it was only through his friend the Dean that Busleyden knew of it, for it is most probable that, in his all too short career, he never personally went to Aire; at any rate when he bequeathed to 'his' church the big cross which had belonged to his brother the Archbishop, and expressed the wish to have it used as a shrine for a relic of the Holy Rood, he could only refer to it in his will from hearsay: 'quia in eadem Ariensi Ecclesia magnam aliquam particulam gloriosæ crucis... esse intelligo' ³⁾.

34. — Different from most of his contemporaries, Busleyden did not indulge in absenteeism for mere sloth: it is a fact that he did his work of Councillor most conscientiously. As he was very young, he tried from the very beginning of his career, to enrich by every possible means the knowledge that he had acquired by his study of laws, and to make up for his lack of experience by appealing to that of others. His first letters, to be true, were addressed to fellow-students, but from the few that have been preserved, it appears that he cultivated the acquaintance of men who had spent a long lifetime in the government of the country: like the Chancellor of Burgundy, Thomas de Plaine ⁴⁾; or in the service of their Prince, like Nicaise de Hackenay, the chief marshal of Philip of Austria's household ⁵⁾. It was evidently his earnest desire to deepen and widen his juridical knowledge that made him knit up familiar friendship with his eminent colleagues Peter l'Apostole, his former professor of laws, whose books he borrowed ⁶⁾, and with the great authority on feudal, civil

¹⁾ *AireSP.*, 229, 374-75.

²⁾ *AireSP.*, 221-223.

³⁾ *Will.* 74, sq; cp. further, § 80.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Epp.*, 11, b-c.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Epp.*, 4, b.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Epp.*, 20, b, c.

and criminal jurisprudence particular to our provinces, Philip Wielant ¹⁾).

35. Even more beneficent to him was the intimate affection which connected him with two men of prudent sagacity and deep insight in human affairs, the bishop of Arras, Nicolas Ruterius ²⁾, who had been his brother's great friend and protector ³⁾, and the wary, wise dean of St. Rombaut's, John Robbyns ⁴⁾. That there are no letters in his correspondence from or to those two great mentors, is evidently due to the circumstance that he met them day by day in Mechlin. From the former he inherited his splendid Missal and Pontifical — perhaps an old present returned as keepsake ⁵⁾ ; — and the latter is constantly mentioned in the account of his will for having rendered great services both to the testator and to his executors ⁶⁾. Busleyden evidently intended his institution to benefit fully by his friend's great experience when he chose him as the chief artisan to build up the *Trilingue* ; even after events precluded any acting as proper executor, the incipient College largely profited by Robbyns' wisdom, as its founder had done all along his career ⁷⁾.

36. — An example of Busleyden's eagerness in his pursuit of knowledge and experience, is provided by his letter to James de Blasere. This Councillor for Flanders pronounced a most remarkable speech in Paris Parliament in the spring

¹⁾ Cp. *Epp.*, 25, b, c.

²⁾ Cp. *Epp.*, 17, b-d.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 4.

⁴⁾ John Robbyns had been in Nicolas Ruterius' service when he was appointed dean of Mechlin in 1501. He was the organiser of the Arras College, which Ruterius founded in Louvain on Sept. 15, 1508, and afterwards of the College which his intimate friend Adrian VI established (Nov. 8, 1523). With his other intimate friend Erasmus, he greatly assisted Busleyden's executors in the creation of the *Trilingue*. He died on December 28, 1532, making ample bequests to the College of Arras and to the *Trilingue* : *Cran.*, xlv-vi, 17, a-c, 20, a, 95, b ; *FUL*, 2401, 2732, &c ; *MonHL*, 356, 390-91 ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1, xvii ; Allen, 1, 178, 7 ; cp. further, §§ 53, 71, 76, 78, 80, 92.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Will*, 197, sq ; and further, §§ 43, 47, 82, 87.

⁶⁾ E. g., *Rek.*, 5, r, 20, v, 24, r, 28, r, 35, v.

⁷⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1, sq ; *Rek.*, 48, r-51, r, 88, r, v ; Allen, III, 805, pr ; and further, §§ 78, 88, 92.

of 1506 on the occasion of a lawsuit between Philip the Fair, as Count of Flanders, and Louis XII, as his liege lord, about some rights which had not been claimed for centuries ; Busleyden requested and obtained from him the text of that most interesting juridical document ¹⁾. — From the very beginning of his career as Councillor, he took his share and played his part in the most intricate political struggle between Philip the Fair on one side, his father Maximilian, and his father-in-law Ferdinand on the other, for the sake of the peace and the security of his Burgundian states ²⁾. The friendly alliance with Louis XII of France, which had crossed the wishes of both parents, averted for a welcome time the danger of hostile incursions by Charles of Gelderland, and gave at least an expectation of tranquillity. Unfortunately the death of Queen Isabel of Castile, November 24, 1504, completely upset the situation. It brought Ferdinand into an alliance with Louis XII of France and with Henry VII of England, in the hope of securing the Kingdom of Castile where Philip had hastened to have himself proclaimed as Isabel's successor : for having up to then taken to heart only the interests of the Netherlands, he now had to postpone them, at least for a time, to make sure of the realm beyond the Pyrenees for which he embarked on January 10, 1506 ³⁾.

37. — A few weeks before, in the winter months of 1505-1506, Philip of Austria sent an embassy to Pope Julius II to congratulate him on his election and coronation, and to express his obedience. He had been prevented from doing so before by his illness, by his mother-in-law's decease, and by the various difficulties with which he had had to contend. Busleyden, one of the delegates, was entrusted with the honour of delivering the formal speech before the Pope and the College of Cardinals ⁴⁾. He aptly used the very delay in sending the legation of obedience as a concomitant proof of his Prince's deepest and staunchest attachment to the Holy See ⁵⁾.

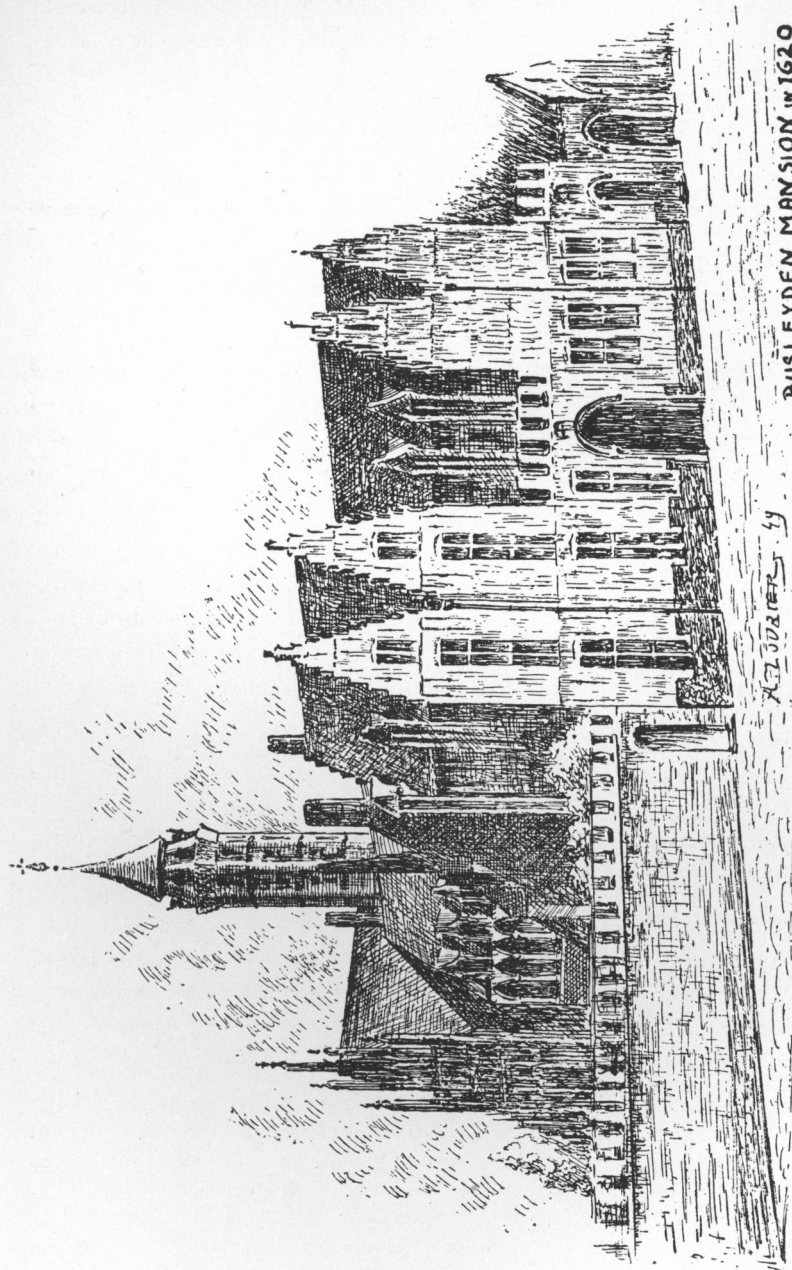
¹⁾ *Epp.* 37.

²⁾ Moeller, 222.

³⁾ Pirenne, III, 66-69 ; Altamira, II, 398, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *Orat.* B.

⁵⁾ *Orat.* B, 25-47, 108-111.



BUSLEYDEN MANSION IN 1620

ALZOUZERS 49

4. THE MECHLIN MANSION

38.— Busleyden returned in the beginning of 1506 and took up once more his office as fifth ecclesiastical councillor in the Great Council of Mechlin ¹⁾. Settling in that town, in the house which no doubt Francis de Busleyden had acquired, he bought from his brothers the shares they had inherited in that property, and some neighbouring ground from strangers ²⁾; he thus formed a site in St. John's Parish, opening on Cow Street as well as on St. John Street, and had an magnificent mansion built by Arnold de Wreede ³⁾. The part of the building in Cow Street only showed a couple of gable fronts, one on each side of the principal entrance. The wing advancing towards the South into a garden, was conceived in a highly decorative style, having a gallery or a kind of loggia, with balusters and a colonnade as well on the first, as on the ground, floor, unto which openend the doors of the various apartments. With the elegant gable flanking it on the left, and with, behind it, an octogonal tower crowned by a baluster from which rises a slender spire, the building evokes the light and lofty Italian monuments rather than the severe and heavy habitations of our sterner climate. The house was ready and furnished by 1507, at least the chief part, for it was afterwards constantly enlarged by additions constructed on ground successively acquired: even a few weeks before he left on his fatal journey, Busleyden had bought not only two adjoining houses ⁴⁾, but also a large amount of beams, rafters and timber

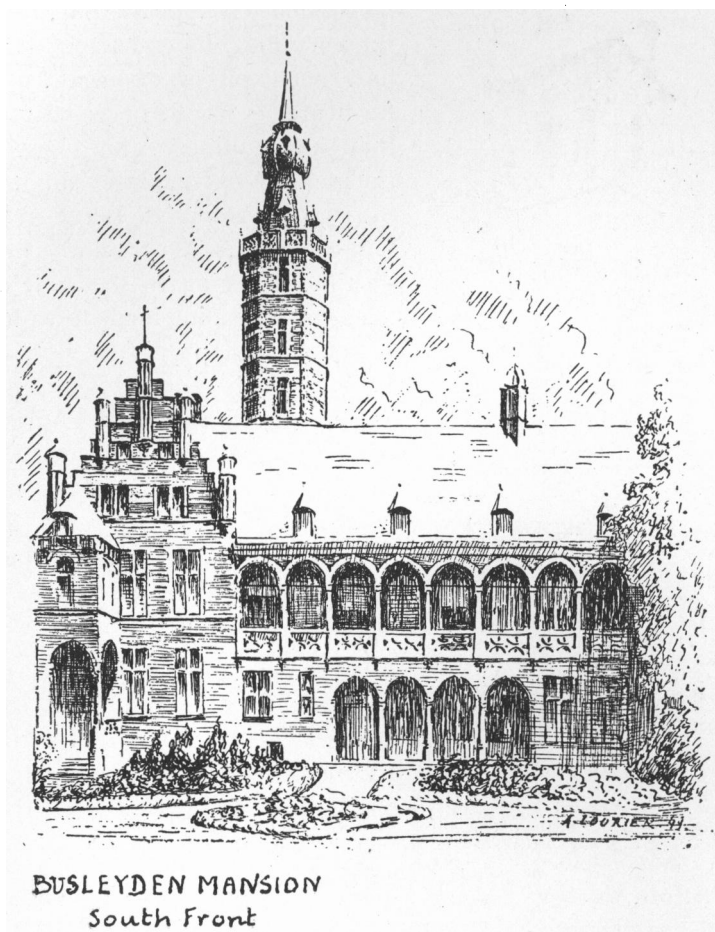
¹⁾ *MalConC*, 37; Moeller, 84-86. — From the various items in van Vessem's account it appears that as councillor, Busleyden was paid one pound, or 20 shillings, every day: *Rek.*, 6 *r*: Jtem ontfaen vuyt handen van meester lambrecht van der Ee griffier de gagien van wijlen den testatuer als ordinaris Raidt jnden grooten Raidt van mechelen van ix Januarij anno xvj totten xxiiijen dach Junij anno xvij elcks sdaighs xx *st.* viz. afgetrocken xx *st.* voer den wijn van den Rentmeester ende x *st.* voer den wijn vanden clerck des voirs. griffirs jC lxx £ x s <viz., for 167 days 167 £ less 1 £ 10 s = 165 £ 10 s>.

²⁾ Cp. *Will*, 103, sq.

³⁾ That same able craftsman afterwards built the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain: *HisTriLov.*, chapt. v.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 2 v-3v.

as ready materials ¹⁾; and it results from the deed of the execution of his will that he was still owing money to his builder de Wreede for work recently executed ²⁾. Although it suffered



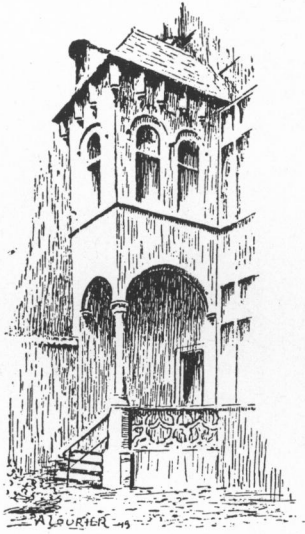
heavily from the wear and tear of time, and, even more, from the 1914-1918 war, the mansion is still in use and is rightly considered as one of the gems of architecture of the town ³⁾.

¹⁾ They were bought by John le Sauvage's widow, who purchased the mansion : *Rek.*, 2 v.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 28 r, 102 r.

³⁾ *MalGod.*, 340-345 ; Moeller, 38-39, 85, sq.

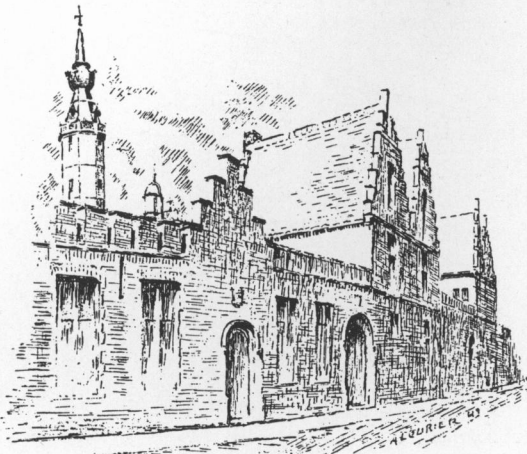
39. — It was natural for Busleyden to arrange the interior of his mansion in full accordance with the beauty of its archi-



BUSLEYDEN MANSION
Porch South

tectural features. From his correspondence it appears that, from the very first, he endeavoured to find such pieces of ornamental furniture as would be worthy of their surroundings. A fine chest in the home of his friend the Abbot of St. Bertin, Antony de Berghes ¹⁾, had caught his fancy, and he lost no time in trying to secure it at all costs, appealing for help to his secretary and physician Sylvius Italicus ²⁾. To adorn his hospitable table, he applied to Adrian Sandelicus, his fellow-student of the Padua days, who had become dean of Our Lady's, Antwerp³⁾, for a highly ornamented Bacchus-cup

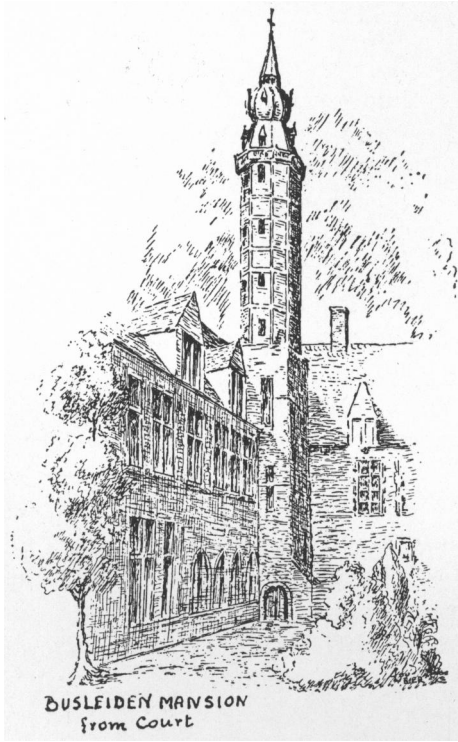
to be ordered from an able craftsman, who kept him in eager excitement for several months ⁴⁾. The rest of the furniture was evidently quite as choice, judging from the distichs with which clock and bed, looking-glass and table were honoured ⁵⁾, and from the several artists mentioned in the report of the executors for not having been paid for their exertions on Busleyden's behalf ⁶⁾ : those references in



BUSLEYDEN MANSION
East Entrance

¹⁾ *Epp.* 45, c. ²⁾ *Epp.* 45, 13-23. ³⁾ *Epp.* 39, b-c. ⁴⁾ *Epp.* 39 to 44.
⁵⁾ *Carm.* XXI, i-v. ⁶⁾ Cp. further, §§ 46, sq.

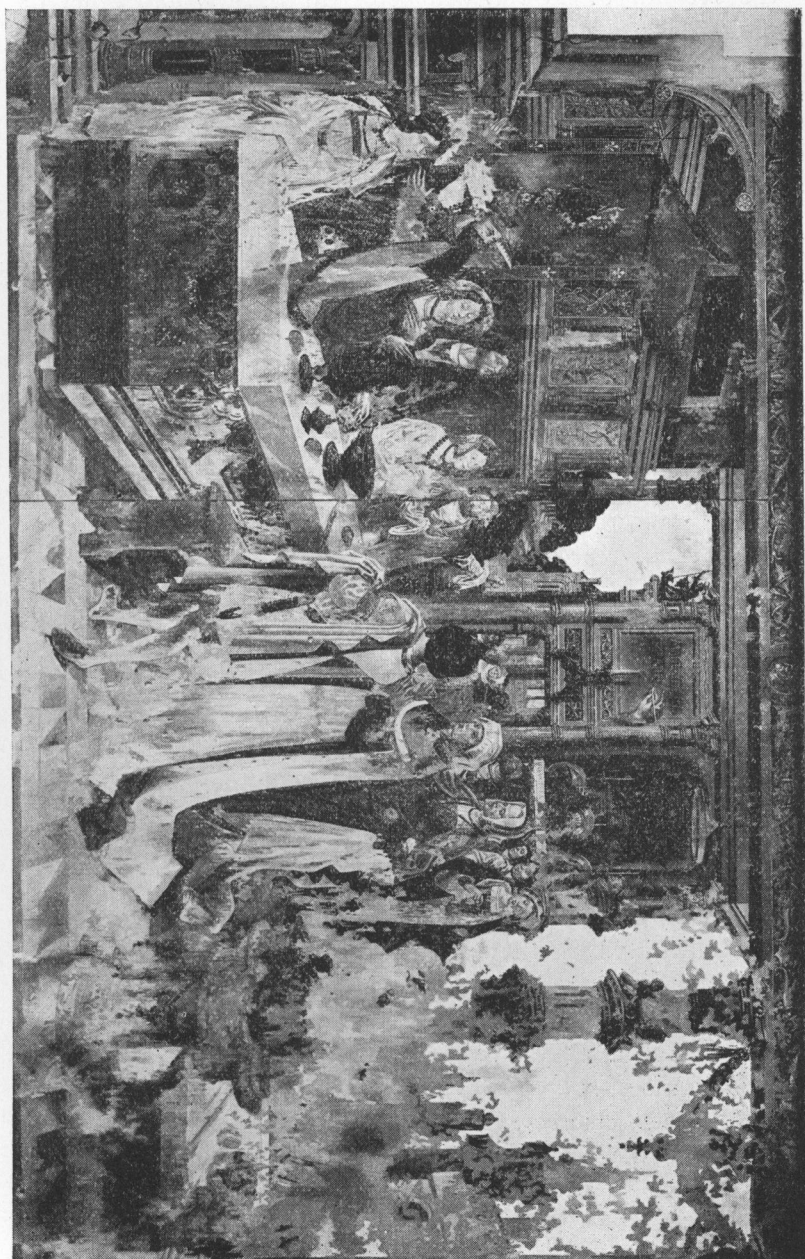
the account of the inheritance of the wealthy and generous prelate suggest that the works of art that were duly paid for,



were far more numerous. Amongst them rank foremost the frescoes on the walls of his *hypocaustum*: they no doubt were inspired by all that he had seen and admired in Italy: for they had been entrusted to painters who had been schooled and trained beyond the Alps, namely to John Gossart, of Mabuse, and, most probably, to James de Barbari. One of those frescoes represents Baltasar's Banquet, with Daniel explaining the mysterious writing on the wall ¹). The three words written

and the hand that keeps the style at the last letter of PHARES, are in the middle of the picture at the top, under the head of 'IVSTIN...ÆSAR S C' in a medallion of the frieze; the part of the wall on which they appear has a sconce and candle in front, and is over a door, by which several persons are going to enter. It is between a window giving a vista of a park with a pond and an alley of trees, on one side, and, on the other, a lofty recess where are stored highly ornamented vases, candlesticks, chalices, cruets and plates, — no doubt part of the treasure robbed from the Temple: the linen cover on which they stand has in front an inscription, of which only

¹) It is the one on the northern wall of the room; it is attributed to James de Barbari: cp. § 46.



'REVOHIA...' is visible : indeed the paint has peeled off on the right side, so that only a column of the hall and the outline of distant buildings with turrets are vaguely distinguished ¹⁾).

40.—A table, — or rather a decorative counter, — covered with a white cloth, extends to the left ; it has several fine



Jerome de BUSLEYDEN as Daniel
from the Banquet of Baltasar

vases besides some small loaves and a knife. Behind it the bearded Baltasar, wearing a kind of tiara, is standing between two splendidly dressed ladies, looking at the inscription ; two men and another lady in fine clothes are also the guests at that table, in front of which a page is seen carrying a high and narrow vase. A little farther before the table, a personage wearing a hood and a mantle with an ample train, evidently meant to represent Daniel, addresses Baltasar, and moves hands and fingers in his eager explanation. Next to him stands a noble lady in a highly ornate robe and a long trailing mantle, attended by younger ladies ;

most probably she represents the Queen, Baltasar's mother, who, according to the Bible ²⁾, entered the hall on hearing of the strange event, and advised sending for Daniel : the

¹⁾ Below, almost on a level with the floor of the banqueting hall, there is, to the right of the column, a white flat surface like that of a table with a napkin, or of a thick slab ; near the right edge a personage is lying on it on his back, with his hands on his head and the only leg visible pulled up : possibly Phaeton : *Carm.* xx, iv, ₃ ; cp. § 41.

²⁾ Daniel, v, 10, sq.

artist apparently represented her as introducing the prophet to her son and his guests. The Queen wears a small crown on her white hood which is adorned by a straight black ribbon and a string of pearls : that white hood joined to the pleated wimple, was the symbol of widowhood, which Margaret of Austria affected the whole of her life. Nor is there any doubt about the likeness of the Queen painted here and Charles of Austria's aunt, especially as she is known from Gossart's or d'Orley's picture, or those adorning the stained-glass windows of her wonderful church at Brou ¹⁾. That impersonating of Mechlin's well-beloved



Princess in the chief lady of this fresco, suggests that, as a match, the first

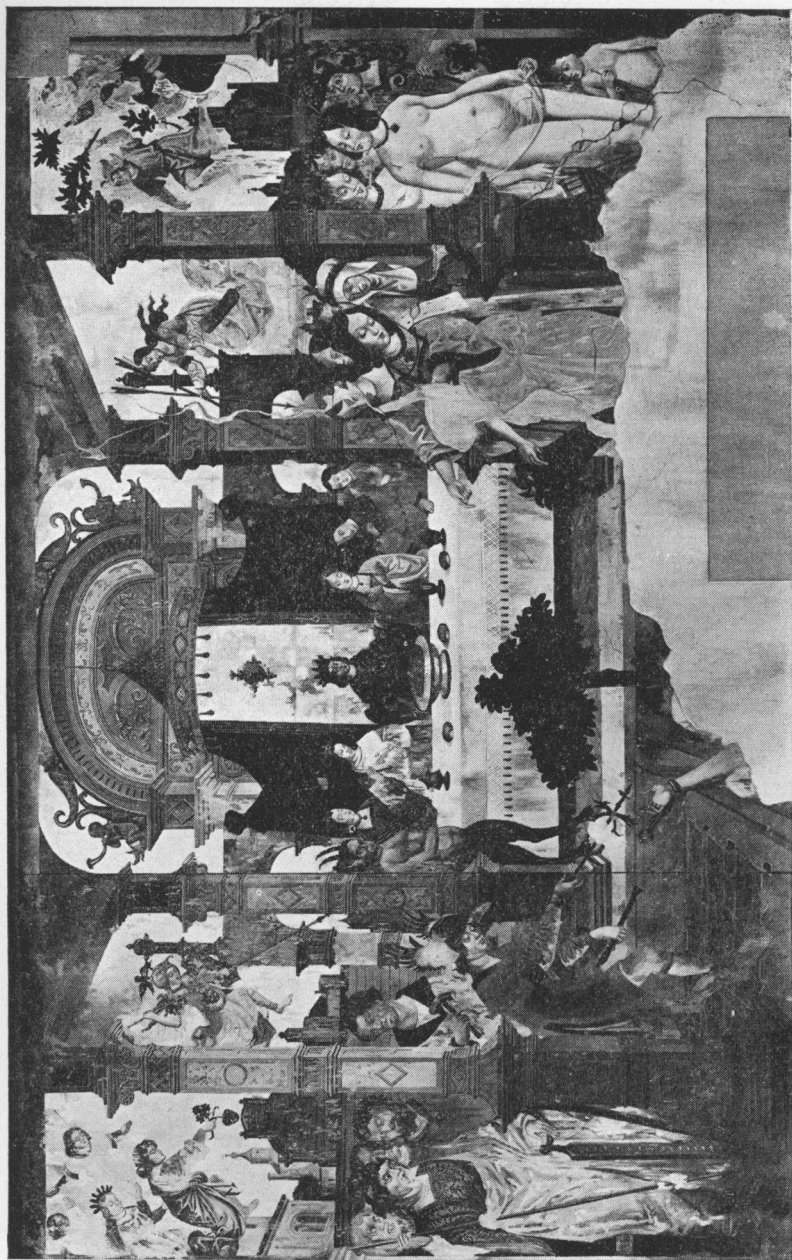
*Margaret of Austria as the King's Mother
from the Banquet of Baltasar*

male character may be expected to represent the features of the master of the mansion : if a painter could fancy the prophet of Israel with the sharp chin, the deep lying eyes, and the strongly marked cheek-bones, which characterize Busleyden as he is known from his fine portrait ²⁾, it can certainly not be called an accident that the Daniel of the Bible appears in the ample ermin bordered scarlet mantle and with the heavy gold chain of the Mechlin Councillors ³⁾.

¹⁾ *MarguOK*, 203, 211.

²⁾ The story of that portrait is related elsewhere.

³⁾ Cp. p. 55



41. — The second large fresco on the southern side, opposite that of Baltasar's feast, shows a different hand ¹⁾ by the uniformity and absence of liveliness from the scene, by the heavier dresses and the far less picturesque, almost identical, faces. It represents as well the feast to which Tantulus invited the gods, as his dire punishment. In the middle of the painting, at a good distance from the foreground, is the table of honour behind two columns, against one of which a satyr stands piping. At the back in the middle of the table is seated a crowned Jupiter between Juno and Minerva ; there are three other deities sitting at the board, and they all seem struck at the sight of the contents of a large, deep plate, in front of the principal personage, — no doubt, the body of the child Pelops prepared as a dish. Between the three columns of each side, leading up to the festive table, personages are flying over roofs and turrets towards the meeting-place, gods and goddesses with their attributes : Diana with darts and holster, to the right, Mars with shield and spear, to the left. Half of the foreground, right, is taken up by a kind of tank, of which only a small corner subsists : it shows a hand fettered to a ring in the border, and a small tree with apples — no doubt, Tantalus' punishment. To the left several gods are looking with disdain at the cruel person in the tank : Mercury, Vulcan, Apollo and others ; whereas to the right, behind the tank, are several disgusted-looking goddesses, amongst whom Ceres and the naked Venus with Cupid are easily identified. — Both those paintings are sadly damaged ²⁾, but others are hardly recognizable : from distichs which Busleyden composed on them, ³⁾ it follows that they comprized Scævola burning his hand, Phaeton falling from the chariot of the Sun, Demades defying Dionysius the Tyrant : what remains of those glories of the past was covered with whitewash and plaster, when they were found by a happy accident in the spring of 1860 when the building was restored : they set the minds of artists

¹⁾ Probably that of John de Mabuse : cp. p. 57.

²⁾ *Carm.* xx, iv, 1-2, 11-14, xxiv.

³⁾ *Carm.*, xx, iv, 3-10.

and critics at work. ¹⁾ — Of other ornamentation, nothing but the allusions in Busleyden's writings or in his records remains: there were several stained-glass windows adorned with subjects or inscriptions, three in the *hypocaustum*, and nine in the *triclinium* or dining-hall ²⁾. Judging from the accompanying distichs, this latter series comprized the representations of the five powers, of which each overcomes its predecessor and is conquered in its turn by the one that comes next in the order: Love, Chastity, Death, Fame and Time: this last one is finally vanquished by the sixth, Eternity, the only ultimate victor. The six struggles and victories represented, as well as the describing distichs, were suggested by the six *Triumphs* of Petrarca, to whose inspiration are due several of the famous Triumphs by Renaissance artists, like those by Titian and Raphael. The sixth *Trionfo* is repeated in a seventh window, dedicated to the *Summum Bonum*, God; and, to make up the number nine, a picture of the Poet of Vaucluse was added, and one of Busleyden's patron-saint, St. Jerome ³⁾.

42. — One of the great ornaments of Busleyden's mansion was the fine organ which was placed in the large room over the portal. It was of a size and an amplitude of sound which made it a fit ornament of St. Rombaut's Church, where it was removed to after his death to serve for the Masses and services of the Brethren of the Blessed Sacrament ⁴⁾. It certainly ranked

¹⁾ H. Coninckx, *Les Fresques de l'Hôtel Busleyden à Malines*: Mechlin, 1899. A full-sized reproduction adorns the Museum of the *Cinquantenaire*, Brussels.

²⁾ *Carm.* xx, v, vi: the nine subjects on the windows of the *triclinium* may have been made after the patterns which, in return of services, were offered to 'Henry in the Gilt Head', according to the entry in van Vessem's account: *Rek.*, 100, 1: 'Item Henricke jnt gulden hoot te mechlen voer zekere diensten gegeven negen patroonen van glazen op doeck beworpen'.

³⁾ Burckhardt, 132, 357-59, 370; K. Förster, *Francesco Petrarca's Canzonnen, Sonette, Ballaten und Triumphs*: Leipzig, 1833: 494, sq.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 25 1: 'Item geleuert den brueders van den heylighen Sacramente van sinte Rombouts te mechelen de orgelen des testateurs die jn zijn zale bouen tportael gemaect waeren der voirs bruederscap gemaect by zijnen testamente met hondert gouden guldenen dair toe om die af te doene ende inde kercke te stellen... Cp. further, § 80.

very high in the estimation of the proud owner, who had one of his chamberlains, Bartholomew van Vessem, trained by his brother Arnold, canon of Tongerlo Abbey, so as to be able to play the instrument. When the work of art was ready in his mansion, Busleyden invited both brothers to come and listen to the 'organa illa præclara... : Opus sane uti rarum, mirificum, ita et mea quidem sententia passim memorandum' ¹⁾. He added that it had been manufactured by a craftsman of Nuremberg, *Noricus*, who had invented it most ingeniously and had cleverly built it : 'a Germano quodam Norico magno ingenio inuenta, mira arte faberrime absoluta' ²⁾. Most probably the new instrument was provided with new 'registrations' by means of the spring-box, allowing to manipulate various sets of pipes, singly or in optional groups, through the medium of one manual ; or it may have had a new set of wooden pipes or reed stops producing new varieties of tone-colour, — or any other innovation in which organ-builders take a natural pride ³⁾, though there does not seem to have been any proper invention in the building during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Busleyden had bought that organ through the help of his friend Nicasius Hackenay, the marshal of the Prince's household ⁴⁾, who had placed an order for it for some time going, and had promised again and again the delivery of the *regale organum* so eagerly wished for. Finally Busleyden sent a reliable man, in the summer of 1506, to Cologne where Hackenay was then on a visit, to request the long promised instrument : 'ad me deferendum dabis', he wrote, 'regale illud organum toties et tam perseveranter a te mihi promissum' ⁵⁾. That intervention of Hackenay, a native of Cologne, suggests that the maker of the organ was connected with that town ; it points out Hans Suys, — also called Sweys, or Zues, — the leading man in that craft in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century ; he was established at Nuremberg, but he had also a shop at Co-

¹⁾ *Epp.* 35, 32-36.

²⁾ *Epp.* 35, 33-35.

³⁾ Cp. Grégoir, 173.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 4, b, c.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 28, 17-19.

logne. No doubt he brought to our provinces the technique of the makers of the Rhine lands, and Busleyden was the channel. For certain his organ was shown to a friend like Adrian Sandelicus, the dean of Our Lady's, Antwerp, who had provided the huge, fine Bacchus-cup, which an Antwerp artist probably finished in 1508 ¹⁾. It is only natural that, when one year later, the organ-builder Daniel van Distelen proved unable to make the organ for Our Lady's which he had undertaken to provide, the dean availed himself of the experience of his Mechlin friend. At any rate, Suys accepted on June 7, 1509 to provide the organ for 650 gold florins, stating in the deed that the pipes should lead up to the length of eight feet, and that he was to introduce new instruments and voices never heard before in an organ ²⁾. The final receipt of Oct. 20, 1514 expressed full satisfaction, and mentioned that Suys had left Antwerp ³⁾. The famous craftsman finished also a new organ for St. Kunibert's, Cologne, in that same year, whereas in 1516 he provided one for St. Nicholas', Kalkar, and was also at work in Strassburg Cathedral ⁴⁾. The description of the build of the instruments of Antwerp and Kalkar make it most likely that Busleyden did not revel without reason in his acquisition, although further information is lacking : it was bequeathed to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament with the obligation of saying a prayer for his soul every time it was used. It was provided with a fine screen adorned with

¹⁾ Cp. §§ 39, 83 ; *Epp.* 39 to 44.

²⁾ Grégoir, 173, 182-183. The organ had been ordered in 1505 by Diego de Haro and Carst van Estbeemden, 'masters' or managers of the Guild of Our Lady, to Daniel van (der) Distelen for 650 gold florins. As after four years the work was not executed, it was entrusted to Hans Suys, who accepted it on June 7, 1509 ; a smithy and helpers, as well as the necessary materials were placed at his disposal ; he was paid as the work advanced, and since it gave pleasure, he was offered 50 gold florins extra, as well as a present for his wife. Cp. *Epp.* 35, 33, sq.

³⁾ J. A. Stellfeld, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Orgelen Clavecimbel-bouwers in de XV^e en XVI^e Eeuw* : Antwerp, 1942.

⁴⁾ L. de Bondt, *Histoire de l'Orgue* : Brussels, 1924 ; Grove, *Dictionary of Music* ; Grégoir, 173, 182-183 ; A. Vente, *Bouwstoffen tot de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Orgel in de XVI^e Eeuw* : Utrecht, 1942 ; Nelsbach, *Studien zur Geschichte des Orgelbaus in Köln* (in *Zeitschr. für Instrumentalbau* : 1).

the pyx held up by two angels over the donor's crest ¹⁾ : it did not survive the sack of 1580 ²⁾.

43. — Of all the treasures Busleyden had gathered about him, none was apparently as dear to him as the fine collection of books stored in his library, a room which he had consecrated by an inscription ³⁾. Some of them were in French, either on paper or vellum ; some were manuscripts richly bound in silk, with silver clasps, and fine illuminations ⁴⁾, such as the 'Missale pulchrum et opulentum' with the correspondent Pontifical, which had belonged to Nicolas Ruterius, Bishop of Arras ⁵⁾. Still the most valuable part of the Library was the set of Latin, Greek and even Hebrew books, no doubt brought from Italy, and constantly enriched ⁶⁾ ; later on they became the ornament of the *Trilingue* both by their number and their worth ⁷⁾. In that set the manuscripts on vellum were so numerous that, at his death, they filled a large trunk when they were sent to Louvain ⁸⁾ ; they comprized several most important *codices* : amongst them the histories of Titus-Livius ⁹⁾, the works of Prudentius ¹⁰⁾ and of Ocellus

¹⁾ Cp. further § 80.

²⁾ G. van Doorslaer, *Historische Aanteekeningen betreffende de Orgels in St. Romboutskerk te Mechelen* : Mechlin, 1924.

³⁾ *Carm.* xx, iii.

⁴⁾ According to the prescriptions of the *Will*, 180, *sq.*, 197, *sq.*, those beautiful manuscripts and the French books were sold along with the furniture : cp. further, §§ 87, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Cp. *Will*, 197, *sq.* ; also before, § 35, and further, §§ 47, 87.

⁶⁾ In the account of the execution of the will is mentioned that some books provided by Henry Bosbas, bookseller of Antwerp, were still unpaid : 'Jtem betaelt henrick bosbas librier tot andwerpen dien de testateur schuldich was van boecken van hem gehadt by certificacie van M. adriaen Josel x £ x s' : *Rek.*, 35, *v.*

⁷⁾ The printed books sent to Louvain at Busleyden's death filled three large hampers : cp. further, § 87, and *HisTriLov.*, chapt. x.

⁸⁾ *Rek.* 98 *r* : 'Jtem betaelt van vrachte van een groete stercke kiste den sterfhuys toebehoorende met allen den gescreuen boeken jn perkement daerjnne gesloten te wagen besteet om tot louen te vuerene int collegie.

⁹⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xiv, xxiv.

¹⁰⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xxiv : this manuscript survived till August 1914, when it perished in the University Library at the famous fire.

Lucanus ¹⁾, and even a Hebrew document ²⁾, all of which became the subjects of studies by professors and disciples, who often refer in their works to the *Codices Buslidianæ* ³⁾. There was finally a most remarkable collection of antiquities, chiefly coins and medals; it had been started most probably by Francis de Busleyden, and divided at his death amongst his brothers Jerome and Valerian; at any rate, they were bequeathed to Valerian's son — without any clause cancelling the bequest at the recipient's death: hence Valerian's widow claimed them, and they were handed to her at her request ⁴⁾.

* * *

44. — Busleyden's mansion and all its treasures had the good fortune to find an enthusiastic admirer in Thomas More, who, later on, took it as an example, if not as a model, when he built himself his famous home at Chelsea ⁵⁾; on his embassy to the Netherlands in the summer of 1515, he made Busleyden's acquaintance and was his guest at Mechlin ⁶⁾. When on February 17, 1516, he wrote to Erasmus from London to express his great pleasure of having fulfilled that mission, he mentions that Tunstall's company was one of the things, which, he writes 'me impendio delectarunt'. 'Deinde', he continues,

'quod cum Buslidiano mihi intercessit amicitia, qui me,
& pro egregia fortuna sua magnifice, & pro animi

¹⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xxv.

²⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xxiv.

³⁾ Polet, 140, 142, 158-9.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 3 r, v: 'Jtem geuonden xv medalien van goude wegende tsamen een onse ende xix jngelschen een quart de onse geschat op xvij Rg. ende noch ij C medalien van siluer ongeschat, ende want de weduwe van wijlen valeriaen des testatuers brueder affirmeerde die al te samen huer toe te behoiren. soe zijn huer die doen leueren bij meester clase gouuerneur ende Rentmeester van meruille tot hueren behoef die dair van quitantie gegeuen heeft ergo hier dair van Nyet / Item ontfaen van lxxxvj silueren legtpenningen vanden stuck iij st x3 d.art. xvj £ xii s iij d'. Those silver and gold medals were in the chest that Adrian Josel took to Antwerp for safe keeping when Busleyden left for Spain in June 1517: *Rek.*, 101, r, v; §§ 88, 93, and *Epp.* 24, d.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 999, 133; *MoreChamb.*, 178; Watson, *lxxiv*, sq.

⁶⁾ *MoreChamb.*, 120-21; cp. further, §§ 61-64; *NèveRen.*, 112, 133-34.

bonitate comiter recepit. Domum tam singulari artificio excultam, tam eximia supellectile instructam ostendit : ad hæc tot uetustatis monumenta, quorum me scis esse percupidum. Postremo tam egregie refer-tam bibliothecam, & ipsius pectus quauis etiam bibliotheca refertius, ut me plane obstupefecerit' ¹⁾.

45. — More wrote a few poems on that occasion ²⁾ : one describes the house and its splendours :

AD BVSLIDIANVM
DE ÆDIBUS MAGNIFICIS MECHLINIÆ

CULTA modo fixis dum contemplabar ocellis
Ornamenta tuæ Buslidiane domus,
Obstupui, quo nam exoratis carmine fati
Tot rursus ueteres nactus es artifices ?
Nam reor illustres uæfris ambagibus ædes,
Non nisi Dædaleas ædificasse manus.
Quod pictum est illic, pinxisse uidetur Apelles :
Quod sculptum, credas esse Myronis opus.
Plastica quum uideo, Lyfippi fulpicator artem :
Quum statuas, doctum cogito Praxitelem.
Disticha, quodque notant opus, at quæ disticha uellet,
Si non composuit, composuisse Maro.
Organa tam uarias modulis imitantia uoces, ³⁾
Sola tamen ueteres, uel potuisse negem.
Ergo domus tota est uel fæcli nobile prisçi,
Aut quod prisca nouum sæcula uincat, opus.
At domus hæc noua nunc, tarde seroque fenescat,
Tunc uideat dominum, nec tamen usque senem.

A second epigram celebrates the numismatic collection ⁴⁾ :

¹⁾ More*Luc.*, 460-61 ; Allen, II, 388, 140-146 ; Sandys, II, 212.

²⁾ More*Luc.*, 258-260 ; cp. Trit., 491.

³⁾ No doubt the new organ with the recently invented system of registration : cp. before, § 42, and *Epp.* 35, 32, sq.

⁴⁾ More*Luc.*, 258-59.

DE NVMMIS ANTIQVIS SERVATIS
APUD HIERONYMVVM BVSLIDIANVM

ROMA suis olim ducibus quam debuit, illi
 Tam debent omnes Buslidiane tibi.
 Roma suis ducibus seruata est : ipse referuas
 Romanos Roma præmoriente duces.
 Nam quæ cæsareos antiqua nomismata uultus,
 Aut referunt claros tumue priusue uiros :
 Hæc tu sæclorum studio quæfita priorum
 Congeris, & solas has tibi ducis opes.
 Cumque triumphaleis densus cinis occulat arcus,
 Ipse triumphantum nomen & ora tenes.
 Nec iam Pyramides procerum monumenta fuorum
 Tam sunt, quam pyxis Buslidiane tua.

A third epigram discretely praises Busleyden's literary work, and insistently advises to publish it :

AD EVNDEM

ECQVID adhuc placidam mi Buslidiane Camoenam
 Tua coerces capsula ?
 In tenebras abdis cur dignam luce, quid illi ?
 Quid inuides mortalibus ?
 Mufæ fama tuæ toto debetur ab orbe,
 Quid huic repellis gloriam ?
 Gratus ab hac fructus toti debetur & orbi,
 Quid unus obftas omnibus ?
 An tibi castra procul cœtu cohibenda uirili
 Cohors uidetur uirginum ?
 Sunt hæc uirginibus fateor metuenda, sed illis
 Deuirginari quæ queunt.
 Aede tuam intrepidus, pudor est inflexilis illi,
 Nec ille rudis, aut rusticus.
 Vt tua non ipsi celsura est uirgo Dianæ,
 Pudore grata lacteo :
 Sic tua non ipsi celsura est uirgo Mineruæ,
 Senfu, lepore, gratia.

5. FRIENDS AND PROTÉGÉS

46. — Long before Thomas More, Busleyden had invited to his house all those who in his surroundings were interested in art and erudition : so was the councillor and court physician Luigi Marliano ¹⁾, whom he requested repeatedly and in vain, since the learned man did not like leaving his books. ²⁾ He also asked his old friend of the days spent in France, or perhaps in Italy, James Lefèvre d'Étaples ³⁾, to come to what he called 'his own' house, the *omnium literatorum... conciliabulum* ⁴⁾. His desire to beautify his home made him acquainted with several of the art practisers and lovers that were thronging Margaret of Austria's Court; not only the artists famous in history, like John Gossart de Mabuse ⁵⁾, or James de Barbari ⁶⁾, but also more modest craftsmen, whose work, maybe, was not

¹⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 38, b-g.

²⁾ *Epp.* 47, 48, 49, 50.

³⁾ *Epp.* 46, b, c.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 46, 10-12 ; in *Epp.* 47, 8-9, he calls it : *hospitum amicitiarumque conciliabulum*.

⁵⁾ Jean Gossart de Mabuse, born at Maubeuge about 1478, was an able engraver as well as a painter. He visited Italy and introduced the classic ornamentation into his pictures, which are remarkable for the fine portraying : on the threshold of the new times, he treated mythological as well as religious subjects. He served Philip of Burgundy before and after he was bishop of Utrecht, and was in great favour with Margaret of Austria : at her request he painted her niece Eleonore : Moeller, 97, 104, 193 ; Cartwright, 47, 53. He died in Zeeland about 1535 : A. Segard, *Jean Gossart dit Mabuse* : Brussels, 1923 ; *Cran.*, 10, 13 ; Thibaut, 83, 89, 95-96 ; *GeldColl.*, liii, 73, 210, 233, 235, 248 ; *Geldenh.*, 42, 64 ; &c.

⁶⁾ James de Barbari was born of a Flemish family at Venice by 1470 ; he was an erudite and a man of the *three* languages. He studied painting and architecture, and not only made fine engravings and paintings, like that of the mathematician Luca Pacioli, but became actually the master of Dürer and several other contemporaries, including Mabuse, who made him come to this country. He was for a time in Philip of Burgundy's service, and decorated his castle of Souburg. He then became the 'bien aimé peintre' of Margaret of Austria, who often had him at her table, and appreciated him also as musician. He spent his last years at Mechlin and died there about 1516 : Comte de Canditto, *Jacob de Barbari* : Brussels, 1881 ; Thibaut, 82, 86-90, 99 ; Floerke, 140.

any less remarkable than that of their more celebrated colleagues. From van Vessem's account it appears that more than one painter was constantly at work for Busleyden, in so far that, at his leaving for Spain, some had not been rewarded yet for their industry : thus Peter Alamire had to be paid for a small picture of 'our Lady' ¹⁾; so had Henri de Kale, for a Turk's head ²⁾ ; a third, 'Henry jn 't Gulden Hoot', who afterwards painted the portrait and the coat of arms of Busleyden on the wings added to the picture intended as funeral memorial ³⁾, was offered nine patterns of glass paintings sketched on canvas in return for several unrewarded services ⁴⁾. The Provost of Aire was also connected since long with the painter Henry de Bruyne ⁵⁾, the sculptor John of Louvain ⁶⁾ and the 'Emperor's embroiderer' Archangelo ⁷⁾, who were entrusted with some artistic work at his funeral.

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 35, *r* : 'Item betaelt peeteren alamire van een klein tafereel van onser Vrouwen dwelc soe hy affirmeerde de testatuer hem sculdich was gebleuen te wetene iij *℥*' ; he was, no doubt, identical with the musician *Alamire* at Margaret's Court : Thibaut, 100, and further, § 48. James de Barbari is also praised for those two arts : cp. preceding note.

²⁾ *Rek.* 37, *r* : 'Item betaelt henr. de kale schilder van... een torx aensicht op geschildert ende van sommigen gherden te veruwen welcke partije hij affirmeerde dat de testatuer hem sculdich was gedragende xxx *s*'. — That painting of the Turk's head : 'een aensicht vanden turck', was hanging in the large front room or hall, and was bought with tables and benches which were there too, by the widow of the Chancellor John le Sauvage who purchased the house : *Rek.*, 3, *r*.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 17 *v*, and further, § 77 ; this artist, who lived on Cattle Market, 'Veemerct' (*IBM*₂, 295, *r*) named after the house he occupied, may have been identical with the painter Henry de Bruyne, mentioned six lines further : cp. § 78.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 100 *r* : 'Item henricke jnt gulden hoot te mechlen voer zekere diensten gegeuen negen patroonen van glazen op doeck be- worpen'. The accounts of Margaret of Austria mention such patterns for stained-glass windows ; although they are only on paper, they seem to be valued : Thibaut, 91-92. Cp. § 41.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 17, *v*.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 98, *r* : 'Jannen van louen'.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 96, *r*. Cp. § 77. — 'Archangelo', an Italian, was probably identical with the 'Arkangele' mentioned among the *Fourrière* of the Emperor's train in 1521 : Gachard, 516, b.

47. — Busleyden's mansion appears to have been a real museum ¹⁾ : besides tasteful pieces of furniture, choice plate and crystal, it contained an abundance of tapestry, either representing subjects, like Jeremias' history, Hercules, Moses in the bulrushes ; or merely ornamental, some originary from Turkey ; further fine cloths adorned with exquisite needlework, figuring the Annunciation and the Last Judgment, as well as the three goddesses Venus, Juno and Pallas, celebrated in one of his poems ²⁾ ; moreover an amount of pictures of all sizes, with and without panels : the Angel's Message, the Assumption and *Mater Dolorosa* ; a sketch of Italian girls ; portraits of Margaret of Austria, St. Antony, Alexander the Great ; finally carvings, as crucifixes and statues of Our Lady or his patron-saint ³⁾. — Amongst the works of art he possessed were the two liturgical books that had belonged to his friend Bishop Nicolas Ruterius, a Missal and a Pontifical ⁴⁾ : possibly he himself or his brother Francis had had them made by one of the miniaturists of the then flourishing Flemish school, to serve as a present, which may have been returned to Jerome as a souvenir at the Prelate's death. Unfortunately all that is known about those precious manuscripts is that they were of small size, written on vellum and that the covers were in velvet provided with silver clasps. Judging from the price they fetched at the public sale — 78 golden florins, — they cannot but have been richly adorned by miniatures ⁵⁾, possibly from the hand of one of the group of artists then at work in Mechlin, to whom Margaret's limner Gerard Horebout at one time belonged ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Several lists of Busleyden's belongings, drawn up at his decease, are still extant in the Archives of St. Rombaut Chapter, Mechlin : *IBM*2, 276, r-279, r (inventory of larger objects), 288, r-298, r (household goods and ornaments : December 1, 1517), 298, r-300, v (objects in silver and gold : end of December, 1517) ; *IBM*3, 37, r-43, r (the remainder of household goods and those sent home from the journey : February 15, 1519).

²⁾ Cp. *Carm.* v, iii.

³⁾ *IBM*2, 278, v - 279, v, 280, v, 293, r - 295, r.

⁴⁾ *Will.* 197-202 ; cp. before, § 35.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 4, r, v : cp. before, §§ 43, 47, and further, § 87.

⁶⁾ Thibaut, 99-100 : Gerard Horebout's daughter Susan worked at the Court of Henry VIII.

48. — The interest which Busleyden took in music is amply testified to by his receiving and giving instruments as presents ¹⁾; also by his connection with the Tongerlo Premonstratensian canon Arnold van Vessem, who had trained his younger brother Bartholomew in the practice of that art ²⁾, so that he might be able, when entering the Provost's service, to play the newly perfected organ provided by a Nuremberg builder ³⁾; also by the mention of the instruments as lutes, flutes, clavichords &c. and of several books of music bequeathed to his nephew Francis ⁴⁾. It is also illustrated by his connection with two musicians: one was Peter Alamire, a chorist of Prince Charles's chapel, mentioned as a limner for a small picture of 'our Lady' which had remained unpaid ⁵⁾; the other was Hans Nagel, or Nagle. Both of them were known to Henri VIII: in May 1515, Alamire wrote news to the King in musical notation, and sent him works of music, for which Thomas Spinelly paid him ⁶⁾; whereas Nagel had been invited to come and sing at Court at Christmas 1515-1516 ⁷⁾. Some mystery hovers over them, for they had dealings with the 'White Rose', Richard de la Pole, exiled by Henry VII, who lived in the Netherlands ⁸⁾. One day, on his arrival at Mechlin, de la Pole had been put into custody by the town authorities on account of 'divers chevisaunces'; Nagle at once applied on his behalf to Busleyden, who invited his former fellow-student Tunstall ⁹⁾, then happening to be on mission

¹⁾ He offered a musical instrument to the Chancellor of Burgundy, Thomas de Plaine, *Epp.* 11, and requests Henry Zeigler, Luxemburg senator, to obtain for him the *fistulas* which his illustrious master had promised him since long: *Epp.* 12.

²⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 35, a, b, 3, sq.

³⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 28, 15, sq; 35, 33, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, § 83.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, § 46; Thibaut, 100; Henne, v, 104; *MargvOK.*, 10.

⁶⁾ Brewer, II, 541, 1478, 2419, 2673, *App.* 39.

⁷⁾ Brewer II, 1478.

⁸⁾ Richard de la Pole, son of John, wanted to become King of England, and had to flee abroad in 1501; he was exempted from Henry VIII's general pardon, but was recognized as King by Louis XII. At the conclusion of the peace in 1514, he had to leave France, and resided at Metz. He was killed at Pavia, where he was fighting by Francis I's side (1525): cp. *DNB*.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, § 26; *ErasRott.*, 34-35.

in Mechlin, and wished him to obtain the liberation of his countryman. Tunstall refused interfering in favour of one whom he called the 'enemy of the King' ¹⁾. One Thomas Stanley, an Englishman, had been suspected by de la Pole of spying on him, and had even been put by him to the torture; he complained to Tunstall, and declared that de la Pole and his friend Sir Edward Neville ²⁾, had two spies living at Mechlin, one being Nagle and the other he did not know: Tunstall adds that he meant Alamire, the singer ³⁾. When in 1515 Nagle was invited to come and play before the King at Christmas, he declined, wishing to be pardoned first for his dealings with de la Pole; by February 4, 1516, he desired to go to England and make his submission to the King, as one of the train of the ambassadors 'Mons. Reux' — no doubt, du Rœulx, — and Busleyden ⁴⁾, — so that he might pass and repass safely. William Knight, who writes all this to Wolsey, adds that Nagle wishes Alamire, his friend, to go to de la Pole at Metz; he advises the Cardinal to tell Nagle to wait till after Lent, as until then no music is wanted, and the later he goes, the more news he can carry ⁵⁾.

49. — Busleyden's vivid interest in all arts did not lessen his great love for literature, but rather encouraged it: amongst his poems there is one which is meant as an inscription to a picture of Our Lady and the prophecies on her account by the *nobilis pictor Hugo*, most likely van der Goes ⁶⁾; another is designed for a picture of Nativity, Epiphany and Purification ⁷⁾, whilst a third, composed for his colleague Philip Wielant, had to serve for a painting of the judgment of Paris ⁸⁾. Yet he

¹⁾ Brewer, II, 1383: cp. *Epp.* 82, 15.

²⁾ Sir Edward Neville was knighted at Tournai in 1513 and held command in the army in France in 1523; he assisted at Anne Boleyn's coronation 1533 and at Prince Edward's baptism; in November 1538 he was suspected of conspiring with the Poles and beheaded on Tower-Hill, December 16: *DNB*; J. Spillmann, *Die Englischen Martyrer*: I: Freiburg-i.-Br., 1900: 234.

³⁾ Brewer, II, 3690; *MargvOK*, 309.

⁴⁾ See further, §§ 66, 67.

⁵⁾ Brewer, II, 1478.

⁶⁾ *Carm.* v, i.

⁷⁾ *Carm.* v, ii.

⁸⁾ *Carm.* v, iii.

did not need the incentive of art to practise literature : on the days that he was not bound by the duties of his councillorship, he naturally turned to poetry, inspired by the religious events whose remembrance occasioned those holidays : during the Holy Week of 1504 he composed a poem on the sufferings of Our Lord on the Cross, which he dedicated to his friend, the Aix patrician Judocus von Beyssel ¹⁾. At Yule-tide of the same year he wrote some verses on the Massacre of the Innocents, which he inscribed to the dean of Louvain, Adrian Florentii, the future Pope ²⁾, and at the following Easter he made a homily and a hymn on Resurrection, offered to Beyssel ³⁾. Several other pieces of poetry were composed, especially in the first years of his career as councillor ⁴⁾, when he even started with his friend Adrian Herbouts, preceptor at Antwerp, and afterwards pensionary of that town ⁵⁾, a poetic debate about the merits of their respective poems, which soon turned into a discussion about man's worth and his share in this world's fortune and prosperity ⁶⁾.

50. — Meanwhile Busleyden proved a real Maecenas by his never-failing and effective interest in all those who were distinguishing themselves as erudites and literators. The care he took of the instruction of his nephew Cornelius Erdorf ⁷⁾, brought him into close connection with his former friend John Becker of Borselen ⁸⁾, who first supervised the young man's studies in the Lily and by 1507 became his private tutor at Henry Viruli's house ⁹⁾. Some time after the death of that boy, whose education had proved a failure, the humanistic erudite accepted the preceptorate of another nephew, (the son of a deceased brother, Valerian), whose mother lived part of

¹⁾ *Epp.* 16 ; *Carm.* III.

²⁾ *Epp.* 21 ; *Carm.* XII.

³⁾ *Epp.* 22 ; *Carm.* XIV ; *Orat.* A.

⁴⁾ Such are the poems on the messages of the Angels to the Shepherds on Nativity Night, *Carm.* IV, VII.; or to Our Lady, *ibid.*, VI, X.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 23, b, c.

⁶⁾ *Carm.* xv.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 31, b, c ; cp. before, § 11.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 32, b-e.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 30, b-d.

the year at Arlon, and part at Luxemburg. Thus, most likely, the Provost of Aire enjoyed Becker's correspondence ¹⁾ as before he had revelled in the conversations on the visits of the preceptor with his ward to Mechlin ²⁾. He thus had been kept informed about the intellectual life in Louvain and about the advance in study and learning.

51. — He soon heard, no doubt, of the brilliant lectures of the young *legens* of the Lily, Martin van Dorp, who made his students perform plays by Plautus, after they had been explained in the lectures, and who, in 1508, composed a catastrophe to the unfinished *Aulularia*; through his former master and friend John Becker, he became one of Busleyden's favourites ³⁾. The influential Councillor helped the young erudite to secure a preferment, and was honoured in return by the dedication of the *Tomus Aululariae*, in the autumn of 1513, as well as by copies of his other publications ⁴⁾. Busleyden greatly appreciated Dorp's friendship: not merely for the enjoyment of a hearty affection, but also as a constant occasion for him to satisfy his eagerness for knowledge from the abundant erudition of the young professor, to whom he appealed in all his doubts ⁵⁾. It was on Busleyden's repeatedly expressed request ⁶⁾, that Dorp had a sermon printed which he had delivered on Assumption Day 1510 ⁷⁾: it was highly praised ⁸⁾ and elicited the urgent recommendation of the older confrater to the young professor to direct his further activity towards theology and religion ⁹⁾. Dorp was, for certain, a frequent guest at the fine Mechlin mansion, where he was expected to stay some time on every one of his journeys between Louvain and his native Holland ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *Epp.* 32, 36, 51.

²⁾ *Epp.* 51, 39, *sq.*

³⁾ *Epp.* 56, *b, c*, 72, 28-36; *MonHL*, 326-28, 330.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 56; 72, 27, *sq.*

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 58, 74, *sq.*, 74, 27, *sq.*, 62, *sq.*

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 73, 63, *sq.*, 74, 1-28.

⁷⁾ *Concio de diue Virginis Assumptione*: Louvain, Th. Martens, Febr. 18, 1514: Iseghem, 245-46.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 75.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 73, 64, *sq.*, 75, 19, *sq.*

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 72, 34-36; cp. *NèveBusl.*, 29.

52. — Another occasional visitor was the humanistic professor Adrian Barlandus ¹⁾, who, in his edition of Pliny's letters, April 1516, gratefully records that he was heartily welcomed in the magnificent residence where he spent a few days and wrote some poetry ²⁾, since he had learned that it was the most welcome kind of gratitude to his generous Maecenas. That poetry was communicated probably also to John Becker when Barlandus wrote lengthily to him '*de clarissima Hieronymi Buslidii erga <se> beneuolentia*', as he declared to Erasmus on January 7, 1517, adding a copy of that '*epistola longiuscula*' in which he had eulogized his magnanimous host ³⁾. Unfortunately both letters, as well as the poem, seem to be lost. That is also the fate of several other documents testifying to the gratitude of literators and erudites to Busleyden for favours and protection received : it is only known by chance that also the Antwerp secretary Cornelius Grapheus ⁴⁾ enjoyed his patronage : amongst the poems which he and Gerard Geldenhouwer ⁵⁾ and Adrian Barlandus published in Louvain on June 13, 1515 in Thierry Martens' office ⁶⁾, the first, which provides the general title, the *Carmen Pastorale*, or '*Polymelus*' : *In Qvo Admodvm Rustice Hiesv Christi Pastoris Op. Max. describitur Nativitas*', is dedicated '*Ad Magnificentissimvm Hieronymvm Buslidianvm : Præpositvm Ariensem : Consiliarivm Regivm.*' ⁷⁾

53. — A remarkable example of gratitude to his protector was given by Busleyden's countryman, Conrad Wecker,

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 62, a-c, 256, a ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. III, &c. ; Daxhelet, 12-14, 56, 267.

²⁾ *C. Plinij Secundi Epistole Familiares cum Barlandi Scholiis* : Louvain, Th. Martens, April 1516 : f m v : (Carminem remitti) Quemadmodum ego nuper Mechliniae in aedibus Hieronimi Buslydii viri laudem omnem supergressi me recreabam componendis versibus quos ille plurimis atque ornatissimis verbis laudans dictu mirum est quantum me incitauerit atque inflammauerit ad hoc studium.

³⁾ Allen, II, 510, 711.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 179, b-d.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 179, a, 240, a-i.

⁶⁾ *Cornelii Graphei Alustensis Carmen Pastorale* : Iseghem, 251-52 ; *GeldColl.*, xxix-xl ; *NijKron.*, II, 3122.

⁷⁾ The poem occupies seven leaves ; cp. Massebieau, 140-142.

Veccrius, or Vegerius, of Luxemburg ¹⁾; during his training in Louvain, or, for certain, after his promotion in Arts, he became acquainted with the Mechlin councillor, as well as with the Bishop of Arras, Nicolas Ruterius ²⁾. As he was studying laws when the latter's foundation, the College of Arras, was started, he was one of the first inmates; no doubt he was appointed as chief bursar, who, in the first months, acted as a kind of president or manager for Ruterius' executor, the dean of Mechlin, John Robbyns ³⁾. By 1511 Vegerius entered the service of Maximilian and Charles of Austria as a secretary, apparently through Busleyden's interference; and thus began a career which ended far too soon in Rome, where he was in Adrian VI's and Clement VII's employ. As an enthusiastic admirer of literature, he naturally was interested in the poems, about which his protector felt some diffidence ⁴⁾, and it is quite obvious that the well trained literator should have been requested to criticize them. At any rate Vegerius undertook to make a fair copy of the poems, of the letters, and afterwards of the orations ⁵⁾, and from their correspondence it appears that he was expected to change at will, and correct all that was amiss ⁶⁾. That is the genesis of the *Carmina, Epistolæ et Orationes* of the *Lusus* printed here for the first time in their entirety; so pleased was the author with the result of that arrangement that he wondered whether the compositions could still be called his ⁷⁾; to which scruple the *Librarius* Vegerius replied with a most delicately-turned Envoy added to the work when it was finished ⁸⁾.

6. BUSLEYDEN AND ERASMUS

54. — Of all the friendships that Busleyden made, not one was as agreeable to him, and in the end as beneficent, as

¹⁾ *Epp.* 63, b-e.

²⁾ *Epp.* 17, b-d.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 356; *Epp.* 56, 1-3.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, §§ 164, sq.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 63, 65, 67, 68.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 63, 2, sq, 65, 2, sq.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 67, 5, sq.

⁸⁾ *Carm.*, xxvii.

that of Erasmus. The connection which had started casually at Orleans ¹⁾, was revived in the last months of 1503 during his stay in Louvain, probably through Nicolas Ruterius, who had entrusted Erasmus with the mission of welcoming Philip the Fair with a solemn oration on his return from his visit to Spain ²⁾. Either at an interview in Louvain or on a visit to Court, Busleyden had found the opportunity to have a lengthy talk with the humanist, and to assure him that he would have been excellently countenanced by his brother Francis, had he not died so prematurely ³⁾. It was almost natural that Jerome should take over the patronage intended by his brother, and he no doubt gave that impression to Erasmus. When on November 27, 1503, the latter was preparing his speech to Archduke Philip, he wrote to his old school-fellow William Herman that he had made friends with, or rather, he said, *had been made* friends with by, Jerome de Busleyden ⁴⁾, archdeacon of Cambrai ⁵⁾, brother of Francis, the archbishop of Besançon, 'vir vtriusque linguæ callentissimus'. He added that he had sent him a copy of William Herman's rendering of Avianus' *Apologi* ⁶⁾, together with a letter in praise of the translator ⁷⁾; it was probably in that copy that Erasmus wrote the distich which Judocus Badius inserted amongst his *Epigrammata* in the edition of January 8, 1507 ⁸⁾ :

In fronte libelli Buslidio dono missi.

Non ego Buslidia decus adfero Bibliothecæ,
Sed decus apponit Bibliotheca mihi.

¹⁾ Cp. before, § 25.

²⁾ Erasmus delivered his *Panegyricus* in Brussels on Epiphany day 1504 : Allen, I, 179.

³⁾ Allen, I, 178, 13-15.

⁴⁾ 'Conciliaui mihi, vel potius se mihi conciliauit Hieronymus Buslidanus'.

⁵⁾ Busleyden had been appointed on October 13, 1503, as archdeacon of Brussels, one of the several archdeaconries of Cambrai diocese : cp. before, § 31.

⁶⁾ 1502-1503 : no copy seems to have survived of that rendering : Allen, I, 33, *pr.* 172, 12. 178, 16-48.

⁷⁾ Allen, I, 178, 11-17 ; cp. Sandys, II, 212.

⁸⁾ The distich is reproduced in EOO, I, 1221, D.

55. — Two years later, when Erasmus was in Italy, and had left Florence to shelter at Bologna from the war ¹⁾, he translated a few very short dialogues of Lucianus, and added them as a supplement of twelve leaves ²⁾ to some copies of his book *Luciani Compluria Opuscula ab Erasmo Roterodamo et Thoma Moro interpretibus optimis in latinorum linguam traducta*, which Judocus Badius published in Paris on November 13, 1506 ³⁾. The supplement, containing seventeen dialogues, was added to such copies as had not been sold yet; they were dedicated to Jerome de Busleyden by a letter of November 17, 1506 ⁴⁾, in which Erasmus dwells on the decease of Philip the Fair at Burgos, on September 25, 1506, of which the news had just reached Bologna; that death, a second heavy toll levied by Spain after Busleyden's brother, was a great loss for all, but especially for his own prospects and those of his friend. He added to his letter the dialogues 'ne', he stated, *ad tantum tamque doctum amicum nullo litterario munusculo comitatæ venirent* ⁵⁾.

56. — The correspondence between Erasmus and Busleyden unfortunately is not preserved ⁶⁾: it certainly referred to favours which the Councillor wanted to secure for the great erudite. No doubt the fact of being in epistolary connection with a man whose fame was growing throughout Western Europe, was most gratifying to the great friend of art and literature; that gratification was therefore very cheaply paid for by a recommendation to, or an interference with, the ruler whose confidence he enjoyed. — That very confidence of rulers in their literarily trained councillors and the power it entailed, must have been a pleasure and an incentive to Erasmus and all humanists: it was the source of many a wise policy,

¹⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 29, b, 37, sq.

²⁾ Ff. *xlviij*³ to < *lix* >.

³⁾ It was dedicated to Richard Fox: Allen, I, 187, 264, 22²⁴; *EraBib.*, II, 39; Iseghem, S, 16.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 29, 38; Allen, I, 205; Renaudet, 491-94.

⁵⁾ Allen, I, 205, 33³⁴; *Epp.* 29, 35³⁶.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 79, 13¹⁴: Scribo *λακωνικῶς*, quod ante biduum scripsim.

many a beneficent reform brought about by princes and monarchs, who, of course reaped all the honour, besides securing the gratitude as well from the leading men amongst their contemporaries, as from public opinion and posterity, whereas the credit was entirely due to those who had become their advisers, not through high birth or great military valour, but through their 'humanistic' culture, that is to say, through their prudent sagacity and their understanding. Consequently the consciousness of their steadily growing influence made councillors like Nicolas Ruterius and John le Sauvage, Jerome de Busleyden and Mercurino de Gattinara most efficient patrons and full-hearted protectors of those to whom they owed their promotion, and, first and foremost, to the great champion of Humanism, Erasmus ¹).

57. — By 1506 the scholar was eagerly looking out for a preferment which would allow him to settle somewhere and devote all his time to study. He had been promised a benefice by Henry VII, as he announced to Servatius Rogerius on April 1, 1506, ²) and on that account he had hastened to have his situation regularized by Jules II's dispensation about the irregularity of his birth, January 4, 1506, which enabled him to accept and to possess any ecclesiastical office or preferment³). Unfortunately the royal promise was not executed yet when he left for Italy : and the chances of settling in England seemed to be decidedly on the wane ; which may have led him to pick up a correspondence with Busleyden on November 17, 1506, with a view to interest the Mechlin Councillor in his prospects⁴). As no letters survive, it can only be surmized that the appointment to some benefice in our provinces was contemplated, at least until, at Henry VIII's accession, his friends beyond the Channel, in their sanguine hope on some promotion in the Young King's Court, made him come in all haste from Italy.

¹) Moeller, 222.

²) Allen, I, 189, 3-4.

³) Allen, I, 187^A.

⁴) *Epp.* 29.

58. — That hope was not realized so quickly, and Erasmus started waiting at Queens' College, Cambridge, for the royal appointment which was never to come. The first — and last — preferment that fell to his lot was the parish of Aldington, in Kent, which Archbishop Warham granted him on March 22, 1512, as successor to one of his old pupils and friends, John Allen ¹). As he could not very well fulfil the duties of rector, he was allowed to pass the office to John Thornton, Prior of St. Martin's, Dover, suffragan of Archbishop Warham, in exchange of a yearly pension of £ 20, *pensio centum coronatorum*, on a total income of *centum ferme nobilium*, about £ 33.6.8 ²) ; the deed mentions that this was considered as an exception in favour of Erasmus, '*viri in litteris et Latinis et Grecis consummatissimi, qui tempora nostra sua doctrina ac facundia velut sidus quoddam illustrat*'; who, moreover, likes England, in so far that he despises opulence in Italy, France or Germany, and wishes to live here with his friends for the rest of his life' ³). As Thornton was too busy as suffragan, he was replaced on November 18, 1514 at Aldington by Richard Master, who, afterwards, was implicated in the affair of his parishioner Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, and condemned to be executed at Tyburn ⁴).

59. — Since the prosperity and affluence which Erasmus had hoped to find in England, proved quite elusive, he turned his eyes to his own country, as more than ever he wanted independent means to crown the studies that he had been toiling at for several years. That Busleyden was his great helper, results from his letter of the late summer of 1513, after a period during which the rumour was spread that the great erudite was dead, which coincided with a rather serious illness with

¹) Allen, I, 244, 14.

²) Vischer, 8-15 ; Allen, I, 255, *pr*, 296, 124-25.

³) Vischer, 13-14 ; Erasmus' *Ecclesiastes sive de Ratione Concionandi* : EOO, v, 811, E-F.

⁴) On May 5, 1534 : Ortroy, 49, 248-53 ; Blunt, I, 413-14 ; Gairdner, 144-46 ; Constant, I, 123, 488-89 ; Froude, I, 314, *sq*. An inventory of his goods found in the rectory of Aldington was drawn up on April 20, 1534 : Froude, I, 41-44.

which Busleyden was laid up in May 1513¹⁾. The letter refers to one in which Erasmus had expressed his ill humour about Kings and Princes, which the prudent diplomatist blames as dangerous as it puts weapons into the hands of envious people, who are ever ready to harm. He further announces that the scheme of providing him with a prebend in the Netherlands, although not finally successful, was going satisfactorily ; it would go better even if Erasmus could force his modesty to importune those who had promised their help in attaining what would be only the due reward for all what he had done towards the general welfare²⁾. By the latter was meant especially the actual head of the State, the Great Chancellor John le Sauvage, who finally announced on July 8, 1516 to Erasmus that a canonry at Courtrai was being conferred upon him, and that it was not the only favour he was to expect from King Charles's generosity³⁾. That was the *optima prebenda* of which the great humanist announced the acquisition to Bruno Amerbach on July 15, 1516⁴⁾; the further favour granted by the Prince was the appointment as Royal Councillor, which followed a few years later⁵⁾. It was on that account that, after having left England for good by the end of April 1517,⁶⁾ Erasmus stayed most of the time in Brabant.

60. — Among his truest friends there, was Busleyden, to whose house he frequently resorted, namely at each of his numerous journeys to or from Antwerp, when he passed through Mechlin where he was a frequent and most welcome visitor⁷⁾. He became so intimately acquainted with him that

¹⁾ *Epp.* 71, a-c, 2-9.

²⁾ *Epp.* 71 ; NèveBusl., 34-35.

³⁾ Allen, II, 436, 5-7.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 439, 3.

⁵⁾ Beatus Rhenanus announced that appointment to Boniface Amerbach on November 8, 1520 : RhenE, 251 ; FG, 346. Erasmus' yearly payment of 'iii C livres (gros)' was entered for the first time in the accounts of the Realm on October 1, 1520 ; it was repeated from 1520 to 1536 : Henne, V, 31.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 577.

⁷⁾ The town authorities are recorded to have offered him four measures of Rhine wine at his arrival in 1519, probably March 17 : Allen, III, 927, *pr* ; Henne, V, 31.

he applied to him even in his economic trouble, when his two horses were too heavy on his hands, and he decided to sell them to make up for the money he had spent on winter clothes ¹⁾. With all that, Busleyden was by far not a loser, for he derived great profit from his erudite friend in help and advice ²⁾, and it is certainly on Erasmus' instigation that he decided founding the *Trilingue* which made him enter immortality.

7. BUSLEYDEN AND THOMAS MORE

61. — The most eloquent proof of the friendship between Erasmus and Busleyden, was provided in 1515, when Thomas More came to our provinces on the embassy which lasted from the middle of May to the last days of October ³⁾. He was introduced by his friend the great Humanist to the Mechlin Councillor, who welcomed him most heartily, and made him stay for some time at his mansion. It has already been mentioned that More admired its literary and numismatic treasures, composing an epigram in praise of that collection, and a second to extol the house and the works of art it contained as the best in their various kinds. In a third he beseeches his host not to hide his literary work like one does a virgin in a closet : *Musae fama tuae toto debetur ab orbe*, he declares, and judges that by not allowing his nymph, for mere shyness, to come into the open and join Diana, he also deprives Minerva of what can honour her by her intelligence, wit and grace : *sensu, lepore, gratia* ⁴⁾. Thus the verses which Busleyden put up as inscriptions or as texts in the stained-glass windows all over the mansion, pleased More to such extent that he stated that

¹⁾ Letter of September 28, 1516 : *Epp.* 79, 1-9.

²⁾ It made the executors of Busleyden's will offer 25 £ to Erasmus : 'Item betaelt heeren Herasmo van diuerse diensten den testatuer gedaen jn zijnen leuene ende nade doot... xxv £' : *Rek.*, 36, 1.

³⁾ Having been appointed ambassador on May 7, 1515, More started on May 12, and reached Bruges on May 18 ; he was at Gravelines on his way back on October 24 : Brewer, II, 422, 473-4, 678, 1059, 1067.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, § 44.

Disticha, quodque notant opus, at quæ disticha uellet,
Si non composuit, composuisse Maro ¹⁾.

The manuscript of the *Lusus*, as it has come to us, was communicated to him : before he let it go out of his hand, he added on the fly-leaf opposite the title a *tetrasticon* assuring that what Busleyden wrote either in verse or in prose proclaimed him as a *gloria rara* of his native country ²⁾. Nor was it only in poems offered to his host that he expressed his admiration ; he did so about February 17, 1516, in a letter to Erasmus in which he declared that, although he disliked staying away from his family during a lengthy embassy, he had been greatly pleased by several things of which one was that he had knitted up friendship with Busleyden, who had shown him his house adorned by excellent workmanship and provided with excellent furniture, with objects of antiquity of which he is very fond, and with a well-stocked library, whilst the owner's mind is far much richer than any library ³⁾. The range of his knowledge and experience seems to have made Busleyden's conversation most agreeable, as it offered the charm of sweet familiarity, of brilliant wit and of exquisite grace, which were the characteristics of his personality, whereas his delicate taste ennobled his riches and effectively apologized for his opulence ⁴⁾.

62. — Evidently the erudite English lawyer admired his host's knowledge and sagacity. What the subjects of the conversation between the two great men were, can be safely guessed from More's letters and epigrams. Yet something more than art and antique lore was considered, judging by the part given to Busleyden in the famous *Utopia*. No doubt

¹⁾ More *Luc.*, 260 ; it is clear that More was too sincere, besides being too true a friend, to suggest more in this praise than what a sensible man would express : namely : those poems *are* good : Virgil could not do better.

²⁾ *Carm.* xxviii.

³⁾ Allen, II, 388, 140-146 ; Stapleton, 72 ; More *Chamb.*, 120 ; Brewer, II, i, 1552 ; cp. before, § 44.

⁴⁾ *Eras Rott.*, 106-107.

politics and the ideal *respublica* retained the attention of those diplomatists, those experienced jurisprudents; nor was it a mere matter of courtesy that the wonderful treatise of ideal statemanship was connected with the home of Busleyden, who, in his introductory letter, stated that the perfect commonwealth must unite Plato's four cardinal virtues, Wisdom in the ruler, Fortitude in the warrior, Temperance in the private individual, and Justice in all ¹). When the famous book appeared in Louvain about the end of December 1516 ²), it was dedicated to Busleyden by Peter Ægidius by a letter dated from Antwerp on November 1, 1516 ³), and the prefatory matter closed with a most laudatory letter of Busleyden to More ⁴), which Erasmus had been requested, on November 9, 1516, to polish : *multa rubigine obsitam*, he wrote, *acerrima lima tersissimi eloquii... expoliendam* ⁵). That diffidence, which Busleyden often expresses about his style and language, does not prevent his letter to More from being fully in the spirit of the *Utopia*; that great work shows the influence of the scholars, of the professional men, and even of the business people whom the author met on his embassy, and above all of the civilization and organization of this country, which he could compare with those of England. Amongst the Hythlodists whom More saw and listened to in the Netherlands, one of the most interesting and suggestive was his noble-minded Mechlin host ⁶).

63. — In a letter of October 31, 1516 to Erasmus, at the time when the printing of the *Utopia* had actually started, and proofs were sent round to a few select friends so as to gather their opinion, Thomas More gives an unequivocal testimony about his appreciation of Busleyden as leading statesman. He expresses his joy hearing that *Nusquam*, or *Utopia*, pleases

¹) *MoreLuc.*, 162, *sq*; *MoreChamb.*, 126-127.

²) Allen, II, 461, *pr*; *cp. p.* 463.

³) *Epp.* 80.

⁴) *Epp.* 81. That letter comes at the end of the *liminaria*, and was evidently written after the book itself had been set and printed off; *cp. Stapleton*, 45-46.

⁵) *Epp.* 82, 12-14; Allen, II, 484, 11-12.

⁶) *MoreChamb.*, 120, 127; Allen, II, 467, 15.

his friend Peter Gillis ; and he adds : 'si talibus placeat, incipiet placere et mihi'. He then continues : 'Cupio scire an Tonstallus probet, an Buslydius, an Cancellarius vester ; quibus vt probetur supra votum est, hominibus tam felicibus vt in his rebus publicis suis primos ducant ordines' ¹⁾, unless, he remarks, they favour the book because they are the very men who, in a republic like Utopia, would certainly be 'principes', whereas now, in their dignities, great though they are, — and they are actually great, — they have as colleagues and even as superiors in authority and power, great humbugs, *magnos nebulones* ²⁾. Nor do I believe, More continues, that these three men would be disappointed to have only few subjects, and no slaves at all in my Republic, since it is far more honorable to rule over free men, 'ac longe absint tam boni viri ab ea invidia vt optent male esse aliis, quum sibi sit bene. Spero igitur fore vt illis etiam placeat opus nostrum ; quod mirum in modum cupio' ³⁾. It thus appears that Busleyden was placed by a shrewd and discerning judge like More, on one level with England's greatest statesman, and with the Chancellor John le Sauvage, whom Prince Charles had just entrusted with the first dignity of his immense empire ⁴⁾. And that More was not moved in the least by the pomp and power which result from a monarch's favour, follows from the conclusion of his remark, stating that if their present happy condition should make those three highly esteemed men disapprove of his book, he is abundantly compensated by Erasmus' judgment. 'Nos duo', he tells him, 'turba sumus apud animum meum ; qui mihi videor feliciter posse tecum in solitudine vivere' ⁵⁾.

64. — Such an appreciation about the ability of a statesman, not brought out in the glare of courtly formality, but in the

¹⁾ Allen, II, 481, 62-66.

²⁾ Allen, II, 481, 68-70 : quum in suis <ordinibus> quanticumque sint (sunt sane magni) magnos tamen habeant nebulones autoritate et potentia pares, vt ne dicam superiores.

³⁾ Allen, II, 481, 70-75.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, § 26, for Tunstall, and further, §§ 72, 73, 75, for Sauvage.

⁵⁾ Allen, II, 481, 75-79.

confidential secret of two friends, shows to all evidence that More had greatly benefited during his visit by the ability and the experience of his host, who had opened to him a new world, not so much of customs and outward forms, but of policy, and economy, and practical wisdom, which he could compare with that of England and draw ample conclusions. — It is very significant indeed that for the composition of this great book, More did not appeal to the experience of his elder colleague, Tunstall, who ignored all about its publishing and, maybe, even its contents at least until September 1516 : by the 20th of that month the author asked Erasmus whether *Nusquam* had been shown, or at least described (which seemed probable enough) to their common friend Tunstall ¹). It follows that the creator of *Utopia* had applied for help and advice only to the friends he found in the Netherlands ²), and that it is to them that he referred when he expressed the wish that his work would be adorned 'egregia et magnifica laude, — no doubt by prefatory letters, — eaque si fieri posset a pluribus non litteratis modo, sed etiam his qui sint ab administranda republica celebrati' ³). He evidently had in mind Busleyden; and his friends, no doubt, forestalled his own acknowledgment, when they decided on dedicating the book to the Mechlin Councillor by a letter from the very man to whom was ascribed the fictive occasion that led to show whence spring the evils of nations ⁴). If More had intended merely explaining his opinion about the state of things in England, there had been no need of any further authority than that of his own experience. Since he generalized his principles, and extended his view far beyond the limits of his native isle, he made ample use of the advice and the information he had gathered during the few busy months he had spent on this side of the Channel. — No doubt it was the reason why, after the *Utopia* had appeared, he asked Erasmus on January 13, 1517, to convey his thanks to

¹) Allen, II, 467, 20-21 : gestio scire an Tunstallo ostenderis aut saltem (quod fecisse puto) depinxeris ; cp. Hearnshaw, 136.

²) Hearnshaw, 137-138.

³) Allen, II, 467, 14-17.

⁴) *Epp.* 80.

Paludanus and even to Peter Gillis, for what they had done towards his book; but wrote himself to Busleyden: '*Egi per epistolam Buslidio nostro gratias*'. Unfortunately that — evidently most interesting — document is lost ¹⁾. So are most probably the letters of Busleyden which Thom. Stapleton quotes amongst his sources for his *Vita Thomae Mori* 1588: as such he mentions several autograph letters of the illustrious martyr, which were then in the keeping of Dorothy Coly, John Harris's widow ²⁾, and the attestation of contemporary writers who sketched his life ³⁾, or referred to his works ⁴⁾; to them he joins: '*varias denique doctorum virorum epistolas, Gulielmi Budæi, B. Rhennani, Hieronymi Buslidij, Petri Ægidij, Simonis Grinæi, & aliorum*' ⁵⁾. Unless allusion is made by those *epistolæ* to the prefatory matter of the *Utopia* of 1516, and its two reprints: Paris, 1517 ⁶⁾, and Basle, 1518 ⁷⁾, — which, however, would not explain the reference to Grynæus — Stapleton's statement suggests that the originals, or at least copies, of letters from those great men to the famous English Statesman were then still preserved amongst the papers of his secretary John Harris ⁸⁾.

8. PUBLIC ACTIVITY

65. — Busleyden meanwhile continued discharging the duties of his office with all possible care and conscientiousness, and kept himself most obligingly at the disposal of the Prince

¹⁾ Allen, II, 513, 6⁻⁸; Brewer, II, 2773.

²⁾ Cp. *ActaMori*, 69, 84-85, 112.

³⁾ Namely Erasmus in his *Epistolæ*, enriched by those published in *MoreLuc.*, at Basle, 1563; further Paulus Jovius, in his *de Viris Illustribus*, and Gulielmus Paradinus 'in *Exegemate de rebus Britannicis*': Stapleton, 8-9.

⁴⁾ Stapleton mentions 'Reginaldum Polum contra Henricum 8, Ioannem Cochlaeum contra Sampsonem': Stapleton, 9; *ActaMori*, 26-27, 87-88.

⁵⁾ Stapleton, 9.

⁶⁾ Cp. prefaces to *Epp.* 81 and 82; Allen, II, 461, *pr.* III, 664, 27, 785, 14, *sq.*

⁷⁾ *RhenE*, 102-4; the only mention of Busleyden in *RhenE* occurs in the letter of Erasmus of August 23, 1517, announcing his having left for Spain: *RhenE*, 97.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, lxxxvi, 115, a, b.

and of the authorities. The services which he, and humanists as he, actually rendered, were very great indeed. Whereas in Italy the spirit of shrewd intrigue advocated by Machiavelli was spreading, and in other countries the public welfare was left to the whims of a Henry VIII or a Francis I, the sovereign rulers of the Netherlands followed a well defined and straightforward policy, which closely watched the nation's destinies, and prompted great enterprises to secure prosperity to land and people. That happy innovation, — which created the sound modern diplomacy, — was the result of the influence of councillors like the Busleydens, the Suckets and the Perrenots, who in their staunch loyalty to their masters, brought to bear their rich intellectual qualifications, their large erudition and that sound practical sense of the value of things, which their chivalrous predecessors had completely lacked. The success of their prudent and sagacious policy brought glory and renown to the Princes, who rejoiced in it ; yet they never admitted that it was only due to the able devotion of trusty clever humanistic advisers like Busleyden ¹⁾. His — and his colleagues' — activity is only known from some stray mention of some function or other. Thus, when in the latter half of July 1508, the Emperor Maximilian arrived in Brussels, the Provost of Aire was entrusted with the honour of welcoming him by a speech in the Ducal Palace ²⁾. Some weeks later, in the first days of August, he was chosen to greet in Prince Charles's name the papal Legate Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal on his arrival in Mechlin ³⁾ ; he even offered the hospitality of his mansion, which that great personage accepted and made use of for the whole length of his stay ⁴⁾ ; having received a letter from his eminent guest on his return to Rome, Busleyden wrote to him in the latter half of February 1509 ⁵⁾, as well as afterwards, in April 1512, when he condoled with him for the loss of his title under

¹⁾ Moeller, 222; *ErasRott.*, 106-107; *MargvOK*, 206, 227, 313, 318, sq; cp. further, § 167.

²⁾ *Orat.* C ; cp. *MargvOK*, 314.

³⁾ *Orat.* D ; *Epp.*, 54, b-i ; cp. *MargvOK*, 314.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 70, 43. ⁵⁾ *Epp.* 54.

Jules II ¹⁾); of the summer of 1513 there is another letter, congratulating him on being restored in favour by Leo X ²⁾).

66. — Occasionally Busleyden was sent on embassy : he was amongst the noblemen delegated to congratulate Henry VIII on his accession in 1509 ³⁾). He was also one of those who went to offer the wishes of their Prince to Francis of Angoulême when at the death of his father-in-law, Louis XII, on January 1, 1515, he ascended the throne of France. — Besides those formal visits he was entrusted with more practical missions, as can be deduced from stray notes and allusions, since there does not seem to be extant any regular calendar. Thus when some damage was done to the estate of Charles de Croy, Prince of Chimay, by the English troops, which in 1513 invaded France near Thérouanne and besieged Tournai, an indemnity was claimed from Henry VIII through the two ambassadors who were just then being sent to the King : 'Du Rœulx and the Provost of Aire', namely Ferry de Croy, Lord of Rœulx, Governor of Artois, one of the first noblemen of the Netherlands ⁴⁾, and Jerome de Busleyden. Writing from Ghent on June 15, 1514, the Prince of Chimay repeated his request to Henry VIII, and mentioned the letter he had entrusted before to the ambassadors ⁵⁾.

67. — In February 1516, another embassy was preparing to be sent to Henry VIII, for on February 13 of that year Charles of Austria, writing from Brussels, recommended to 'Sir Edward Porynges', Controller of the Royal Household

¹⁾ *Epp.* 60.

²⁾ *Epp.* 70.

³⁾ Brewer, I, 224, sq : King Henry VII having died on April 21, 1509, Henry VIII married Catherine in conformity with his father's last wish, on June 11, and was crowned solemnly on June 24, 1509. No doubt Erasmus referred to that embassy when on Sept. 9, 1517, he mentioned to Wolsey : Perit et Hieronymus Buslidius qui pridem apud vos legatione functus est : Allen, III, 658, 52-53 ; *MargvOK*, 227.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, § 90.

⁵⁾ The Prince of Chimay also mentions that although Henry VIII gave little encouragement, he had asked the Provost of Cassel, George de Themseke, ordinary ambassador in England, to renew the application for him : Brewer, I, 5165.

and Warden of the Cinque Ports ¹⁾, the two ambassadors he was sending on his affairs, namely, the 'Sieur du —' (probably : du Rœulx ²⁾, Ferry de Croy), and the Provost of Aire ³⁾. On the next day, February 14, 1516, the English Orator in the Netherlands, Thomas Spinelly, advised the King that 'Court should be made to the great Master, — no doubt Ferry de Croy, Lord du Rœulx ⁴⁾ — and the Provost of Heyre, his fellow', — evidently Busleyden — and 'that Mr Ponynge be sent on to visit the Prince', viz., Charles ⁵⁾. To that embassy, of which very little is known, Thomas More alluded in his letter to Erasmus of about February 17, 1516, mentioning their common friend Busleyden, and adding : *Eum audio iam nunc ad Principem nostrum legatione functurum* ⁶⁾.

68. — Besides those embassies, Busleyden rendered several services to his Prince in the country itself ⁷⁾. On January 5, 1515, Charles was emancipated, and started taking possession of his estates : when he solemnly entered Mechlin, on February 4, 1515, Busleyden pronounced a speech of welcome and obeisance in the name of Mechlin clergy ⁸⁾. — One year later, when he had become the eldest ecclesiastical councillor, named in a list dated March 27, 1516 ⁹⁾, he was chosen as professional

¹⁾ Sir Edward Poynings or Ponynge (1459-1521) : *DNB*.

²⁾ Brewer, II, 1541 and 1478 : cp. before, § 48 ; also a few lines further here.

³⁾ Brewer, II, 1539.

⁴⁾ Ferry de Croy Lord 'du Roeulx', one of the chief noblemen of the Netherlands, Knight of the Golden Fleece, owed his importance to his office of 'Great and First Master of Charles of Austria's Household' ; he was, besides, Governor of the County of Artois, and Field-Marshal (*maréchal de l'ost*, equivalent to the *Connétable* of France) : Moeller, 139, 330 ; Gachard, 503, 512 ; Walther, 63.

⁵⁾ Brewer, II, 1541. Cp. before § 48, and a few lines higher, here.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 388, 147.

⁷⁾ Already in 1505 or 1506, he refers to his frequent displacings, in so far that the precious books lent him by Abbot de Hondt are safer chained up in the Abbey than free in his custody : 'quam apud me diutius morando libertate frui, hucque nunc atque illuc mecum uagari' : *Epp.* 26, 10-12.

⁸⁾ *Orat.* E ; Henne, II, 69-70, 92-93 ; Gachard, 14.

⁹⁾ *MalConM.*, 40-41.

Councillor together with Frederic of Bavaria, Prince Palatine, the nearest prince of blood, to go and receive the obedience of the duchy of Luxemburg, and to inaugurate vicariously the new Duke Charles, who did not want to delay his journey to Spain. They left Brussels on June 12, and returned on August 1, 1516 ¹⁾. — In December of that same year, Busleyden was sent on a mission to Utrecht : with what energy and decision he fulfilled it, can be derived from the fact that, half a year later, on August 4, 1517, his confidant and collaborator Adrian Josel, canon of Antwerp cathedral ²⁾, journeyed to Wijck-bij-Duurstede to see the Bishop so as to hand him letters of Busleyden and communicate his messages ; since his Lordship was not there, Josel journeyed on to Middelburg for he had heard that the Bishop Frederic III of Baden was expected there, and he wished to deliver the message to him in person. — At that time Busleyden himself had left the Netherlands on what was going to be his last journey, on June 24, 1517 ³⁾; he had namely been appointed as one of the seven councillors and ordinary masters of request of the 'hostel' of Charles of Austria ⁴⁾, chosen to accompany him to Spain, where he was going to take possession of the Kingdom of Castile.

¹⁾ Moeller, 254-54 ; Brewer, II. 2635 ; Henne, II, 95. — That mission was not exactly a pleasure trip, for Luxemburg just then suffered from the inroads of the French and their allies, in so far that in that same year Busleyden's cousin, the receiver Nicolas de Naves, protecting an estate and lordship coveted by the officers of France and Rethel, was taken prisoner by a Gelderland captain, and only released against a heavy ransom : cp. § 83. On that account the Prince Palatine and Busleyden had to be escorted by a strong body-guard : Henne, II, 169.

²⁾ Cp. further, §§ 76, *sq.* 93.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 147, v: 'Jtem de selue Mr. adriaen <Josel> es gereyst geweest na wijck iiiij^a augustj vut last vanden testatuer jn zyne absentie met zeker desselfs testatuers brieuen van credentien aen mynen heer van vutrecht aldair hij vaceerde gaende staende en comende tsamen v daigen betaelt voor waghen ende cost vj £ / Jtem de selue m. adriaen js gereyst jn persoen tot middelborch omde saken vanden testatuer verbeydende aldair mijnen heer van vutrecht aldair hij was zoe int Reysen zoe bliuende tsamen xj daghen ende verteert by hem tsamen ix £'.

⁴⁾ Walter, 213 : le prévost d'Aire : list of the Prince's Council, dated June 21, 1517. — Thus Jerome left Mechlin Great Council, — where he was replaced on June 1 by Adrian de Roubaix, — and entered the Privy Council : cp. § 74.

9. THE LAST JOURNEY

Testament Signed

69. — Though ready to comply with the wish of his Liege Lord, the Councillor was afraid of meeting his fate in the country where his brother had died fifteen years before. On that account he wanted to secure and realize a scheme which he had been contemplating for some time, namely the founding of an institution that was to ensure stability to the study and teaching of language and literature, which had been his great joy and consolation throughout his life. Erasmus, who had suggested that magnificent use of the wealth he had gathered, probably also had pointed out the only form which could afford vitality to such a foundation, namely that of well established professorships in the University, besides the necessary provision for scholars. As to the practical arrangement, he without doubt advised what to any unprejudiced onlooker would have appeared as the most efficient solution, namely grafting the foundation on the existing College of St. Donatian's in Louvain ¹⁾, which, for lack of means, was sadly declining, and had not been able to keep anything like the regular number of bursars for several years. That pitiful state had obtruded itself to him during the time that he was the guest of its president, his friend John Paludanus ²⁾, from 1502 to 1504 ; and he still saw for himself what was going on after twelve years of absence ; it looked as if any help offered to save that College from its impending ruin, would be most welcome. No doubt the advice was gratefully received, and Busleyden applied to John Stercke ³⁾, who was then president, with the request to draw up a sketch of the rules of the foundation, in the supposition that it was to be inserted on the old institution.

70. — John Stercke, one of Erasmus' staunch friends, made the draft on the strength of his own experience of the management of the College and of his acquaintance with Uni-

¹⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. III.

²⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. I ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 314-315.

³⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. I ; and further, §§ 71, 93.

versity life; it was submitted to Busleyden who corrected it; being copied out again, it was revised a second and a third time ¹⁾, before it was finally inserted into the will which Jerome de Busleyden dictated, signed and sealed in his house on June 22, 1517, on the eve of starting for the long journey ²⁾. He was comparatively young yet, not having reached the fifties, and he seems to have regretted that he did not dispose of larger means for his foundation. The fortune which he had inherited from his father and his brother Francis, to be true, had been enlarged by what his preferments yielded; still it had been liberally used towards the building and the adorning of his mansion. Although he hoped to accumulate still more funds for the plan ³⁾, he wanted to secure its execution in any case before he went on the journey to ill-omened Spain.

71. — The will made on June 22, 1517 consequently consisted of two very distinct parts: one expressing the testator's wishes about his burial and the disposal of some of his property to his family, his friends and his servants ⁴⁾; the other bringing the founding and endowing of his institution, with full details about the composition of his *Collegium* as well as about the discipline, the financial standing and the religious offices which he prescribed ⁵⁾. As executors Jerome de Busleyden chose three staunch friends: his former *familiaris*, *Magister* Adrian Josel ⁶⁾, canon of Our Lady's, Antwerp, who had remained his confidential helper and assistant in many affairs to which he himself could not personally attend; his old, close friend Nicolas de Nispen, secretary of the Bishop of Cambrai, con-

¹⁾ The three subsequent texts written by Nicolas Wary, of Marville (*Rek.*, 35 v), and corrected by Busleyden, are still extant in *FUL*, 1434; they will be edited in *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1.

²⁾ *NèveMém.*, 375-383. He provided in it for his numerous servants, especially his faithful footman Arnold van den Vekene, and his chaplain Philip Fourdin: *Rek.*, 22 v.

³⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1.

⁴⁾ *Viz.*, *Will*; cp. also further, § 99.

⁵⁾ *Viz.*, *Test.* Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1.

⁶⁾ He signs his name 'Adrianus Joseph'; he was Master of Arts, and probably had known Busleyden when at study in Louvain: cp. further, § 93, and *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1.

nected with the Synodal Court of the Official in Brussels ¹⁾; and his faithful chamberlain Bartholomeus van Vessem, whom he had had appointed to a canonry in St. Peter's, Aire ²⁾. For the case that the foundation should be grafted on either the College of Arras or on St. Donatian's, it was stipulated that, as fourth executor, should be taken either the Dean of St. Rombaut's, John Robbyns, 'provisor' of the former ³⁾, or John Stercke of Meerbeke, president of the latter ⁴⁾. That will, dictated by Jerome de Busleyden, was provided with his subscription and his signature, as well as with his ordinary seals: that of Archdeacon of Cambrai, and the oblong one of Provost of Aire in red wax on a black silk cord. It was moreover authenticated by the apostolic and imperial notary Walter de Ridder, *Militis*, in presence of the witnesses Henry van Haecht, priest, Nicolas Wary of Marville, clericus of Treves diocese ⁵⁾, and Giles Cupere, clericus of Cambrai diocese and citizen of Mechlin ⁶⁾.



¹⁾ Busleyden, no doubt, made his acquaintance through his brother the Archbishop of Besançon; he was intimately connected with a relative John van Nispen, who had become dean of St. Oedenrode: cp. further, § 93; *Carm.* II, d, iii; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1.

²⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 35, a, c; and further, §§ 76, sq, 93; also *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 53.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, § 69.

⁵⁾ He was a student of Louvain and seems to have been in connection with Busleyden as a scribe, possibly as a dependant; most probably he served as messenger and had brought to Mechlin the final draught made by Stercke which was inserted in Busleyden's will: he consequently is paid 5 philips, or 'vj £ v s', by common consent of the executors for several services rendered to the testator in various ways; also for writing his will and for other things: *Rek.* 35, v. He succeeded Stercke as president of the *Trilingue* on January 21, 1526, and died in that office on November 30, 1529: *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1, XI-XIII.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, § 99.

Way to Spain

72. — Whilst Charles of Austria with his retinue was waiting for several weeks at Middelburg for a favourable wind to sail to the country of which he had become king at the death of his grandfather Ferdinand ¹⁾, his trusty adviser, the Great Chancellor John le Sauvage, *Sylvagius*, was already on his way to Spain to prepare things for his arrival. Born in 1455, that John le Sauvage, Lord of Schoubeke, Itterbeek, Ligny ²⁾, and, since 1516, of Sterrebeek ³⁾, had been first member and then President of the Council of Flanders; he had shown great ability in preparing the treaty of Westminster, of May 1506, favouring trade between England and the Netherlands ⁴⁾, and was consequently promoted President of the Privy Council on June 24, 1508 ⁵⁾. In October and November of the same year, he was sent on a mission to England in view of the Treaty of Cambrai that was scheming ⁶⁾. On May 22, 1509 he succeeded John van der Vorst as Chancellor of Brabant ⁷⁾.

73. — As a favourer of a pro-French policy, Sauvage was, for several years, highly disliked by Margaret of Austria ⁸⁾, who wished him to resign either of his offices, and even

¹⁾ After taking leave of the States General at Ghent on June 16, 1517, Charles arrived by Bruges and Sluys at Middelburg on July 4, 1517, but embarked only on September 7, 1517: Moeller, 289, sq, 311, sq.

²⁾ He was the son of John and of Jacqueline de Boulongne; he married Antoinette d'Oignies, daughter of Francis, Lord of Ligny, and of Marie, Lady of Herines, who died on June 17, 1531, leaving a son John.

³⁾ Henne I, 64: he bought in that year the high justice of that lordship from Philip van der Meeren.

⁴⁾ Henne, I, 87, by letters of April 4, 1506.

⁵⁾ Henne, I, 194; Walther, 92, 101: he succeeded Thomas de Plaine.

⁶⁾ Henne, I, 201; *MargvOK*, 316, 324.

⁷⁾ Henne, I, 219; *Cran.*, 66, 10.

⁸⁾ That did not prevent that his son was amongst the few whose poetry seems to have been agreeable to Margaret: in her Album there is a small poem beginning: *Tant de gens savaige en ce monde &c*, ascribed to 'sauvage fils du président de Brabant': E. Gachet, *Albums et Œuvres Poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche*: Bruxelles, 1849: xi, 55.

applied on that account to the Emperor Maximilian to have Gerard de Plaine appointed ; still Sauvage was merely replaced during his absence, and not before 1514 did he transmit his Chancellorship of Brabant to Jerome van der Noot, Lord of Risoir ¹⁾. At the emancipation of Archduke Charles he rose again in favour : on January 17, 1515, he became Great Chancellor of Burgundy, and, in 1516, Chancellor of Castile. From then on he had a leading part in all affairs. He negotiated a convention, Febr. 13, 1516, and a treaty, April 19, 1516, with the English ambassadors, who had come in May 1515 to Bruges at the veering of the policy of the House of Austria ²⁾ : one of them, Sir Thomas Spinely described him on June 8, 1519, as : 'A man of great prudence and experience, plain and true, and that had no fellow like him in all the King's country beyond sea' ³⁾. Still he then openly favoured a friendly policy with France ; he attended the solemnizing of the Treaty of Noyon with Francis I, at Brussels on January 26, 1517, and was sent to the interview of Cambrai in February, where a Treaty was concluded on March 11, 1517 ⁴⁾. Some questions were still hanging about the execution of those treaties when Charles was ready to leave for Spain ; he therefore was sent in advance to France, and left the Netherlands on June 19, 1517. He was to be rejoined there by the ecclesiastical councillor Jerome de

¹⁾ Brewer, II, 40-4660 ; Henne, I, 219-20 ; Alexandre, 18 ; Walther, 92, 101 ; *Cran.*, II 4, a. Don Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida del Emperador Carlos V* : Pampeluna, 1618 : I, II, 40, 101, accuses Sauvage of selling openly all offices and appointments through Sucket : cp. further, §§ 74, 95, sq ; no doubt, his political sympathies displeased as much the Spaniards as they did Margaret. Still the fact that Charles on his emancipation gave him unequivocal proofs of great esteem, and the judgment of the English Royal agent Thomas Spinely, referred to in the following lines, make the accusation appear greatly exaggerated, as the Spanish historian describes Sucket 'por cuya mano se hazian estas ventas', as 'el conduto, y en nuestra lengua, albãnar de las inmundicias, que quando ay tales tratos corren' : Henne, I, 220.

²⁾ Henne, II, 88, 150, 162, 163 ; Walther, 34, 101, 150, 212 ; Alexandre, 18 (his son), 21.

³⁾ Brewer, II, II, 4218 (p 1309).

⁴⁾ Henne, II, 152, 174-77.

Busleyden, and by his friend and favourite, the councillor Antony Sucket, with both of whom he was to continue his way to Spain ¹).

74. — This Antony Sucket was the son and grandson of Mechlin physicians ²). His grandfather John Sucket ³), a native of Rouen diocese, had come to Louvain in 1430 ⁴) as master of Arts of Paris University ; he taught philosophy for nearly ten years ⁵), but turned meanwhile to medecine ; having promoted doctor in September 1441 ⁶), he became professor of that branch on January 26, 1442 ⁷). He finished up a well-filled academic career ⁸) by a journey and mission to Rome, de-

¹) Moeller, 253-54, 292 ; *MalConM*, 29. Cp. further, § 75.

²) *MalMéd.*, 169 ; *ULDoc.*, II, 197 ; his father John was medical Doctor ; his mother was Aleide de Brayne : *ConPri.*, I, 63.

³) The name is also written *Sucquet*, *Suquet*, and even *Zuquet*.

⁴) *ULMatr.*, 104, 12.

⁵) He was admitted by the Faculty of Arts as *legens* on Oct. 7, 1430, as *regens* for 1431-32, and 1432-33, and once more as *legens* for 1437-38 ; in the meantime he may have tutored students, — besides working at medecine ; at any rate on October 8, 1438, he requested to be allowed teaching logic in his own house, which was granted, on condition to read once or twice a month 'pro forma in scholis consuetis' : *ULDoc.*, II, 206, 208, 210, 214, 217-19, 273. He promoted licencié in medecine in 1441, which proves that he had studied that science for several years.

⁶) *VAnd.*, 227. The Bishop of Cambrai, John VIII of Burgundy, came to attend that promotion ; the Louvain authorities made him a present in wine, and also contributed towards the banquet offered by the new doctor : *ULDoc.*, II, 148.

⁷) He is mentioned in the Town accounts for his lectures, as successor to Henry van Oesterwyc, at the very low fees of fifty guilders a year, from 1442 (January 26) to September 2, 1444 ; — after that date no lectures in medecine are mentioned in the town records until 1456, — probably as a result of the institution of two lectures paid by two prebends in St. Peter's, decreed by Pope Eugene IV in 1443, which caused the appointment of Adam Bogaert in 1444, and of John Stockelpot in 1445 : *VAnd.*, 221-2. No doubt Sucket continued tutoring, occasionally lecturing, and, for certain, professing, medecine, remaining a member of the Faculty : *ULDoc.*, II, 77-86, 193, 196-97.

⁸) Having passed from the Faculty of Arts to that of Medecine by Febr. 1441, Sucket was appointed *Dictator Universitatis* on May 27, 1441, which function he resigned before June 17, 1447 ; his fees — una libra grossorum — being granted to him on June 22 ; the University

cided on in Dec. 1547 ¹⁾, and, on his return, settled as physician at Mechlin ²⁾. His grandson Antony matriculated in Louvain on July 30, 1488 ³⁾, and after his studies of philosophy and, no doubt, of law, he was appointed as secretary and legal councillor of the town of Bruges. He married Isabella de Walle, or Wale, d'Axpoele ⁴⁾, and their sons Charles and John were born in that town ⁵⁾, with which he remained connected until 1515 ⁶⁾. In that year, at the ascent in power of his friend and protector John le Sauvage, he became confidential collaborator of the Great Chancellor ⁷⁾, and was appointed as Councillor, ordinary Master of Requests of the 'hostel' of Charles of Austria ⁸⁾. As could be expected he was chosen as one of the council that was to accompany the Archduke to Spain, and with his colleague Jerome de Busleyden, he was directed to rejoin the Chancellor in France ⁹⁾. With a train of lords and officials, — amongst them the secretary Peter le

had no end of trouble to find a successor : *ULAct.*, I, 416, 475, II, 82, 364. For the Faculty of Medicine he was elected Rector on May 31, 1441, as well as on February 28, 1447, and continued on May 27 following : *ULAct.*, I, 402, II, 66, 77, 352, 354 ; he often was chosen as deputy for the rectorial elections and as *Judex Appellationis*, e. g., *ULAct.*, II, 2, 30, 48, 54, 56, &c. Cp. *VAnd.*, 36-37, 50 ; *Vern.*, 64, 238 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 253, 255, 313.

¹⁾ *ULAct.*, II, 104, 119 ; he was still in Rome on May 24, 1448, probably about a question of jurisdiction.

²⁾ The *Macutus Sucket*, who matriculated in 1447, and the *Denis Sucket*, who was inscribed in 1450 : *ULMatr.*, 31, 24, 190, 13 ; *ULAct.*, II, 134, 197, may have been John's sons.

³⁾ *Excerpts*, 90.

⁴⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 251 (de Walle dite Axpoele) ; *BrugInscr.*, I, 140 (de Waele dite Axpoele).

⁵⁾ *LibIntIII*, 250 v ; Charles was born about 1508.

⁶⁾ *BrugEst.*, 420, 448-49 (1512-1514) ; Henne, II, 127 (1515).

⁷⁾ Evil tongues said that Sucket was used by Sauvage as go-between to hide a hideous traffic of offices and favours : Henne, I, 220, II, 201 ; cp. before, § 73.

⁸⁾ *ConPri.*, I, 63-64 (with coat of arms) ; *ConPriT.*, 65 ; Gachard, 509 ; Walther, 213 ; Henne, II, 201 ; Alexandre, 18 ; Bergh, II, 155, sq ; *MalConF*, 33. — Sucket bore as crest *gules with a saltire, or, and twelve bezants, silver, three and three*.

⁹⁾ Moeller, 292 ; Brewer, II, 3327, 3343, 3417 ; cp. before, § 73, and further, §§ 95, sq.

Barbier ¹⁾, — they left on their journey on June 24, and were to prepare with the Chancellor the reception of Charles of Austria in Spain ²⁾. Erasmus announcing, on August 23, 1517, to his friend Beatus Rhenanus the partial payment of his pension as Imperial Councillor, and a promise for more by the Chancellor Sauvage, expresses sanguine expectations from the latter's journey to Spain, especially on account of his being escorted by two of his dear friends, Peter Barbirius and Jerome de Busleyden ³⁾.

Death at Bordeaux

75. — Unfortunately Jerome de Busleyden was laid up at Bordeaux with pleurisy, which seems to have been epidemic, and he died there on August 27, 1517 ⁴⁾, after having made a codicil to his will, adding to his executors the two colleagues who were with him ⁵⁾. The Chancellor Sauvage could only see to the dispositions taken at Bordeaux for the funeral of his friend, since he himself fell ill in Spain ⁶⁾, and died at Saragossa on June 7, 1518 ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 89, *a-d*; Allen, III, 628, ⁵¹⁻⁵², 695, ³⁴; *RhenE.*, 97-98.

²⁾ Busleyden was paid as Councillor until June 24 : *Rek.*, 6. Still Adrian de Roubaix appears to have been nominated on June 1, 1517 to take Busleyden's place at the Great Council : *MalConR.*, 16.

³⁾ *RhenE.*, 97-98; Allen, III, 628, ⁴⁹⁻⁵².

⁴⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1; Moeller, 84-86, 292; *ErAllen.*, 156-159; *MalConM.*, 28, 41 *r, v*; *MalConR.*, 11-14.

⁵⁾ The inventory of the documents of the *Trilingue* describes under B : Jtem eenen brief vander stad van bourdeaulx beseghelt met des Conincx zeghel ende onderteekent by Johannes Douzeau clericus Maleastensis dioc., zijnde een codicil gemaect bijden voerscr. fundateur jn walschen, van den date xv C xvij den xxvijen dach der maent Augustj : *Inv.*, 1, *r*.

⁶⁾ Brewer, II, 2685, 2765.

⁷⁾ Brewer, II, 4218, 4244 (Spinelly, 8 June : The Chancellor has fallen sick of a hot fevre... he died yesterday to the regret of all). Cp. before §§ 72-73; *ConPri.*, I, 19-21 (with armorial bearings); *ConPriT.*, 61-62; *BrabCon.*, I, 43-45; Le Glay; *SweABelg.*, 475; *SweMon.*, 283, and *BruxBas.*, I, 80-81 (both quoting his epitaph in St. Gudula's, Brussels); Allen, II, 410, *pr*; Thibaut, 53; *MalConC.*, 37; &c. — Although somewhat disappointed (§ 59; Allen, IX, 2613, ⁸⁻¹⁵), Erasmus dedicated to him, in gratitude for his protection, the new edition of *Institutio Principis Christiani* (Basle, July, 1518). Some of Sauvage's relatives are mentioned in *SweMon.*, 284; *BruxBas.*, I, 47, 30.

76. — As it was the wish of the deceased to be buried in Mechlin in case he should die on this side the Pyrenees, it was decided that his chamberlain Bartholomew van Vessem, who had accompanied him, would take back the body, in a leaden coffin ¹⁾, as well as the smaller valuables. He was an executor of the will, and consequently took in hand the management of the affairs. With Sucket he made an inventory of what had belonged to his master. With the help of the clerk of the outlay in Busleyden's service, they drew up a list of the gold and silver coins, of the jewels and of all the precious objects ²⁾. As it was not possible to take back to the Netherlands all the belongings, three chests, filled with dresses and lighter goods, were sent by sea from Bordeaux to Middelburg ³⁾, whereas the more cumbersome objects, comprising kitchen utensils, a bed and its bedding, besides riding dresses and such commodities as were likely to be helpful to the party that was to continue the way to Spain, were entrusted to Antony Sucket ⁴⁾. Meanwhile van Vessem started on the way back with Busleyden's servants and ten horses ⁵⁾. With his sad trust, he reached Mechlin on September 21, and appeared already on the next day with his co-executor Adrian Josel and the notary Walter Militis before the Dean John Robbys ⁶⁾ and the Chapter of St. Rombaut's in the capitular room, offering Busleyden's will; it was examined and recognized as authentic

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 17 v : ... vander dootscrijne...dair jnne dlijck metter loeten kisten geset was...

²⁾ *Rek.*, 1 r, v : Jnden jersten stellen de voirs, testamenteurs voer ontfanck alle de penningen van goude ende andere beuonden jn des testatuers boegette tot bordeeus aldair hij affliuich werdt die heer Anthonys sucket Ridder ende bartholomeeus van vessem aldair deden Jnuentarieeren by henricken scellinck clerck des despens des voirs. testateurs met meer ander juwelen van ringhen ende diergelijcke... tsamen dese somme vanden ducaten vij C vj £ xi s vi d'.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 47, v : Jtem den coopman galeeron vander vracht vanden vors. drie cofferen <metten bagagien> gebracht tscepe van bordeaux tot middelborch tsamen iiij Rg. vj st.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, § 95.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 16, r : Jtem betaelt voer de costen van thien peerden jnt gemeyn van xxja septembris vors. dat zij quamen metten Lijcke tot datse vercocht waeren...

⁶⁾ Cp. further, § 99.

on the strength of his hand and his seals and of the notary's attestation ; consequently it was declared valid and due to be fully effected, in presence of five witnesses : Simon Robosch, John Jansen, *Johannis*, Nicolas de Sluytere, John Hoeldere, priests, and Simon Reys, verger of St. Rombaut's ¹).

77. — The first care of the executors was to provide a solemn funeral : after the Office of the Defuncts and a Requiem Mass, celebrated on September 24 in the choir of St. Rombaut's, draped in black, amidst lighted tapers ²), attended by mourners and friends, several of whom carried crested candles ³), the body was laid to rest on the right side of the high altar ⁴). The grave was covered with a tombstone, inlaid with brass after a design by John of Brussels ⁵), made into a pattern and worked out on the metal by the Emperor's embroiderer Archangel, an Italian ⁶), before it was incrustated into the polished stone in Antwerp ⁷). — According to Busleyden's

¹) *MechlMS*, 1 r-2 v ; cp. further, § 99.

²) *Rek.*, 28, v-29, r ; cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1.

³) Cp. further, § 78.

⁴) *VAndEx.*, 6 ; *NèveMém.*, 43. From the following note it appears that the executors were not granted the place for the tomb which they should have liked.

⁵) *Rek.*, 96, r : Jtem mr. Jan van bruessel van syn hant om te bescriuen zeker patroonen ende te teekenen tvors. cooper opten voirs. serck dwelc hij heeft moeten herdoen mits dat ons niet en mocht volgen die plaetse gecoren totten stellen vanden voirs. serck dairjune oic begrepen zeker voigien by hem tot mehlen hier om gedaen tsamen xxxvj £ — Van Vessem made two journeys to Brussels, one to order the drawing, and another to 'satisfy the painter' : 'om den schilder te contenteeren', who probably did not quite understand what was wanted ; a third visit was necessary to see to the conveyance of the brass from Antwerp to Brussels : *Rek.*, 98, v, 99, r.

⁶) *Rek.*, 96, r : Jtem archangelo eenen Italiaen bordurwerker des Keyzers van te hebben geschreuen opt vors. coper vander sepultueren nade ordinantie van mr. gielijs <van Busleyden> ij £ x s. — On that account the brass plate was taken from Antwerp to Brussels, and returned with the drawing to Antwerp, where it was cut out and inlaid in the tombstone : *Rek.*, 96, r. Cp. before, § 46.

⁷) *Rek.*, 96, v : Jtem tot antwerpen js besteet met cooper te beleggen den voirs. sarck vander sepultueren des testateurs ende te stekene naede schilderye daerop gemaect <viz. John of Brussels' pattern> soemen sien mach elken voet om twee Rynsgulden ende soe den sarck

instructions, one of his paintings was hung up near the tombstone after two wings had been added ¹⁾; on the outside of those wings the painter 'Henri jnt gulden hoot', — Henry of the (house known as) Gilt Head, — painted an Angel with the coat of arms of the deceased, and on the inside his portrait on the one wing and, on the other in gilt letters, the epitaph which Erasmus had composed ²⁾ and sent, in November 1517, in answer to Giles de Busleyden's request, with the promise of making one or more others as soon as he would know his pleasure ³⁾.

78. — A few months later Erasmus sent to Giles a Greek epitaph, and a corrected version of the first (Latin) one (= α), to which one line was added (= β). The text, which was also sent to John Robbyns, dean of Mechlin, on March 26, 1518, is as follows ⁴⁾ :

seer groot js ende het geграueert thien voeten jnde lengde ende v voeten jnde breyde houdt soe gedraecht de somme sonder de voirs. schilderye j C lb.

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 17, v : Jtem betaelt Jan den scrijnmaker... van ij dueren aent groot tauereel met hueren lijsten Jnden choire hangende byde sepultuer... Jtem vanden slootken leekens ende een cremmeken aen te sluyten tvoirs tauereel iij s. — *Rek.*, 96, v. : Jtem van een slootken gemaict ende geslagen opt tauereel metten epitaphie staende jnde muer byde sepultuir ende van tselue tauereel vast te doen maken met yser metter stoffen altsamen x s.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 17, v : 'Jtem henr. Jnt gulden hoot schilder van te hebben gemaect binnen opte vors. dueren op deen zijde de figuer van den testatuer ende op dander het epitaphie met gulden letteren ende buyten eenen Jngel metten wapene sluyten... betaelt xxx £. Cp. § 46.

³⁾ Allen, III, 699, 19-29 : = α ; the epitaph counts seven verses ; for three words an equivalent is added.

⁴⁾ The text of the Greek and of the Latin (β) epitaph, as quoted here, is reproduced in EE, 377, F - 378, E ; Nève *Mém.*, 45 ; Allen, III 804, 18-42. A first draught of the Latin, with an equivalent for some words, was sent by Erasmus to Giles de Busleyden about November 1517 : Allen, III, 699, 22-30 (= α). The second and revised form (without equivalents), reproduced in Allen, III, 804, 34-42 (= β), is quoted also by Swe *Mon.*, 254-55, with the mention that it was added to the picture representing the founder in the *Trilingue*.

EPITAPHIUM
 AD PICTAM IMAGINEM CLARISSIMI VIRI
 HIERONYMI BVSLIDIANI
 PRÆPOSITI ARIENSIS ET CONSILIARII REGIS CATHOLICI
 FRATRIS REVERENDISSIMI PATRIS AC DOMINI FRANCISCI
 ARCHIEPISCOPI QVONDAM BIZONTINI
 QVI LOVANII MAGNIS IMPENDIIS INSTITVIT COLLEGIVM
 IN QVO PVBLICE TRES LINGVÆ DOCEANTVR
 HEBRAICA GRÆCA LATINA

IAMBOI TRIMETROI

‘Ο τήνδε γράψας σώματος μορφήν καλῶς,
 Ὡφέλες ἄγαλμα ζωγραφεῖν καὶ τοῦ νοός.
 Ἑσιδεῖν ἂν εἴη πίνακος ἐν μιᾷς πέδῳ,
 Ἀρετῶν ἀπασῶν ἐρατὸν ἐγγύθεν χορόν.
 Τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν ἱεροπρεπὴ πάνυ,
 Τὴν σεμνότητα τὴν τε σωφροσύνην ἅμα,
 Τὴν χρηστότητα τὴν τε παιδείαν καλήν —
 Καὶ ταῦτα κάλλα μόνος ὑπήρχ’ Ἱερώνυμος
 Ὁ Βουσλεδιακῆς οἰκίας σέλας μέγα.

TROCHAICI TETRAMETRI

Nominis Buslidiani proximum primo decus,
 Itane nos orbas virenti raptus æuo, Hieronyme ?
 Literæ, genus, senatus, aula, plebs, ecclesia
 Aut suum sydus requirunt aut patronum flagitant.
 Nescit interire quisquis vitam honeste finiit :
 Fama virtutum perennis viuet vsque posteris.
 Eruditio trilinguis triplici facundia
 Te loquetur, cuius opibus restituta reffloruit.

To this large picture, hung up near the grave, a smaller painting was added representing Busleyden's coat of arms

TEXTUAL NOTES 2 Itane nos]β; α Sic tuos 2 orbas]β; α adds,
 for choice, linqus 4 sydus]β; α adds lumen 5 Nescit... finiit]β;
 abest in α 7 facundia]β; α adds præconio 8 restituta]β; α re-
 diit ac

surmounted by his protonotary hat ¹⁾ : it was made by Henry de Bruyne, painter, — possibly not different from the Henry of the Gilt Head, who painted the wings for the larger picture ²⁾. Sixty years later these two pictures, as well as the monumental brass over the tomb were destroyed by the fury of the savage soldiery ³⁾.

79. — The solemn funeral service in Mechlin, ending up in the burial by the side of the altar, was marked by an exceptional generosity in the observation of the customary liberalities : wax candles ⁴⁾ and hangings were offered to the church ⁵⁾ ; loaves of bread and money, to the poor ⁶⁾, and black dresses, to the executors and friends, as well as to the servants and the old retainers ⁷⁾, besides the copious repast to all those who took part in the function ⁸⁾. — A few days later a second solemn service was held in St. Gudula's, Brussels, where the deceased had been canon and treasurer, at the request and for the

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 17, v : Item betaelt Henricke de bruyne schilder van een. grooten wapen des testatuers gemaect in een tauereel van houte metten prothonotar. hoet hangende oick by de sepultuer iiiij £ xv s. — Besides this large coat of arms 'the painter' — who is not otherwise named — made six larger scutcheons to be hung on the pall during the service, forty-one of the size of a 'blade', a leaf <possibly of an *in-folio* size> and 30 of half that size — 'van eenen haluen blade', — to be attached to the torches : the amount for them was paid by Bartholomew <van Vessem> : *Rek.*, 17, r.

²⁾ Indeed, in the margin to f 17 v of the Account, *Rekening*, only one note mentioning the payment of the money : 'patet per quintanciam jpsius henricj' (*Rek.* 17, v) is placed by the side of the second of two items, one referring to 'Henricke de bruyne', and the other to 'henr. Jnt gulden hoot'. Cp. § 46.

³⁾ Cp. Laenen, I, 258, sq, II, 126, sq.

⁴⁾ *Rek.* 17, r, 43, r.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 20, r.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 18, r.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 20, r-21, v : 'Jtem tot Antwerpen gecocht zwert laken van diuerse prijzen dair mede de dienaren des testatuers <and, amongst them, even an old servant of the Archbishop of Besançon, Guillaume Mahu> de executueren ende de vrienden gecleedt ende xxiiij tabbaerden met cappruynen gemaect waeren'... &c ; black dresses were also provided to poor men who carried torches in the funeral procession : the cost amounted to over five hundred pounds.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 18, r, v : the total expense came to nearly 333 pounds.

benefit of his brother Giles, whose family and friends may have been prevented from attending the burial at Mechlin ¹⁾. Meanwhile thirty masses were celebrated in the choir of St. Rombaut's with the *De Profundis* said at the tomb after each mass ²⁾, and the exonerating of a thousand masses ordered by the will, was started at once ³⁾.

10. EXECUTION OF THE WILL

Legacies and Bequests

80. — Most of the legacies to churches and convents were executed at once : in St. Rombaut's an anniversary was founded as well as a solemn mass on St. Jerome's feastday ⁴⁾ ; one of Busleyden's robes in gold cloth was transformed into two copes, each provided with his crest ⁵⁾ ; the organ which was in his large room over the portal was removed and placed in the church at the expense of the succession ⁶⁾, and a carver adorned the screen with the figures of two angels holding up a pyx ⁷⁾ ; for services rendered the dean John Robbys, who was to have been one of the executors, was offered a silver

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 19, *r* ; a messenger had been sent to Brussels to invite Giles to the funeral service : *Rek.*, 39, *v*.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 19, *r* : Jtem noch by h. andries loorts ende h. philips fourdin gedaen xxx missen jnden choire die telcken accedeerden de sepultuer metten wijwater lesende eenen de profundis cum collecta voer de ziele dair voer betaelt iiij £.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 19, *r* : the sum of 'I C £ was paid for those masses, viz., 2 shillings each.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 23, *v* : the amount came to 478 pounds.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 23, *v* : 12 pounds 12 shillings were spent on the arrangement.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 25, *r* : the removing and placing cost 140 pounds : cp. before, § 42.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 98, *r* : Jtem betaelt Jannen van louen van gemaict te hebben twee houten jngelen houdende een ciborie vanden sacramente ende onder de wapenen des testateurs gestelt jnden stoel vanden orgelen jn Ste Rombouts kerke byden testateur gegeuen iiij £ Ende vanden seluen jnghelen te stoffeeren ende te vergulden... tsamen viij £ x s. — The organ in St. Rombaut's was destroyed at the sack of 1580 ; when renewed, thirty years later, the case was once more adorned by two angels carved in wood and painted : Laenen, II, 307-308.

vessel ¹⁾. — To Busleyden's parish church, St. John's, were paid the three quires of the large music book on parchment which he had ordered to be written out ²⁾. — The St. Peter's church of Aire, of which he was provost, was generously remembered : an anniversary was founded ³⁾, and a sum of one hundred pounds was given ⁴⁾ ; moreover a silver cross, gilt and enamelled ⁵⁾, which had belonged to his brother the Archbishop, was bequeathed to serve as shrine for a rather large particle of the Holy Rood : '*magnam aliquam particulam*', which the Church possessed ⁶⁾ besides two other similar relics ⁷⁾ : it is mentioned in the inventory made in 1536 as weighing 14 marks and six ounces, and in the XVIIIth century it was used for the weekly mass of the Passion, replacing the oldest relic of the H. Cross given to the Church by Philip of Alsace, which according to the act of a foundation of 1513, by the treasurer John Lambert, was to be exposed during that hebdomadal service ⁸⁾. In addition to those liberalities and to the funeral mass which had been celebrated there, Busleyden's substitute was fully paid for all his expenses, especially those

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 24, 1 : to Jacob Robbyns—possibly a brother of the Dean — were given a silver jug, gilt and enamelled, as well as six 'Rose nobles' for services rendered to the deceased, who had forgotten to reward him, or to make him a legacy.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 37, 1 : Jtem betaeld van iij quaternen van den grooten gescreuen sanchoecken jnt perkament voer de kerke van Sint Jans te mechelen... v £ v s.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 22, 1 : a sum of two hundred pounds was paid, besides ten pounds for the anticipation of the first anniversary.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 22, 1 : the sum was paid in coins.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 22, 1 : blijct by quitancie van... een gulden cruys derseluer kerke gelegateert ende jn specie geleuert : — marginal note added to the mention of the bequest of j C £.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Will.*, 73, sq ; and before, § 33.

⁷⁾ The Collegiate Church of Aire possessed a relic of the H. Cross in a large silver shrine in the form of a Patriarchal or Lorraine-cross ; it had been given by Count Philip of Alsace, to whom it was lent again for his crusade ; after his death before Ptolemaïs, in 1191, it was brought back and returned. A second relic, in a gilt brass shrine, was bestowed on St. Peter's in 1424 by Antony of Haveskerque Lord of Fontaines and Fléchin : *AireSP.*, 75, 231-233.

⁸⁾ *AireSP.*, 234-35.

caused by repairs and by the fit keeping of the provost's mansion ¹⁾).

81. — To the parish-church of Steenberg and to the other churches of which Busleyden was canon, various bequests were paid out ²⁾), and so were those made to the Carmelite convent of Arlon, where the three brothers had founded an anniversary for their parents ³⁾), as well as to the convent of the same order at Marche, and to St. Martin's convent at Treves ⁴⁾). The three begging orders in Mechlin were not forgotten, nor was the Hanswyck community ⁵⁾); still more liberally were treated the servants and the old servants, as well as the child of one of them to whom the deceased had been god-father ⁶⁾), whereas ample provision had been made already during his life for the poor, of which the execution had been entrusted to his confidential friend, the Antwerp canon Adrian Josel ⁷⁾).

82. — The special bequests to Busleyden's relatives were probably paid out without much delay : they comprized the sum of 150 pounds stipulated to each of the four nieces, daughters of his sisters Mary and Catherine ⁸⁾), which was also

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 36 v : Jtem... een Rekeninghe... vanden seluen vicarijs... van een vutuaert aldair gedaen ende van reparatien aender prosdyen huys...; cp. before, § 32.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 22, r : one hundred pounds were paid to Steenberg church, thirty to the cathedral of Cambrai, twenty to St. Waudru's, at Mons, twenty to St. Gudula's, Brussels, and twelve to St. Lambert's of Liège.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 3; — *Rek.*, 22, v : den conuente vanden Carmelieten tot arelon... j C £.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 23, r : the former received one hundred, the latter fifty pounds.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 23, r : each order received ten pounds, Hanswyck seven measures of wine.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 22, v, 23, r, 25 v.

⁷⁾ *Will.* 96, sq; *Rek.*, 22, v : Josel had to distribute 300 pounds, and was offered on that account fifty golden florins.

⁸⁾ According to the *Will.* 136, sq, 600 florins were destined for the daughters of the two younger sisters, and it was stipulated that each should have 200 florins : no doubt the testator was mistaken, as they were four : the executors paid 150 florins to each : *Rek.*, 24, v.

paid out to Bernard of Hondelange, Lord of Elle, husband of a fifth niece, Elizabeth Haltfast, daughter of his eldest sister Jacqueline, who had not been mentioned in his will ¹⁾. Francis, the son of his youngest brother Valerian, to whom Jerome had bequeathed one third of the amount realized on the mansion ²⁾, did not survive his uncle ³⁾. The will stipulated that in case of his dying before the testator, his share in the amount of the sale of the mansion was to go to the New College ; but that clause was not added to the bequest of all the gold, silver and brass coins. On that account his mother is recorded to have received the equivalent of a gold ring with an emerald ⁴⁾, besides the fifteen golden, and the two hundred silver medals and coins which she claimed as hers ⁵⁾, and besides the gold ring with a diamond point, which she had lent to Jerome. Unfortunately both rings had been lost on the journey ; on that account the dying prelate had added a codicil to his will at Bordeaux to make up for them ⁶⁾.

83. — It thus happened that the chief, almost the exclusive, heir amongst the relatives, was Busleyden's eldest brother Giles. To him was destined one third of the amount of the sale of the mansion and of the houses in the testator's possession at his departure for Spain ⁷⁾, and so were several of the choice items of his furniture. The ornate silver Bacchus cup, in which the deceased had prided himself so much, was given to him ⁸⁾ ; so were several pieces of tapestry, cushion covers and mule trappings worked in the family colours, gold, red and blue ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 24, *v*, and before, § 11.

²⁾ *Will*, 109, *sq*.

³⁾ *Cp.* before, § 9.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 24, *v*-25, *r* ; *cp.* before, § 10.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 3, *r*, *v* ; and before, § 10.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 24, *r*, and before, § 10.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 25 *r*, *v* ; *cp.* further, § 87.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 99, *v* : Jnden yersten M. gielisse van busleyden brueder des testateurs js by den testateur gelegateert ende hem geleuert geweest Eenen zilueren cop binnen ende buyten vergult met bachus wegende vier marck vj onchen'. That cup had been made in Antwerp under Dean Adrian Sandelicus' supervision : *cp. Epp.* 39-44.

⁹⁾ *Rek.*, 99, *v* : Jtem den seluen M. gielisse zynen brueder gegeuen ende geleuert ter causen van diuerschen stucken daeromme de voirs. wylen zyn brueder jn hem gehouden ende oick om diuersche diensten

some draughts of pictures on paper, an *altare portatile* ¹⁾, eleven napkins, an antique table bell and several copper medals and coins ²⁾. — His wife, Adrienne de Gondeval, received a gold ring with a diamond table ³⁾, and two sable furs ⁴⁾; his eldest son Francis, all the '*instrumenta musicalia*', as lutes, flutes, clavichords, &c, besides several books of music ⁵⁾. — A few objects were given to special friends: Busleyden's cousin by his mother, Nicolas de Naue or Naves, of Marville, then receiver for Luxemburg, was offered a big ring with a turquoise ⁶⁾. For services rendered and not rewarded, a M. Jan Beysier received a small picture of St. Anthony 'jn deserto' ⁷⁾;

hem gedaen etc vyf stucken tappecheryen van saye root gheluwe ende blauwe drie cussebladeren vanden seluen coleure geborduert — *Rek.*, 100, *r*: Jtem drie couertueren oft decxels van muylen van laken vanden seluen coleuren metten wapenen *etc.*

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r*: Jtem M. gielisse voirs. gegeuen diuersche patroonen jn papier Ende een altare portatile.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r*: Jtem xj fyn seruietten een gegoten belle antique met cornucopie ende zeker getalle van cooperen penningen oft medalien. — Those copper coins had been bequeathed with the golden and silver ones to Francis, Valerianus' son; but no doubt his mother did not attach much value to them, — or, maybe, she left them on purpose for Giles.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 99, *v*: eenen gouden Rinck met een taeffel van Dyamant.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r*: Jtem mynder Jouffrouwen zyner huysvrouwen voirs. twee geheel vellen van sabels.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 99, *v*; cp. before, § 16.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 99, *v*: Jtem M. Claese de Naue Neue vanden testateur js gelaten ende geleuert eenen grooten Rinck met eenen torquois: cp. before, § 12. — This Nicolas de Naves, of Marville, J. V. L., receiver for Luxemburg, had to protect the duchy against the troops of France and her allies; in 1516 he was taken prisoner by a Gelderland captain, and only released against a heavy ransom. He was one of the envoys who in Juli 1525 renewed the truce of Heusden, and extended it to Robert de la Marck. Charles V appointed him as president of the new Luxemburg Council in 1531; as he had to defend the right to several lordships against the Archbishop of Treves and the Count of Mandercheidt, Mary of Hungary entrusted to him on October 24, 1541 the *Homagia Luxemburgiæ*, which he vindicated until his death in 1546: Henne, II, 169, IV, 51; Hoynck, I, II, 644; *Mansfeld*, I, 103, II, 30. He left two sons called John: one, 1500-1547, was Imperial Vice-Chancellor from 1540 to 1547; the other, 1524-1577, died as Don Juan's councillor general of war: *HisTriLov.*, chaps. I, XIX.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r*: een tauereelken van sinte anthonis jn deserto.

the painter 'Henrick jnt gulden hoot', nine sketches on canvas of subjects for stained-glass windows ¹⁾ and John Metten Ghelde, a small looking-glass ²⁾. To the Antwerp friend 'Philip Bokeler', de Beuckelaer, was returned as a remembrance, the small ship which he had offered to the testator ³⁾, and so was to Adrian Josel, his own portrait ⁴⁾. A last item was given to Jannen Wyts, evidently one of Busleyden's confidential friends : without doubt he was the faithful squire who had served Mary of Burgundy and her son, until Charles V created him Warden of the Waters and Marshes of Flanders : he was given a painted portrait of his deceased friend and protector ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r* ; cp. before, § 46.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r* : een cleyn spiegelken. — Janne Metten Ghelde had been Busleydens servant: *Will.*, 171, *sq*; with the dean John Robbyns, and his father, he is stated to have received a new black dress as 'vrienden des huys', friends of Busleyden's house: *Rek.*, 20, *v*. In fact Jerome had been godfather to "Jans dochter", who on that account was offered 'vj £' : *Rek.*, 23, *r*. It appears that in faithful affection John metten Ghelde was always ready to place himself at Busleyden's service, and rendered him no end of help, in so far that the executors thought that the bequest of xij £ made to him in the Will was insufficient, and decided with Giles de Busleyden's consent to add 'xv £' : *Rek.*, 23, *r*. On March 28, 1519 he founded in memory of his wife, Cecilia Verheyen, a Sunday Mass in St. Rombaut's at the altar of St. Anne, which had been granted in 1510 to the use of the Guild of St. John, or 'de Pioene', a 'Chambre de Rhétorique' : Laenen, 11, 296.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r* : een cleyn sceepken van houte met een custodiken pro memoria want hyt den testateur gegeuen hadde ; cp. *Epp.*, 24, *b*.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 100, *r* : Jtem M. Adriane Josel coexecuteur zyns selfs effigie weder ouer geleuert als bevonden ; cp. before, §§ 71, 68, and § 89.

⁵⁾ John Wyts, son of John and Margaret van Wyc, originary from West Flanders, was lord of Berentrode, Wilrenburch and Wytfliet. He had been employed at Court under Mary and Maximilian ; he was appointed squire of the kitchen by Archduke Philip on April 11, 1493 ; having been pantler to his son Charles since July 13, 1518, he was made 'Watergrave' and 'Moormeester' of Flanders, in which office he was succeeded by his sons. He died in 1533, and was buried in St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, in the chapel he had had constructed in 1529 in honour of the Holy Name with his wife Barbara Vrancx, daughter of Giles, and Elizabeth van Duffele ; they had founded a chaplaincy in that chapel, which they endowed on Sept. 12, 1530 and July 4, 1531 ; it subsisted to the French Revolution thanks to the generosity of their descendants : in September 1914 a German shell destroyed the last monuments of their bounty : *Brug&Fr.*, 11,

84. — Besides those gifts, which were as the interpretation of the testator's mind, the executors put right some omissions probably resulting from the hurried departure. Thus Busleyden had accepted ten Rhine florins from the Lord of Winghe on behalf of the dean John Robbyns, which the latter had not received. For translating some documents from Italian into French, Busleyden had been paid more by one Martin de Samodio, than had been granted to him for it by the Great Council, who consequently ordered the balance of 10 pounds to be returned by the executors ¹⁾. The latter also effected through Mr. Melchior le Lormour, or Lormuor, secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai, the promise made, one day, on a visit to the Mother Superior of the hospital of Renaix, of maintaining a girl there ²⁾ : the deceased had already made a payment to that effect ; by mutual agreement, the affair was concluded at the final expense of 12 pounds ³⁾.

Realizing of the Foundation

85. — The report of Busleyden's decease was not long in reaching Louvain : on September 7, Erasmus announced it to Antony Clava, of Ghent ⁴⁾, adding by way of consolation that their friend had almost deserved his fate, as he refused to enjoy worldly goods, and was not discouraged by his brother's

418-19 ; Laenen, I, 236, II, 103, 278-80 ; *MalInscr.*, 31, 166, a. His chaplain celebrated a series of 30 masses for Busleyden at the request of the executors : *Rek.*, 19, v, and 100, r : Jtem Janne Wyts des testateurs effigie jn een tauereelken geschildert.

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 35, v.—Jtem betaelt marten de samodio by ordinantie vanden hoghen Rade van dat de testateur meer ontfæen hadde van te translateeren zeker scriftueren jn Ytaliaenssche tale gemaect jnt walssche dan hem toegetaxeert was gedragende x £ : *Rek.*, 35, r.

²⁾ That promise may have had some connection with 'lijsken van bruessel' : cp. before, § 30 ; *Rek.*, 35, r ; — if not a mere act of generosity towards a community that was not too well off.

³⁾ Jtem der Vrouwen vanden gasthuise te Ronsse jn handen van M. melchior le lormuor ter causen van zekeren geloeften gedaen bij wijlen den testatuer aldair wesende der vors. Vrouwen om tonderhouden een meysen aldair dairop hy betalinghe gedaen hadde met gemeynen accordt betaelt voer al ende dair mede quijt eens blijkende bij quitancie [*in margin* : per quitan. dni. melchioris secretarij dni. cameracensis] xij £ : *Rek.* 37, r.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 650, 4-7 ; Reich, 236-37.

sad example. He communicated it also to Wolsey from Antwerp on September 9, mentioning the preceding fatal embassy and the heavy toll Spain was taking ¹⁾. The news is not referred to in the letter of September 8 to More, who was then at Calais, as most likely it was entrusted to the bearer ²⁾; in fact, he then already knew of it, for on September 7, 1517, he expresses his sadness to Erasmus, at hearing of the death 'Buslidii, hominis cum non vulgariter eruditi, tum animi et amantis in nos atque in omnes candidi' ³⁾. When he wrote to Gilles de Busleyden, on October 19, Erasmus evidently merely iterated the condolence which had been expressed already by word of mouth; he insists on the foundation, wishing to it the success due 'posteritati et immortalī laudatissimi fratris... memoriae gloriaeque', and he rejoices in the favourable beginning ⁴⁾. In all following letters the announcement of the incipient *Trilingue* is added as balsam to the mention of the sad event of his friend's and protector's death, such as in that to William Budé, October 26 ⁵⁾, which made the French humanist remark in his reply of December 21: 'Nouum est omnino et inusitatum quod de Buslidiano legato vel fidei commisso scribis, sed omnino plaudendum' ⁶⁾. It even seems as if the generosity of the founder was bringing qualms of conscience to Erasmus for not having treated his patron according to his merits: on November 2, he wrote to Peter Barbirius: 'Mortem Buslidii ex animo doleo, et hoc magis doleo, quod ante discessum illo tam frigide sim vsus. Legatum de tribus linguis dici non potest quantopere probem' ⁷⁾. He announced both the death and the glorious foundation to Henry Glareanus by the middle of November ⁸⁾, to Herman Count of Neuenahr, on November 30, 1517 ⁹⁾, to Antony de Berghes, January 14, 1518, and to John Lascaris, on April 26, 1518 ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, III, 658, 52-54.

²⁾ Allen, III, 654.

³⁾ Allen, III, 683, 49-51; Brewer, II, 3727.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 686, 1-4; Erasmus wrote again to Giles on October 30 about the Hebrew professor: Allen, III, 691.

⁵⁾ Allen, III, 689, 13.

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 744, 64-65.

⁷⁾ Allen, III, 695, 3-6, 43.

⁸⁾ Allen, III, 707, 6-9, 721, 5, sq.

⁹⁾ Allen, III, 722, 9, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, III, 761, 62., 836, 1, sq.

86. — That great esteem for the new foundation effectively encouraged the executors in their attempt to realize, as soon as they could, the estate and the furniture, so as to hasten the beginning of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. And hardly had the lectures started when the fame of the growing success of the innovation spread throughout Western Europe, and caused Louvain to be looked upon as the most progressive University ²⁾ : it started an endless series of eulogies of the generous founder, — from the one which Thierry Martens inserted as a preface to the reprint of the *Disticha Moralia* of November 1518 ³⁾, to the allusion to the untimely decease and the praise of the noble generosity which Erasmus inserted as a prediction into the *Epithalamium*, composed for Peter Gillis' wedding with Cornelia Sanders, August 1514 ⁴⁾, when it was published in the *auctarium* of *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* of August-September 1524 ⁵⁾. In that colloquy the Muses, referring to Louvain, tell Alypius, their collocutor, that they are not going there now, but will soon resort there ⁶⁾ :

...post annos aliquot illuc commigrabimus. Nondum revoluta seculorum periodus diem illum fatalem advexit. Erit enim qui illic nobis amœnum extruet domicilium, vel templum potius, quo vix alibi magnificentius ac sanctius. AL. Non est fas scire quisnam tantum decus invecturus sit nostræ ditioni ? Mv. Tibi fas est, nostrorum sacrorum mystæ. Non dubium est, quin tibi notum sit toto orbe celebre Buslidianorum nomen. AL. Heroicum genus nominasti, & ornandis summorum Principum aulis natum...

Alypius then praises the too soon deceased Francis, Archbishop of Besarçon, in which the Muses join ⁷⁾, adding that he

¹⁾ *MonHL.*, 192.

²⁾ Cp. Watson, *xcviii*, sq ; *Rhetius*, 5 ; *ErasDrum.*, 1, 380-81.

³⁾ Iseghem, 157, sq, 289 ; also 301.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 80, b.

⁵⁾ *BB*, E, 453 : the issue with the *auctarium* was printed first at Basle by John Froben.

⁶⁾ *EOO*, 1, 747, B, C.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, § 6.

left two worthy brothers Giles and Jerome ; to which Alypius remarks :

Hieronymum novimus, omni literarum genere perpolitum, omni virtutum genere decoratum. Mv. Nec eum fata longævum esse patientur, tametsi nemo dignior est immortalitate. AL. Unde ista nostis ? Mv. Apollo nobis denarravit. AL. Quænam est ista fatorum invidia, ut optima quæque protinus subducant ? Mv. Id quidem non est hujus temporis philosophari : sed Hieronymus heic summa cum laude moriens, universas opes suas destinabit instituendo Lovanii collegio, in quo gratis & publicitus tres linguas eruditissimi viri profitebuntur. Ea res magnum ornamentum adjunget & studiis, & Caroli gloriæ. Tum non illibenter versabimur Lovanii ¹⁾.

87. — As soon as the funeral rites were performed and the most pressing bequests executed, Bartholomew van Vessem started collecting outstanding debts and money due, which was entrusted to the safe custody of van Nispen in Brussels ²⁾. The notary Walter de Ridder, *Militis*, made the inventory of all the valuables, and sold them at various auctions, in so far that the larger part was disposed of by April 1518. The household then was reduced to van Vessem and one servant ; on January 25-27, 1519 ³⁾, the mansion itself was offered for sale and acquired by the widow of the Great Chancellor John le Sauvage ⁴⁾, along with the two adjoining houses, for the sum of six thousand pounds ⁵⁾ ; she also purchased the timber

¹⁾ EOO, I, 747, c^D.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 39, r : Jtem betaelt van te doen vueren metten cordewagens ten twee malen tgeelt van den coope vanden huise te mechelen gelegen geueert jnt huis vander Cancelrije van brabant te bruessele van dair ten huise van Nispen opten sauel dat al paiment was iiij s.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 28, v, 29, r, 47, r.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, §§ 72, 73.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 2, v : Jtem ontfæen vanden huise ende zijnen toebehoirten wylen des testatuers te mechelen gelegen vercocht mer vrouwen de weduwe wylen des grooten Cancelliers van onsen heeren den Coninck heer van schoubeke gelyck hy die bewoont hadde tot dat hij Reysde na spaengien : met oick twee andere huisen aende selue erue gelegen verhuert wesende om de somme van vj M Rgul. zuyuer goet zuyuer

that had already been bought for the enlargement proposed ¹⁾, as well as a few stray pieces of furniture, — for an amount of three hundred pounds ²⁾. Three weeks later, on February 15-18, the goods that had come by Bordeaux and Middelburg, were brought under the hammer with what there remained of furniture in the mansion, and on March 6 and 7 the final account of the sale was drawn up at the meeting of the executors in the house of Wouter Militis the notary ³⁾.

88. — The amounts realized by the various sales give an idea of the wealth accumulated within a few years : the household plate produced 3682 pounds ⁴⁾, whereas the rest of the furniture, including ornaments and a collection of ornate French manuscripts, — several on vellum and illuminated, — brought in over 2152 pounds ⁵⁾. According to the stipulations of the will, all Latin and Greek authors were reserved for the College to be founded : a large number of precious manuscripts ⁶⁾ were packed in a big, strong chest and sent by carriage

gelt dairaf gecort alle de erfcommeren die dairop stonden gedragende by calculatie ende estimatie na lantrecht tot vj C ix Rg. v st ende een pl. brab. Js net bleuen v M iij C xc £ xiiij s viij d art. Cp. for taxes on the houses, *Rek.*, 38, r, v, 42, v, sq.

¹⁾ The two neighbouring houses had been bought for that purpose.

²⁾ The Chancellor's widow also bought 'alderhande timmerhout van balken wormen scherbalcken bij wylen den testatuer gecocht om tvoirs. huys te volmakene metgaders twee taeffelen twee bancken staende jnde sale voer ende een aensicht vanden turck aldair hanghende', for the sum of 'iij C £ art' : *Rek.*, 2 v, 3 r ; cp. before, § 83.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 47, r. Cp. *IBM*2, 276, r - 279, r, 288, r - 300, v ; *IBM*3, 37, r - 43, r, and § 47.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 3, r : a chest with the plate, 'de kiste metten silueren wercke,' which Adrian Josel had taken to Antwerp when Busleyden left for Spain, was brought back to Mechlin to be disposed of : *Rek.*, 15, r, 101, r, v ; *Epp.* 24, d ; §§ 43, 93.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 2, r. — One manuscript is especially described in the Inventory, *IBM*2, 295, r, as bound in velvet, with the pictures of Our Lord and of Our Lady, and adorned with silver ; it was bought for 42 Rhine florins by 'My Lady of Ostend', — possibly Mary Pots, widow of William van Ostende, daughter of James and Mary van Nispen : *Brug&Fr.*, 1, 388.

⁶⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chaps. x, xiv, xxiv.

to Louvain ¹⁾, whereas three large baskets, containing printed books, were safely stored in the house of the parish priest of St. John's whilst the sales were going on, until they were conveyed by the Dyle to their new home, the *Trilingue* ²⁾. The two manuscripts inherited from Bishop Ruterius, a Missal and a Pontifical, bound in velvet covers with gilt silver clasps ³⁾, fetched thirteen great Flemish pounds (78 ordinary pounds or Rhine florins) at the sale, on which occasion a measure of wine was offered to solemnize the bargain ⁴⁾. The jewels comprized several gold rings with precious stones ; two bracelets formed of gold medals ⁵⁾ ; several seals and signets ; the testator's plain gold doctoral ring ; a cross with a relic of the Holy Rood ; several bags in gold cloth or in velvet, provided with silver rings and adorned with pearls ; a gold toothpick and other little 'instruments' on a chain ; a silver clock moved by sand ⁶⁾, and, most precious of them all, if judged by its price, a gold salt-cellar with a lid adorned with stones and pearls ⁷⁾. Those

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 98, 1 : Jtem betailt van vrachte van een groote stercke kiste... met allen den gescreuen boeken in perkement dairjnne gesloten te wagen besteet om tot louen te vueren jnt college ix s.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 47, v : Jtem van iij groote manden omde boecken dair jnne te packen ende te loeuen te vueren als men thuyt vercocht... Jtem van den seluen boecken te hulpen packen... ende vanden voirs. iij gepacte manden te vueren vuten huise tot des prochiaens huise van St. Jans...

³⁾ Cp. *Will.*, 197-202 ; and before, §§ 35, 43, 47.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 4 1, v : Jtem van een Romsch missael gescreuen jn perkement jn cleyn forme ouertoghen met fluwel ende ghesloten met silueren vergulden sloten Ende noch van een pontificael jnsgelix gescreuen jn persement ende overtoghen met fluwel ende met vergulden sloten tsamen vercocht om xiiij £ gro. vlem. dairaf getoghen een gelt wijns van iiiij3 st. verdroncken opte commescap ontfaen de Reste gedragende lxxvij £ xv s vj d.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 3 v : Giles de Busleyden bought, and paid 38 £ 13 s 6 d for 'een braesselet van ix gouden medalien wegende tsamen twee onsen v3 jngelschen donsse als voer te xvij Rg'.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 4 1 : Jtem een silueren orologie metten sande dair jnne tsamen geschat op iiiij onsen ende xiiij jngelschen... vij £ viij s viij d.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 3, v : Jtem van een soutuat van goude met eenen decsel met steenen ende perlen verchiert weghende een marck ende iij onsen vercocht ontfaen i C xxv £ art. On account of this jewel van Vessem went to see Giles de Busleyden at Brussels : *Rek.*, 98, v.

jewels ¹⁾, some of which were bought by Margaret of Austria's purveyor, the well-known 'Rombout vanden dorpe goutsmet te mechlen', ²⁾ joined to the rest of the property and to the money in the possession of the deceased, represented the net amount of nineteen thousand and eight and a half pounds ³⁾.

89. — That considerable sum of money was continually augmented by the payment of amounts due, or by the refunding of debts, which van Vessem ⁴⁾, helped by Adrian Josel, collected in the first months after their master's decease. The wages of councillor still due were paid by the clerk of the Great Council, Lambert vander Ee ⁵⁾, and the fees for the journey to Spain ⁶⁾ by the King's 'argentier' or treasurer Nicolas de Riffart ⁷⁾; the Cambrai scholaster John Wailpois balanced the account for his 'confrater's prebend' ⁸⁾, and that of the Archdeaconry was regularized by the dean of Brussels district, by the Cambrai 'sealer' in Brussels, Bricquet ⁹⁾, and by the parish-priest of St. Catherine's, Mechlin, John van Ekelen, who had acted as Busleyden's substitute ¹⁰⁾. Similarly was discharged what was still owing for the Mechlin prebend ¹¹⁾ and for that of St. Waldetrudis' at Mons ¹²⁾; van Vessem went to

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 3, v - 4 r.

²⁾ Henne, iv, 357, v, 97, 99; Thibaut, 98; *Rek.*, 4, r; G. van Doorslaer, *La Corporation et les Ouvrages des Orfèvres Malinois*: Antwerp, 1935: 96, sq. — Other purchasers were: John Pieters, president, l'Apostole, Wielant and Auxtruyes, councillors, of the Great Council, besides several of the artists mentioned in §§ 46, sq: *IBM2*, 292, r, 294, r, 298, r; *Epp.* 20, b, 25, b; *Cran.*, 71, 3; &c.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 4, v : exactly: 'xix M viij *l* xj s j d art'.

⁴⁾ A certificate of Mechlin town attested that, as an executor of the will, he had the right to claim money due and give receipts: *Rek.*, 38, r. ⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 6, r.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 6, v: they amounted to 120 *l* art.

⁷⁾ Henne, III, 295, v, 108: he died on May 9, 1531, as general-receiver of the County of Namur. Cp. Gestel, I, 97; *Brab Nobl.*, 296, 39, 213.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 7, r: cp. before, § 31.

⁹⁾ He had lent to Busleyden a horse for his journey to Spain: *Rek.*, 39, v.

¹⁰⁾ *Rek.*, 7, r, v; cp. before, § 31.

¹¹⁾ *Rek.*, 5, v.

¹²⁾ *Rek.*, 7, v.

Aire to settle all hanging matters ¹⁾, and Adrian Josel made arrangements with the Steenberghe secretary Antony van Etten for the overdue fees and tithes of that parish ²⁾, whereas Adrian Maroyen, the testator's receiver, saw to the amounts due for the prebend and the treasurership of St. Gudula's ³⁾. Pensions and rents were gathered, such as those on the townships of Mechlin ⁴⁾ and of Liège ⁵⁾, on the five towns of Holland ⁶⁾ and on Stabroeck church ⁷⁾. Rents of the houses due to the testator were collected ⁸⁾, and a balance of 25 £ was received through dean John Robbyns on a subsidy of one hundred philips ⁹⁾ which Mechlin town had granted for the purchase of the last house that had been bought to enlarge the splendid mansion ¹⁰⁾, — no doubt because Busleyden took over some of the responsibilities that weighed on the authorities: thus when he left for Spain, the French embassy was lodging in his house, probably since it offered the necessary space to accommodate as well the servants and retainers as the Royal messenger ¹¹⁾.

90. — Several amounts of money, which the testator had advanced, were refunded. Such was the deposit of five hundred ducats sent to Diego de Ghommele, in Spain, which he had wished to use there during his stay, and which amount Antony Sucket brought back ¹²⁾. The executors were less fortunate with another debt due by a man in Spain, whom they tried in vain to prosecute by means of a deed delivered by 'Mr. Alr. Madoets' of Brussels ¹³⁾. — The wealthy Prelate had also helped some of his friends, and, amongst them, one of the

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 36, *v*; cp. before, §§ 32, 80.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 5, *v*, 6, *r*, 40, *v*, 96, *v*, 97, *r*.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 6, *r*.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 5, *r*, 9, *r*, *v*, 39, *r*.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 8, *r*: the payments were made by John Fervet.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 5, *v*.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 5, *v*.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 8, *v*, 9, *r*.

⁹⁾ *Rek.*, 5, *r*.

¹⁰⁾ Namely the house bought from the widow of Michael Cools: *Rek.*, 5, *r*, 13, *r*, *v*, 14, *v*, 33, *r*, 35, *r*, 38, *r*.

¹¹⁾ *Rek.*, 8, *v*.

¹²⁾ *Rek.*, 6, *r*, *v*; cp. further, § 95.

¹³⁾ *Rek.*, 38, *r*, — 100, *v*: debts still due in 1525: cp. *Carm.* xxvi, *b*.

first noblemen of the country Ferry de Croy, Lord of Rœulx, Governor of Artois, chief-marshal of the Princely household ¹⁾, who on March 7, 1500, at the baptism of Charles of Austria had carried the alb before the godparents and before the 'Great Madam', duchess Margaret of York, with the child on her arm. He was created Knight of the Golden Fleece at Middelburg on November 17, 1505, and had valorously fought for his Prince and country near Tirlemont in 1507, and near Hesdin in 1513 ²⁾. To that councillor of Charles of Austria, Busleyden had lent three hundred philips, which were refunded to the executors, and the plate which had been given as pledge, was returned ³⁾. — To his son Adrian de Croy, Lord of Beau-raing, a brilliant young nobleman, who was the chief challenger at the joust of All-Hallows' Day 1516, on the market-place of Brussels, attended by the young King Charles and his sister Eleonore ⁴⁾, Busleyden had even lent a larger sum in his need ⁵⁾; still it was duly refunded, and the young man showed himself worthy of the kindness. He succeeded his father at his death, on June 27, 1524, in the Lordship of Rœulx, and became one of Charles V's ablest captains and staunchest defenders. He moreover served his Prince first as Governor of Artois, and, later on, as Governor of Flanders: in reward of what he had done, he was created Count of Rœulx on February 24, 1530, and Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1545; although dangerously ill, he stayed at the head of his troops at the siege of Thérouanne, and died in the first days of May 1553 ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 48, 66-67; Bergh, I, 79, 87, 191, 201.

²⁾ Henne, I, 25, 82, 162, *sq.*, II, 13, *sq.*, 88, 135; Gachard, 503, 512. His son Eustache, Bishop of Arras, 1525-38, was Busleyden's mediate successor as Provost of Aire, from 1527 to 1538: *AireSP.*, 91; *Belg-Chron.*, 378; Laenen, I, 180 (: he was also Provost of St. Rombaut's 1534-38); another Eustache de Croy was Provost from 1539 to 1555, when he re-entered civil life and even married twice: *AireSP.*, 83, 91.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 6 v: Ontfaen van mijnen heer van Reulx van geleenden gelde op zeker percheelen van zeluer werck iij C phs gulden, viz. iij C lxxv *£ art.*

⁴⁾ Moeller, 262, *sq.*; that knightly feast has been described by the Court poet Nicaise Ladam.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 5, r: Jtem van mijnen heer van beaureyns van geleenden penninghen die wylen de testatuer hem geleent hadde jn zynder noot ontfaen v C phs. gulden.en. viz. vj C xxv *£.*

⁶⁾ Henne, II, 349, IV, 82, v, 117, *sq.*, x, 41-42; *AireSP.*, 391-396.

Executors and Patrons

91. — The minute care bestowed by the executors on the collecting of all the money due to the testator, and on the disposing of his property as advantageously as possible, had become an urgent necessity since the foundation was not going to be grafted on an existing college, but had to stand by itself. Its building, its accommodation and its management was to be produced entirely from the fortune left by the testator, who had counted on the ruinous condition of St. Donatian's or the generous hospitality of Arras College to reach his aim ¹⁾. For certain the existence of the *Trilingue* is in a great measure the result of those executors' courageous tenacity to the great plan of their friend and master. They were seconded by the family of the deceased : Giles de Busleyden helped them with his influence and his experience ; having charge of a numerous family, he probably was pleased to accept the third part of the money realized by the sale of the mansion and of the houses which were in Jerome's possession when he left for Spain : without the taxes, it came to little less than sixteen hundred and fifty-seven pounds ²⁾. A similar amount had been bequeathed to Francis, Valerian's son ³⁾; but as the testator had stipulated for the event he should die before him, that amount was added to the share of the foundation, — just as for the gilt cross offered to Aire church, and the robe in gold cloth, to be changed into a cope for St. Rombaut's, he had expressly mentioned that, in the case of any delay in accepting, or of any objection, the goods offered were to go to the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾. He thus almost foreclosed his own family for the sake of his institution.

¹⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chaps. I, III. The College had started its regular lectures already on September 1, 1518.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 25, r, v ; the price of two houses added to the mansion since Jerome's leaving, — one being even bought after that time, — was deducted from the net price realized 5390 £ 14 s 8 d (*Rek.*, 2, v ; cp. before, § 87), since to Giles was paid the sum of 1656 £ 18 s 7 d 2 t.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 82.

⁴⁾ *Will*, 82, 116, sq, 142.

92. — If the Busleyden family and especially Giles did not divest themselves of any of the bequests of the Provost of Aire to give them to the *Trilingue*, as has been suggested by some historians ¹⁾, they certainly showed a real generosity appreciative of the lofty scheme, which saved it from foundering even before it was properly fitted and rigged out. When the Louvain Faculties showed disapproval, and even decided hostility, doing whatever they could to prevent the realizing of the planned School for Languages as part and parcel of the University, they exposed the young institution to an almost unavoidable ruin ²⁾. For the founder's relatives could hardly disinterest themselves of the by far larger part of their heritage, when the *Studium Generale* in whose favour it was practically reserved, frankly refused to accept it. It would have been most natural and consistent for them to claim the considerable amount of money and valuables that had been attributed to professorships and scholarships which the University unequivocally declined, since the faculty of teaching in public was even denied to those connected with Busleyden's foundation. No court of justice, if applied to, would have refused to adjudge to the family that part of the estate of which the use thus appeared undesirable, and was even rendered impossible. Yet the relatives, far from availing themselves of the opportunity to double and treble their bequests, full-heartedly encouraged the executors to start an independent college for the foundation when it proved impossible to have it accepted in either of the institutions mentioned in the will, of which one was on the brink of ruin. They actually helped them in their struggle against the University, so as to save the great scheme from the impending doom. That way the disinterestedness of the family, and especially of Jerome's elder brother, greatly contributed to the growth and welfare of Busleyden's foundation, after being rejected by the trustees of St. Donat's and of Arras College ³⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. Nève *Mém.*, 51-53.

²⁾ Cp. VAnd., 275-276; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. IV, VI and VII.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 13.

93.— In consequence of that non-acceptance of the *Trilingue* foundation in a college, as was first intended, neither John Stercke of Meerbeke, nor John Robbyns were to be considered as executors ¹⁾, although they proved hearty well-wishers and experienced advisers. The entire burden, therefore, practically rested on the shoulders of three men, Nispen, Josel and van Vessem. Nicolas van Nispen ²⁾ was entrusted with the money and valeables ³⁾ ; together with Adrian Josel ⁴⁾, who, during Busleyden's absence, had taken care of his interests and had kept his plate and valuables in safe custody ⁵⁾, he ⁶⁾ endeavoured for a long time to find sound investments for the College fund ⁷⁾. In that task he was also actively assisted by Bartholomew van Vessem, who for several months resided in Louvain so as to supervise the constructing of the various buildings and the furnishing of the rooms and various departments ⁸⁾. He was practically the organiser of the new Institute, which he transferred to the first president John Stercke in perfect working order on the 18th of October 1520, celebrated as the inauguration day of the *Trilingue* as a College for the professors, for the inmates and for the bursars ⁹⁾.

94.— In the troublesome days, when the being or not being of Busleyden's foundation depended on the prudent and sagacious dealings with the University, several members of which were wholly opposed to the scheme, and wanted to make the most of the academic regulations, great help was provided, as already mentioned, by Giles de Busleyden, who considered his brother's plan as if it were his own, securing for it a well-established and fully recognized free position ¹⁰⁾ ;

¹⁾ *Test.*, 78, 79.

²⁾ Cp. before, § 71.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 39, r, and before, § 87.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, §§ 68, 71, 83, 89 ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. I.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 14, r, 15, r ; also 13, r, 16, r, 101, r, v ; *Epp.* 24, d ; §§ 43, 88.

⁶⁾ *Inv.*, 20, v, 21, r, 23, r ; *Rek.*, 40, r, 88, r, v, 98, v, 99, r, 105, r-v, 112, r ; cp. before, §§ 71, 87.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 5, v, 13, r, 22, v, 28, v, 87, r, 89, r.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 88, v, 89, r, 98, v, 99 r ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. I, v, VIII ; cp. before, §§ 71, 76, sq, 87, 89.

⁹⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. VIII.

¹⁰⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. I, III, v ; cp. before, §§ 15, 92.

he also ensured its regular working when circumstances were growing too heavy for the chief elements of its success, the professors, by having their emoluments and conditions arranged with more equity and generosity through the decision of the executors on February 22, 1522 ¹⁾.

95. — Equally helpful in his way, both to the execution of the will and to the *Trilingue*, was the last appointed executor, the privy councillor Antony Sucket ²⁾. His interference proved most useful at Bordeaux, for the parish priest in whose district the death had occurred, claimed the best of each of the various jewels and valuables; the question was brought before Court, '*parlement*', where, thanks to Sucket's argument, the claimant was nonsuited ³⁾. He further took charge of several objects, too large for the three chests sent by sea ⁴⁾, and too cumbersome for the party returning with the body, whereas they might prove useful on the journey to Spain and on the way home. He saw them safe beyond the Pyrenees, and back to Mechlin, and in return for the services rendered, they were offered to him for reward ⁵⁾. He further had claimed in Spain and brought back an amount of five hundred ducats which Busleyden had sent to one 'Diego de ghommele', a Spaniard, intending to find them waiting for him on his arrival ⁶⁾. On his return Sucket rendered what judicial and finan-

¹⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chaps. VIII & IX; *MotJur.*, 10, 30, 61, 67, sq; *Inv.*, I v.

²⁾ Cp. before, § 74.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 87, r: 'Jtem heer anthonys sucket... jnt bescudden van allen den goeden tot bordeaux jnt parlement teghen den prochiaen aldair pretenderende te hebbene van allen den Juwelen van elck sorte dbeste'.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, § 76; *Rek.*, 47, v, referring to the three chests conveyed by the merchant 'galeeron' from Bordeaux to Middelburg.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 87, r, v, gives a full list of the objects 'diemen hem wil linchlijck dair voer gegunt ende gelaten heeft'.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 6, r, v: 'Noch ontfaen doer handen h. anthonijs sucket Raidt des conincs ende mede executuer v C ducaten bij hem jn spaingnien ontfaen die de testatuer hadde geleuert eenen geheeten diego de ghommele spaignaert jn meininghen die te vinden ende te ontfaen jn spaignen aldair hij niet en quam elcken ducaat te xxxix stuuers geextimeert vz. ix C lxxv £ art.' — Cp. before, § 90. From

cial help he could to the execution ¹⁾ as well as to the *Trilingue*, especially in having the College accepted as an academic institute by the University ²⁾; it caused a total of sixteen days' presence in Louvain ³⁾, for which, besides his reward as executor, a sum of money was offered him to cover the expenses ⁴⁾. In fact he was kept very busy by his office : on coming home from Spain, he was sent, in the early spring of 1519, on a mission to Utrecht to negotiate an armistice with Charles Duke of Gelderland ⁵⁾, and in the following November, he took part in the interview between the Bishop of Utrecht and the delegates of Munster and Osnabruck ⁶⁾.

96. — On his return from Spain, or at any rate in 1519, Antony Sucket had been appointed Privy Councillor ⁷⁾ : he settled in his native town Mechlin, where his elder brother John ⁸⁾ who became a member of the Great Council on

other entries it appears that the amount was sent to Spain by two bills of exchange, forwarded through the Secretary Charles Verderue who was waiting at Middelburg with the Court to take to sea ; the return of that sum to the Netherlands afterwards necessitated the expense of four ducats, or seven pounds sixteen shillings : *Rek.*, 14, *v.*, 36, *v.* Sucket also had paid two ducats for Busleyden to ushers and 'foriers' on their journey to Spain, which outlay was duly refunded : *Rek.*, 37, *v.*

¹⁾ E. g., *Rek.*, 25, *v.*, and 98, *v.* : this latter refers to a 'certificacie' delivered by Mechlin town, stating that 'h. anthonis sucket Raidt &c. ende h. barth. van vessementestamenteurs syn vanden testateur om daermede te heffene de Rente van hollant viij s'.

²⁾ Cp. *FUL*, 1435 : 1 *v.* ; *Rek.*, 36, *v.*, 49, *v.* - 50, *v.* ; *VAndEx.*, 61-62, 68-70 ; *HisTriLcv.*, chaps. IV-VII.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 49, *v.*, 49, *v.*, 50, *v.*, 88, *v.* : 'Jtem hierenbouen heeft hij noch tot louen, tot mechelen ende tot bruessel jnde sake vander executien ende vander collegie geuaceert tsamen xvj daighen ende vuer elcken dach betaelt twee phs. vz. xl £'.

⁴⁾ Like the two other executors Nispen and Josel, Sucket was given 50 gold guilders as bequest (ij C x £) : *Rek.*, 23, *v.*

⁵⁾ Bergh, II, 155-216 ; Henne, II, 276.

⁶⁾ Bergh, II, 233 ; in November 1523 he was an arbiter at Bruges in the question between the town with the Castle of Gravelines, and the Venice merchants : *BrugEst.*, 575.

⁷⁾ Cp. *ConPri.*, I, 63-64 (with armorial bearings) ; *ConPriT.*, 65.

⁸⁾ He matriculated in Louvain on July 31, 1474 : 'Johes Sucket de mechlinia Camer. dioc.' : *LibIntII*, 106 *v.*

January 22, 1504 ¹⁾, had often received Erasmus ²⁾ in his home, a property near Hanswyck Convent, in the *Calchofstrate*, extending to the town-wall, which had originally belonged to the families Berthout and their descendants van Duffel; he had enriched the house with a tower, and made it into the 'Hotel Sucket' ³⁾. On November 22 and 23, 1519, John Sucket had transferred that property to his brother Antony. When he died, about the end of 1522 ⁴⁾, his liabilities far exceeded the assets, in so far that his daughter Mary Sucket and her husband John Vranckx van der Vorst, Court physician ⁵⁾, who were disinherited, joined various creditors to call in question the validity of the donation, and started a lawsuit before the Great Council; it was concluded by the cancelling of the bequests to Antony and his family on October 31, 1534, and by the ordering, on March 24, 1535, of the sale of 'Berthout Court', as it had been transferred unduly in 1519 in prejudice of the owner's natural heirs as well as of his own pledge ⁶⁾. Antony

¹⁾ *MalConM*, 27-28, 40, 45; *MalConC*, 61; *MalConR*, 12; *MalConF*, 33; Gachard, I, 371; Henne, II, 248. He had been sent as Charles V's ambassador to Denmark on Oct. 23, 1519, and in 1521 to Stockholm to offer Christiern II the collar of the Golden Fleece, some time before misfortunes started for that monarch by the famous *Stockholms Blodbad*: Altmeier, *Relations Commerciales et Diplomatiques des Pays-Bas avec le Nord de l'Europe au XVI^e Siècle*: Brussels, 1840, 64.

²⁾ It results from a letter written to John Sucket in the first weeks of 1525, when that man had been dead three years: Allen, VI, 1556.

³⁾ *Cran*, 204, a-c, lviii; *MalGod.*, xxix, 216-219. John Sucket, who already possessed some ground adjoining 'Berthout Hof', bought that property in 1506 from the family van Duffel, and enlarged the mansion by the tower which was built on ground which had been his before that purchase. *Berthout Hof*, originally called '*t' Hanneken*', was situated between Old Brussels Street and Hanswyck Gate; Sucket's estate touched the premises of the famous canon-founder Poppenruyter. Cp. *MalGod.*, xxx, 216, 220-21.

⁴⁾ John Sucket was succeeded in the Great Council by Engelbert van den Daele, appointed on January 17, 1523: *Cran.*, 46, 31; FG, 15, 26.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 204, a-c.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, lviii, 204, a-c; *MalGrCon.*, n^os 824, 825; n^o 983: 291, sq; n^o 313: 116 v, 131 v; n^o 848: 53-58. Mary Sucket and her husband, finding out that the debts of their father exceeded his assets, had disclaimed the heritage and, backed by the creditors, obtained from the Great Council on Nov. 24, 1523, the decree by which the house and estate were offered for sale on September 3, 1524. Antony Sucket

saw only the beginning of that lawsuit, for he died on August 31, 1524, and was buried in St. Donatian's, Bruges, to which town his widow with her family returned ¹).

97. — Erasmus deplored Antony Sucket's death in a letter of the first weeks of 1525 ²), which he, most strangely, addressed to John Sucket who had died three years before ³). Still the mistake must have been found out in time, for it does not seem as if the letter was ever sent off : it had as only date 1525 when found amongst Erasmus' papers, and it was printed at first in 1538 in the *Opera Omnia* ⁴). There can hardly be any doubt about the addressee John Sucket, for Erasmus mentions his neighbour, the 'bombardarum opifex' John Poppenruyter, of Nueimerkt, whose famous gun-foundry in Old Brussels Street touched the premises of Hotel Sucket ⁵). — Besides his widow, who survived him until October 26, 1533 ⁶), Sucket left three sons ; also a daughter whom Janus Secundus mentioned in his funeral poem ⁷) on her brother Charles. That Charles had studied laws in Louvain, Bourges and other

protested against that sale, declaring that they were his by dint of the donation of Nov. 22-23, 1519 ; he claimed the bequests made in his and his family's favour, and threw the responsibility of the debts on Mary Sucket and her husband, who had taken a fur coat and other objects out of John's house, thus showing themselves as the heirs simple, accepting the succession. He died before the Council nonsuited him on May 12, 1525. His widow and his sons continued the action, taking as attorney Antony de Metz, late ambassador of Christiern II : *AltRel.*, 63 ; *Henne*, II, 248 ; the lawsuit was finally decided in their disfavour in 1535, on which the Hotel Sucket was sold to Frances of Luxemburg, Countess of Egmont ; after the execution of her son Lamoral, Count of Egmont, it was confiscated : it became in 1569, St. Hedwige's almshouse, the *Puttery* : *MalGod.*, xxix, 216 ; *MalMed.*, 79 ; *MalHist.*, II, 270.

¹) *BrugInscr.*, I, 140 ; *BrugSDonat.*, 251 ; *MalInscr.*, 402-3 ; Allen, v, 1331, 15.

²) Allen, VI, 1556.

³) Peter Wichmans by his letter of March 22, 1523 had informed Erasmus of the death of John Sucket : *FG*, 15, 26 ; Allen, v, 1351, 29.

⁴) Basle, H. Froben & N. Episcopius, 1538 : III, 905.

⁵) *MalGod.*, 216-221 ; Allen, VI, 1556, 42.

⁶) *ConPri.*, I, 63-64 ; *BrugInscr.*, I, 140 ; *BrugSDonat.*, 251 ; Hoyneck, II, i, 42.

⁷) *JSecOp.*, 224-26.

universities of France and Italy. In 1529, when reading at Dole with Viglius, he started writing to Erasmus and paid, with him, a visit to the Great Erudite. He taught a few months at Turin, and died there on November 3, 1532 ¹⁾. An elder brother, John, probably died at the time of his studies ²⁾; the third son Antony was an 'advocat-postulant' at the Great Council, Mechlin, until his death, November 18, 1557 ³⁾; the fourth, Francis, a natural child, married Jane Despars of Bruges and died there whilst fulfilling the office of alderman in 1540 ⁴⁾.

APPENDIX

11. PRIVILEGIUM DOCTORATUS

PADUA, FEBRUARY 8, 1503.

98. The text of Busleyden's diploma attesting his promotion to *Doctor Vtriusque Iuris* is reproduced from the original in the possession of the author of this book. It is a document written out on a large sheet of parchment measuring 45.5 centimeters by 65 cm; a strip of the lower part, 6.8 centimeters wide, is folded over the signatures of the Bishop and of the Chancellor; the appended seal which closed that fold has disappeared. The text covers a space of 21.5 centimeters by 45.5, not counting the signatures. The first line is in large coloured capitals — alternatively in sky-blue, amarant, olive-green, violet and gold, and in the left margin is the initial J in miniature, formed by a mermaid's head, trunk and twisted tail, surrounding a picture of the bust of St. Jerome; below the initial is Busleyden's coat of arms supported by Faunus and Fauna; the remaining space of a rectangle measuring 6.5 by 17.8 centimeters, is filled with flowers and ornaments. The document ⁵⁾ — of which a photogravure is supplied ⁶⁾, — seems to have been part of various

¹⁾ *Excerptis*, 100; Allen, VIII, 2191, *pr.* 2101, 25, 2135, 9, 2141, 6, 2356, IX, 2373; FG, 427; Ent., 114; Hoynck, I, i, 74; II, i, 7, 28, 38-46, 116-124; *JSecOp.*, 168, 194, 224-226; *DelPoBel.*, IV, 225, 274, 294; LipsE, 669, 728, 760-63; *BrugInscr.*, I, 140; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. IX.

²⁾ He matriculated in Louvain on January 27, 1519: *Excerptis*, 100; at his father's death he is not mentioned.

³⁾ He had married Mary de Hane, who survived him until April 1589: *MalInscr.*, 403, 402, 475; *BrugInscr.*, I, 140; Hoynck, II, i, 39; *MalGrCon.*, 847: 438; *MalHist.*, II, 304, 305, 356.

⁴⁾ *Excerptis*, 102; *BrugWet.*, 200-202; he was 'chef-homme' in 1539, alderman in 1538 and in 1540.

⁵⁾ It is referred to before, in §§ 27, 28.

⁶⁾ Cp. p. 35.

collections judging by the inscriptions on the back : the title 'Doctoratus Dni. Hieronymi Buslidij' seems as old as the text itself : underneath it has the number 'xxviiij', which may well have been that of the *Trilingue*, to which it apparently belonged in the beginning. Later on was added to the title : 'in utroque jure / in universitate paduana' and '1505' — which wrong date suggests a collector to whom the founder and his history was not of paramount importance. The mark 'N 20' may be contemporary with that addition, whereas afterwards the 2 was covered by 'E', in darker ink and the o by a minuscule 'e.', or, perhaps 'c.' in the same ink : 'E. e.' — The text of the diploma is printed here with minute exactness ; the abbreviations have been resolved, but are indicated by Italics. Whereas in the original it continues in one body from the beginning to the end, it has been divided here into various paragraphs for facility's sake, and the lines have been numbered : they are indicated in the references and the index by the sigla : *PDoct.*

Text

- J**N NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI HIESV CHRISTI AMEN.
 Vniuersis & singulis præsens Doctoratus priuilegium inspecturis aut legi audituris : LVDOVICVS De Rugerij's Decretorum Doctor Canonicus petenen. *Reuerendissimi* in Christo
 5 patris & Dñi Dñi PETRI Barocij Dei & apostolicæ sedis gratia, Episcopi Paduani & Comitibus Sacceñ. : Generalisque & priuilegiati ac antiquissimi & celeberrimi Gymnasij patauinj apostolici Cancellarij dignissimj Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, Salutem in eo qui est omnium uera salus.
 10 IVRIS Vtriusque scientia generi humano mirifice utilis est : per eam enim hominum societas conseruatur : & boni quidem amorē virtutis : mali uero, pœnæ formidine : partim recte viuunt partim uero non prauē : Ob quam causam qui ei dant operam inter eos qui generi humano vtilitatis aliquid afferunt
 15 præcipuum Locum tenent : siue Iudicandi munus exerceant : siue ijs qui illud exercent assistant : aut quid vt Iusticia fiat fieri debeat Iudicibus consulentibus respondeant : siue oppressorum præcipue autem viduarum : orphanorum & pupillorum patrociniū vere Laudandum plurimique faciendum
 20 suscipiant ; Quicquid enim horum exerceant in eorum numero collocandi sunt : de quibus in Euangelio Dominus dicit. Beati

¹ in capital letters, coloured ; J initial in miniature with image of St. Jerome and Busleyden's coat of arms. ¹ HIESV]

¹⁸ pupillorum] second p added above the line.

qui esuriunt : et sitiunt Iusticiam quoniam ipsi saturabuntur :
 & De quibus ad Danielelem Angelus : Qui docti fuerint fulgebunt
 quasi splendor firmamenti : & qui ad Iusticiam erudiunt mul-
 25 tos quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.

Quæ quum ita sint nemo est qui nesciat eos qui Iuri operam
 dederint plurimi faciendos esse : & Inter illos multo pluris eos
 qui ceteros antecellunt : Vt est *Reuerendus* in christo pater,
 Dñus HIERONYMVS Busledianus Ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Arien-
 30 sis Præpositus : diu bonis litteris & vtrique Iuri deditus : post
 longas lucubrationes : & scholasticos labores ab infranotatis
 promotoribus viris clarissimis pro subeundo suo priuato
 examine nobis oblati : Quem nos Ludouicus Vicarius aucto-
 ritate præfato *Reuerendissimo* Dño Episcopo Paduano ex sua
 35 pontificali dignitate competente tam ex antiqua et appro-
 bata consuetudine studij prælibati *quam* vigore priuilegiarum
 fœlicis recordationis Dñorum Urbani Quarti : Clementis
 Sexti : & Eugenij Quarti : Summorum pontificum qua fungi-
 mur in hac parte : In Assistentia Spectabilis Dñi Thomæ De
 40 Brandis Almæ Vniuersitatis Iuristarum Ultramontanorum
 & citramontanorum florentissimi studij Paduani Rectoris :
 Per Venerandum Collegium Iurisutriusque Doctorum eiusdem
 gymnasij punctis ei vt fieri solet In vtroque Iure præassignatis
 fecimus coram nobis diligenter & rigorose examinari. Ipse
 45 uero in examine huiusmodi In recitandis punctis : Argumentis :
 dubijs : & oppositionibus sibi factis *quamuis* arduis : & obscu-
 ris : memoriter replicandis & Magistraliter soluendis talem ac
 tantam Ingenij doctrinæ Memoræ cæterarumque rerum quæ
 in consumatissimo Iureconsulto desiderari potius *quam* in-
 50 ueniri possunt experientiam fecit : Vt omnium eorum ex-
 pectatione superata vnanimiter & concorditer ac eorum nemi-
 ne penitus dissentiente Idoneus ac sufficientissimus in vtroque
 Iure fuerit iudicatus : Sicut ex eorum votis secreto in scrutinio
 nobis in scriptis porrectis constitit euidenter.

55 **N**OS ergo, præfatam sequentes consuetudinem : & formam
 priuilegiarum studij sæpedicti :
 Consideratis : Scientia : facundia : modo legendi : Moribus :

²⁶ Quæ &c.] on continuous line with what precedes.

⁵⁵ Nos &c.] on continuous line with what precedes

⁵⁷ Consideratis &c.] id.

& Virtutibus : quibus eum ille ornauit a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum *perfectum* est prout in dicto suo
60 priuato & rigoro examine in facto visibiliter ostendit.

De consilio Omnium Doctorum prædicti Collegij ibidem existentium & Instantium

Pro tribunali sedentes eundem D. Hieronymum In Dei nomine Approbauimus & licentiauimus. Pronunciantes : &
65 Declarantes : eum esse habilem Idoneum atque benemeritum Exercitio : officio & honore : Doctoratus in Vtroque Iure tam Canonico *quam* Ciuili

Ipsumque protinus Iurisutrusque Doctorem fecimus solenniter & creauimus ac facimus & creamus per præsentés.
70 Tribuentes ei sic Idoneo sufficienti : & hac promotione dignissimo Licentiam ascendendi cathedram magistralem : & Insignia Doctoratus a promotoribus suis petendi ac recipiendi : Ac iisdem promotoribus ea illi conferendi : & Concedentes ei plenam in Dño facultatem vt De cætero libere possit in Vtraque
75 Sapientia Canonica & Ciuili legere : repetere : Docere : disputare : glosare : praticare : Interpretari : quæstiones terminare : scholas regere : Bachalarios constituere : Omnibusque & singulis gaudere : & vti priuilegijs : prærogatiuis : Exemptionibus : Immunitatibus : libertatibus : Concessionibus : honoribus : fauoribus : ac Indultis alijs quibuslibet quocunque
80 nomine censeantur Quibus Romanæ Curiaë : Parisien : Oxonieñ : Bononieñ : & Salamantiñ. studiorum Doctores & Magistri ex quibusuis apostolicis & Imperialibus seu alijs ecclesiasticis uel temporalibus concessionibus aut Indultis
85 alijs gaudent & utuntur uti & gaudere possunt & poterunt in futurum : Iuxta continentiam vim formam & tenorem : priuilegiorum apostolicorum a memoratis olim Summis pontificibus præfato studio paduano concessorum.

90 **Q**VIBVS Ita gestis Excellentes Iurisutrusque Doctores Dñi Philippus Decius in Iure canonico : & Carolus Ruinus in Iure ciuili publice legentes eius promotores suo : & Clarissimorum Iurisconsultorum Dñorum Ioannis Campegij & Bertucij Bagaroti Compromotorum suorum nomine Memoratum D. Hieronymum petentem & facunde perorantem consuetis

95 ornamentis doctoralibus ibidem Insigniuerunt solenniter &
decorarunt : Tributentes ei libros Vtriusque censuræ Canonice
& Ciuilis primo clausos Deinde apertos : biretum doctorale
capiti eius imponentes : ac Ipsum annulo aureo subarrantes :
ac pacis osculum ei exhibentes cum magistrali benedictione.
Sic Itaque summa cum Laude ac honore plurimo præfatus
100 Reuerendus D. Hieronymus Busledianus Ad Apicem Doctora-
tus Vtriusque Juris ascendit.

IN QVORVM testimonium has patentes priuilegij litteras
fieri Jussimus & præfati Reuerendissimj Dñi Episcopi por-
105 tificalis sigilli appensione communiri.

Datum & Actum Paduæ : In Episcopali palatio in loco solito
examinum. Præsentibus Reuerendo D. Rhoderico De Caruaial
prothonotario Reuerendissimj D. D. Cardinalis Sanctæ crucis
Nepote : Reuerendo D. Raymundo Baraille etiam prothonota-
110 rio Reuerendissimj D. D. Cardinalis Gurgeñ Nepote : ac Veñ.
Dñis Joanne Moscheron Archidyachono Camereñij in ecclesia
Cameraceñ. Balthasare De Cordes Archidyacono Valencienn
in ecclesia Cameraceñ. Roberto fischer præposito ecclesiæ Col-
legiatæ de houeden : ac Custode spiritualitatis ecclesiæ Col-
115 legiatæ de hemenburg & territoriorum eiusdem ac Serenissimæ
Reginæ Angliæ Capellano. Adriano Sandelico. & Michaele
picquot clerico Atrebateñ. Paduæ studentibus : Testibus ad
hæc habitis. ANNO Dominicæ natiuitatis Millesimo quingen-
tesimo tertio : Indictione sexta : Die Mercurij octaua februarij.
120 Pontificatus Sanctissimj Dñi nostri Dñi Alexandri diuina
prouidentia .pp. VI Anno Vndecimo.

Petrus : episcopus paduanus : propria manu :

Melchior Lupatus : Cancell. man^{to}. St.

Doctoratus Dñi Hieronymi Busleyden
in utroque jure in universitate Paduana
1505

109 etiam] the ms has & with a ~ over it.

122 & 123 under the fold

124-126 on the back ; 125-126 are of later dates. Under that title was
first written N 20 which is now hardly visible ; over 20 is written, in
much blacker ink, E.e. (possibly E. c.) ; below is the cipher xxviiij in
an older ink and hand than that which wrote 125

12. WILL AND TESTAMENT

MECHLIN, JUNE 22, 1517.

99. — The text of Busleyden's will, with the exception of the part referring to the founding of the *Collegium Trilingue* ¹⁾, is given here from a copy authenticated by the Louvain notary Lucas Vaes ²⁾, made from another authenticated copy ³⁾ belonging to the *Trilingue*. That transcript by Vaes was made for the Chapter of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, where it still reposes amongst the archives. It is preceded by the report of the opening on September 22, 1517 of Busleyden's will, which is described as a paper deed provided with two seals of the testator in red wax, one oblong, impressed on the paper and the black silk cord, the other, also oblong, hanging on a similar cord : it was offered by Adrian Josel and Bartholomew van Vessem to John Robbyns, dean, and to the Chapter of St. Rombaut, gathered '*capitulariter*', in presence of the notary Walter de Ridder, *Militis*, and five witnesses ; after examination, it was declared to be authentic and due to be executed ⁴⁾. Then follows the report of the tradition of the will by the testator to the notary Militis on June 23, 1517, in presence of the witnesses Henry van Haecht, priest, and the *clerici* Nicolas Wary of Marville and Giles Cupere, of Mechlin ⁵⁾. It is followed by the declaration of authenticity of the copy by the notaries Militis, Persoens and Vaes ⁶⁾. — The text of the will proper is printed here with all possible exactness, even to the difference of the capitals used ; the abbreviations have been resolved, but have been indicated by Italics ; only the marks of punctuation have been regularized. When offering any difficulty, those changes and resolutions are recorded in the textual notes based on a collation with other copies or reproductions of the will, such as that in the supplement added by P. Foppens to Aubert Miraeus' *Diplomata Belgica* : Brussels, 1748 : iv, 642-648 ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ The text of that part will be given with its history in *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1 (= *Test.*).

²⁾ Lucas Vaes is mentioned as keeper of a manuel of censal revenue and rents for the College of Arras from 1676 to 1685 : FUL, 2365.

³⁾ The copy from which L. Vaes made his transcript was authenticated by the notary Robert Persoens.

⁴⁾ *MechlMS*, ff 1, r-3, r ; cp. before, § 76.

⁵⁾ *MechlMS*, ff 3, r-4, r ; cp. before, § 71.

⁶⁾ *MechlMS*, ff 29, r-30, r.

⁷⁾ It does not reproduce ll 120 to 208, as referring only to *res domesticas*. Other copies, or at least extracts, are found e.g., in *LouvArch.*, n° 4095 ; FUL, 146, 160, 161.

100. — To this reprint of the first part of the testament, reference is made by the sigla *Will*.

Text of First Part

4r In nomine Sanctæ et jndiuiduæ Trinitatis Patris et filij et spiritus Sancti. Amen.

QVONIAM caduca et fragilis est vita humana, et cuiuscumque vocationis hora incerta, adeo vt quo in loco, quo tempore ea nos expectet nedum sciamus vtrum, jd satis quidem prospicere nequimus. Ergo nos illam expectare omni tempore, omni momento debemus, memores verbi apostolici, quia Illa non tardat, et quæ de terra sunt jn terram reuertuntur; præterea summa jniuria est diuturnioris vitæ, non
10 dicam spe tantum, sed etiam securitate, de exitu non cogitare,
4v Rerum quoque exterarum dispensationem / jn jd potissimum tempus differre jn quo mens grauata plurimis ad vnum aliquid non est sæpe ydonea : Quando tunc auget timor mortis, torquet jnfirmitas corporis, nosque sæpe et subito nouoque destituant omnis sensus et jntellectus. Quare vt, concedente Deo adhuc corpore sospes et mente sanus, jsta deuitem, et ad meum non alienum arbitrium Rem omnem michi a Deo collatam provide disponam, transitoria scilicet in æterna fœlici quidem commertio commutando, curauj jllud ysaye jmitari : dispone
20 domui tuæ quia morieris et non viues; formidansque jllud Saluatoris : vigilate quia nescitis horam qua Dominus vester venturus sit &c.

5r Ego, Jheronimus buslidijs, Ariensis / Præpositus, statui hoc testamentum condere, meo cirographo subscriptum et sigillo munitum, cui jta vim esse volo, si quidem jpsum totum vel eius partem ante mortem non reuocem &c.

⁵ vtrum] *var.* verum

⁷ verbi apostolici], 1 Thess., v, 2; 11 Petr., iii, 10; Apoc., iii, 3, xvi, 15.

⁹ jniuria] *var.* incuria *or* justicia

¹³ auget] *var.* urget

¹⁴ nouoque] *possibly supply* modo; *var.* momento

¹⁹ ysaye] Isaias, xxxviii, 1.

²¹ vigilate &c] Matth., xxiv, 42, xxv, 13; Mark, xiii, 33, 35; Luke, xxi, 36.

Et sequebatur :

Est vero huiusmodi : jn primis Conuersus jn Deum Creatorem meum, jn manu cuius est vita mea et jnteritus, Anxius futuri de me iudicij *quum* jgnorem vtrum odio an acceptatione
 30 dignus sim ; Sperans tamen jn visceribus misericordiæ suæ in quibus nos visitauit ex alto : offero Jlli et commendo trementem animam meam, Suppliciter orans, fiant aures eius jntendentes jn vocem deprecationis meæ ; neque jntret / jn iudicium
 5v cum seruo suo, ne aduersus folium quod vento rapitur exerceat potentiam suam ; Sed magis vt pius Creator suam suscipiat creaturam, et factor suum non aspernetur figmentum, collocando animam humiliatam fidelis penitentis Sacerdotis sui hieronimi cum beatis spiritibus jn vitam æternam. amen. Deinde hoc vile cadauer meum, vitijs, proooh dolor ! multis
 40 contaminatum, quia terreum est statuo terræ reddendum : jdque minori quo fieri poterit pompa atque impensa jnhumandi, videlicet jn choro basilice diui Rumoldi Opidi Mechliniensis, ad latus dextrum summi altaris ; et hoc si, jn hac profec
 6r tione mea hispanica, clausero diem extremum / jn Regno franciæ aut citra alpes. Jtem volo ad parietem contiguum monummenti mei jnfigatur tabella illa depicta quæ extat jn oratorio domus meæ ; et fiant duæ alæ ad præfatam tabellam, jn quarum altera depingatur Representatio mea, jn altera jnscr
 50 hispania moriar, aut vltra Alpes, cupio jnhumari jn æde diui Bernardi juxta tolletum, jn sarcophago jn quo frater meus Archiepiscopus bisuntinus positus est ; jn qua quidem æde ordino et volo jbi perpetuam et quotidianam missam de
 6v Requite cum Anniuersario perpetuis futuris temporibus / celebrandam et fundandam : Ac jn hunc vsum calicem et ornamenta ad hæc necessaria ab Executoribus meis jnfra

³⁰ visceribus &c] Luke, 1, 78.

³² orans &c.] Psalm, cxxix, 2, cxlii, 2 ; Job, xiii, 25.

⁴² in choro &c] MechlMS. *in margin* Locus Sepulturee Mechlinien.

— Cp. *Rek.*, 16, v, sq ; and §§ 76, 77, 79.

⁴⁷ jnfigatur tabella] *Rek.*, 17, v ; cp. § 77.

⁴⁸ duæ alæ] *Rek.*, 17, v ; cp. § 77.

⁴⁹ Epitaphium] §§ 77-78.

⁵² Archiepiscopus] MechlMS, *in margin* Archiepiscopus Bisuntinus frater testatoris.

nominandis comparatum jri. Præterea ab ipso die migrationis hinc meæ singulis diebus continuatis et immediate sequentibus celebrentur jn pijs locis, et a pijs et honestis sacerdotibus jn refrigerium animæ meæ mille missæ ; Et hijs diebus
60 elargientur elemosinæ veris pauperibus christi vsque ad summam ducentorum florenorum Renensium communium inclusive. Jnsuper volo Anniuersarium meum fundari jn præfata Ecclesia Diui Rumoldi Mechliniensi, Legando ob id sexaginta
71 fratribus / Ecclesiæ tantam et similem pecuniarum summam qualem dñs Carolus de Ramcheicourt præpositus quondam Attrebatensis legauit et reliquit jnter ipsos æqualiter participandam et distribuendam : Saluo quod ex jlla summa deducentur Triginta sex stuferi, participandi solum jnter fratres
70 ipso die Anniuersarij mei celebrantes et memoriam mei jn missam facientes. Jtem fabricæ Ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Ariensi lego centum florenos Renenses, jn qua Ecclēsia fundari etiam anniuersarium meum cupio. Et quia jn eadem Ariensi Ecclesia magnam aliquam particulam gloriosæ crucis jn qua saluator noster pependit, esse jntelligo, lego et dono crucem meam
7v auratam / magnam, jnsignijs Archiepiscopi quondam bisuntini fratris mei ornatam, jn qua quidem condētur et jnseretur præfata particula dictæ sanctæ Crucis : quod quidem vt juxta

⁶⁰ mille missæ] *Rek.*, 19, r ; cp. § 79.

⁶¹ elemosinæ] *Rek.*, 18, v ; cp. § 79.

⁶³ Anniuersarium] *Rek.*, 23, v ; cp. § 80.

⁶¹ Diui Rumoldi &c] MechlMS, *in margin* anniuersarium in Eccl S Rumol Mechlin.

⁶⁶ Carolus de Ramcheicourt] the provost of Arras ; he was, no doubt, a relation of Busleyden's friend and protector, Bishop Peter de Ranchicourt, of Arras, at whose death, August 26, 1499, he wrote an epitaph : cp. § 30 ; *Carm.* II, c, i. — That Charles de Ranchicourt, the son of Robert, knight, lord of the place of that name, and of Catherine de Berghes-St.-Winoc (*Brug&Fr.*, VI, 260-261), was appointed member of the Privy Council in January 1504 : *MalConR*, 10-11 ; *MalConM*, 40-41 ; Alexandre, 14-15. He helped to negotiate the Treaty of Blois, Sept. 22, 1504, with Louis XII and Maximilian of Austria : Henne, I, 51-52. As his name is not on the list of Charles of Austria's house, Oct. 25, 1515 (Gachard, 491, sq), he had died by then ; he probably was buried in St. Rombaut's, Mechlin.

⁶⁸ deducentur] MechlMS, *in margin* Collecta.

⁷¹ Ecclesiæ... Ariensi] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 30, 32, 33, 80.

⁷⁵ crucem meam] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 33, 80, 91.

deuotionem meam jta fiat, dominos Capitulares jbidem,
 80 confratres meos, obnixius oro, petens eandem ad processiones
 deferri faciant, quod de priori quæ jnde jbidem est fieri solet.
 Et casu quo jd facere actualiter et jmmmediate noluerint, cedat
 jn rem et vtilitatem bursariorum meorum jnstituendorum de
 quibus jnfra dicetur. Jtem fabricæ Ecclesiæ sanctæ Waldetrudis
 apud montes Hanonn^{niae} lego florenos communes Renenses
 8r viginti : / Jtem fabricæ ecclesiæ Cameracensis viginti Renenses
 communes. Jtem Officio elemosinæ eiusdem Ecclesiæ Camera-
 censis decem Renenses. Jtem fabricæ Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Gudulæ
 Bruxellensis viginti Renenses. Item fabricæ Ecclesiæ Sancti
 90 Lamberti Leodiensis viginti flor. Item fabricæ Ecclesiæ paro-
 chialis steenbergensis Centum florenos Renenses communes.
 Jtem Conuentui Carmelitarum Areluniensi do centum florenos
 Renenses communes jn supplementum foundationis paternæ ;
 et hoc si constiterit jpsam foundationem patris mei jnibi factam
 minus sufficientem, vt dicunt, esse fundatam, attenta qualitate
 dictæ foundationis. Jtem ab ipso die obitus mei jnfra tres /
 8v menses jmmmediate sequentes numerando, lego et volo distribui
 pro mea certa intentione, complenda per magistrum Adrianum
 Josel Canonicum Antwerpiensem, pauperibus veris christi
 100trecentos Florenos Renenses communes, qualem jntentionem
 meam jlli declaraui ; Cuius Adriani super hac re assertioni
 stari volo, sine aliqua alia magis specifica declaratione.
 præterea domum meam Mechliniæ sitam, cuius fundum tam a
 fratribus quam ab alijs emi, et jllam propriis sumptibus cōn-

⁸⁴ Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Waldetrudis] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 31, 81.

⁸⁶ Ecclesiæ Cameracen.] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 31, 81.

⁸⁷ Officio elemosinæ ejusdem Ecclesiæ] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 31, 81.

⁸⁸ Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Gudulæ] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 30, 81.

⁸⁹ Ecclesiæ Sancti Lamberti] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 31, 81 : only twelve Rhine florins were paid.

⁹¹ Ecclesiæ steenberg.] *Rek.*, 22, r ; cp. §§ 31, 81.

⁹² Conuentui Carmelitarum Areluniensi] *Rek.*, 22, v ; cp. §§ 3, 81.

⁹³ foundationis paternæ] cp. §§ 3, 81.

⁹⁸ Adrianum Josel] *Rek.*, 22, v ; § 81.

¹⁰³ domum Mechliniæ] *Rek.*, 2, v ; cp. §§ 87-89.

¹⁰⁴ a fratribus] the property apparently had belonged to Francis de Busleyden : it had an 'old' house, and a stable near the garden : he may have bought it to live in, or to use it as a site since the Court — and certainly Margaret of York — intended leaving Bruges for

struxi, vna cum antiqua domo, et jntroitu portæ anterioris, et stabulo jn jntroitu horti a parte posteriori situato, volo et
 9r ordinō post mortem / meam ab Executoribus meis quam carius
 et utilius fieri poterit venditioni exponi, Et præcium ex huius-
 modi venditione proueniens jn tres partes æqualiter diuidi :
 110Quarum prima spectabit fratri meo Egidio ; secunda, Fran-
 cisco Charissimo nepoti meo filio Valeriani quondam fratris
 mei ; Tertia vero pars, vna cum alijs domibus præfatæ domui
 nouæ contigujs et annexis et adjacentibus, ante et retro, demp-
 tis tamen præfatis antiqua domo et stabulo prænaratis, ap-
 plicabitur alumnijs siue bursarijs meis a me jnstituendis, de
 quibus latius jnfra patebit. Et si forte (quod absit) contingat
 9v præfatum franciscum / nepotem meum diem suum extremum
 obire anteme, sine legitima prole superstite, volo quod pars su[a]
 venditionis præfatæ accrescat et succedat prædictis bursarijs
 120meis jnstituendis. Jtem volo partem pretij prouenientem ex
 venditione domus præfatum dictum franciscum nepotem
 meum concernentem, quam cito et vtiliter fieri poterit ab
 Executoribus meis applicatum jri ad emptionem alicuius
 Redditus jn vtilitatem ; Qui si decedat et præmoriatur ac-
 crescet bursarijs, vt supra. præterea, Si præfata domus mea
 mechliniæ situata, ob defectum seu carentiam emptoris justum
 10rpretium et honestum / pro ea offerentis, tam cito distrahi vt
 cupio non possit, neque debeat, quod relinquo discrecioni
 Executorum meorum, volo vt jnterea jlla locetur, et pretium
 130ex annua locatione proueniens vna cum pretio aliarum domu-
 um connexarum accrescat præfatis bursarijs meis. Jtem lego
 præfato francisco nepoti meo ex fratre Valeriano omnia
 numismata mea, tam aurea quam argentea et ærea. Item
 Francisco nepoti meo ex fratre Egidio omnia jnstrumenta
 musicalia et libros musicales omnes lego, præter organa, de

Brabant ; it was no doubt shared amongst the three brothers, Jerome having the old buildings, Giles and Valerian the adjoining ground :
 cp. § 38 ; *MargvOK*, 226, sq.

¹¹⁰ prima pars... Egidio] *Rek.*, 25 r, v ; cp. §§ 13, 83.

¹¹⁰ secunda Francisco] cp. §§ 9, 10 ; 82, 91.

¹¹⁷ franciscum nepotem... obire] cp. § 9.

¹³² francisco nepoti... numismata] *Rek.*, 3, r, v ; cp. §§ 10, 82.

¹³⁴ Francisco... musicalia] *Rek.*, 99, v ; cp. §§ 16, 83.

^{10v}quibus infra cauetur. Jtem neptibus meis ex sorore / Maria et
 Catherina, omnibus semel jnter se diuidendum lego sexcentos
 florenos Renenses communes quilibet *scilicet* ducentos florenos
 Renenses communes. Jtem do lego vnam quam habeo vestem
^{140a}auream Ecclesiæ Sti Rumoldi, et hoc pro cappa conficienda
 cum fimbrijs, quas Executores mei comparabunt : Et hoc si
 jbi me jnsinuari contigerit ; quod si non, do illam Collegio vbi
 erunt bursarij mei. Jtem lego domino Adriano Josel, Canonico
 Antwerpiensi, prædicto antiquo familiari meo, summam quin-
 quaginta florenorum aureorum, orando jllum vt quemadmo-
^{11v}dum me / amauit jn vita, jta faciat post mortem, curando vt
 oret et orare faciat Deum pro salute animæ meæ. Jtem sorori
 meæ Clarissimæ vxori quondam Valeriani fratris mei, lego
 annulum meum cum smaragdo ; Sorori meæ vxori Egidij,
^{150a}annulum cum tabula adamant[ea] ; Magistro Nicolao de Naues,
 annulum cum turquosa. Jtem volo quod præfatæ sorori meæ
 vxori quondam Valeriani reddatur annulus cum puncto
 magno adamantis quem ab ea habui. Item fratri meo Egidio,
 pateram seu poculum meum auratum cui inscriptus est tri-
^{11v}umphus bachi. / Arnoldo vanden beken familiari meo,
 Si mecum sit tempore vocationis meæ, centum Renenses,
 simul, sub qua quidem summa comprehendi volo salarium
 quod jlli possum debere tempore mortis meæ ; Si vero absens,
 et non in obsequio, Triginta Renenses. Jtem domino philippo
^{160f}fourdyn familiari meo, quinquaginta Renenses communes et
 vnam ex vestibus laneis, orando jllum vt quam diu viuat
 jntercedat pro me quemadmodum jn eo confido. Jtem Johan-

¹³⁶ neptibus meis] *Rek.*, 24, v ; cp. §§ 11 and (for number and be-quests) 82.

¹³⁸ quilibet] *MechlMS* ; *probably read* cuilibet.

¹³⁹ vestem auream... pro cappa] *Rek.*, 23, v ; cp. §§ 80, 91.

¹⁴³ Adriano Josel] *Rek.*, 22, v ; cp. §§ 81, 89.

¹⁴⁸ vxori quondam Valeriani] *Rek.*, 24 v-25 r ; cp. §§ 10, 82, 91.

¹⁴⁹ vxori Egidij] *Rek.*, 99, v ; cp. §§ 12, 83.

¹⁵⁰ Nic. de Naues] *Rek.*, 99, v ; cp. §§ 12, 83.

¹⁵¹ reddatur annulus] *Rek.*, 24, r ; cp. §§ 10, 82.

¹⁵³ Egidio pateram] *Rek.*, 99, v ; cp. § 83.

¹⁵⁵ Arnoldo van den Beken] *read*... Veken. Cp. *Rek.*, 22, v.

¹⁵⁹ Domino philippo fourdyn familiari meo] *Rek.*, 19, r (as a priest he said some of the 30 masses near the grave), 22 v.

¹⁶² Johanni hansen stabulario] *Rek.*, 23, r, 27, r, v.

ni alias hansen stabulario meo, viginti Renenses. Jtem Ancillæ meæ optimæ et fidelissimæ Catharinæ lego quinquaginta Renenses communes, casu quo vsque ad tempus mortis meæ, mecum habitauerit ; si non, viginti Renenses tantum. Item ¹²⁷alteri Ancillæ meæ Christinæ, sex Renenses communes, / quo casu etiam jn seruitio meo permanserit. Jtem familiari meo Colino si ad Religionem se dederit, quod opto, Centum Renenses communes ; Si jn seculo permanserit, Triginta Renenses. Johanni Meigherde, duodecim Renenses communes, et filiæ eius filiolæ meæ, vnam libram grossorum sex florenos communes. Jtem lego Conuentui Sti Martini jn Treueris quinquaginta florenos Renenses communes, et hoc cum onere centum missarum de Requiem. Item lego tribus conuentibus mendicantium Opidi Mechliniensis, cuilibet eorum decem Renenses communes. Item lego Conuentui Carmelitarum jn opido de Marche, partim pro vitrina, partim pro alia Reparatione Ecclesiæ dictæ conventus, centum Renenses communes, et hoc ¹²⁰cum / onere centum missarum de Requiem. Libros meos scriptos gallicos, jn membranis vel in charta papirea, venumdari vna cum mobilibus meis tota suppellectile superius non expressa. Jtem organa mea, super portale seu janu[am] aulæ meæ Mechliniæ, lego et dono fraternitati venerabilis Sacramenti jn æde Diui Rumoldi, vt ibi ad altare dictæ fraternitatis applicentur ad honorem cultus Venerabilis Sacramenti : pro cuius applicationis sumptibus et expensis necessarijs faciendis, lego centum aureos florenos cum eo onere vt in fine quarumlibet missarum seu laudum jbi decantandarum, priusquam

¹²⁴ Ancillæ... Catharinæ] *Rek.*, 23, r, 28, r.

¹²⁷ Ancillæ meæ Christinæ] *Rek.*, 27, v.

¹²⁸ familiari meo Colino] *viz.*, Colin Germain, the cook : *Rek.*, 25, v, 26, v, 27, r.

¹²¹ Johanni Meigherde (*viz.*, Metten ghelde)] *Rek.*, 23, r ; cp. § 83.

¹²¹ filiæ eius filiolæ meæ] *Rek.*, 23, r ; cp. §§ 81, 83.

¹²³ Conuentui Sti Martini jn Treuiris] *Rek.*, 23, r ; cp. § 81.

¹²⁵ conuentibus mendicantium] *Rek.*, 23, r ; cp. § 81.

¹²⁷ Conuentui Carmelitarum jn... Marche] *Rek.*, 23, r ; cp. § 81.

¹²⁰ Libros meos scriptos gallicos] *Rek.*, 2, r ; cp. § 88.

¹²⁸ organa mea] *Rek.*, 25, r, 98, r ; cp. § 80.

¹²⁹ priusquam &c] MechlMS, *in margin* : Nota pro confratern. Ven. Sacram. in S. Rumoldi.

190 sacerdos ab altari recedat, coram *ambono* astans legat vnum
 13r de profundis, pater noster et Ave / Maria, cum collecta pro
 sacerdote jn mei memoriam et salutem animæ meæ, provt
 melius et expedientius Executores mei cum provisoribus
 fraternitatis ausabunt ; Et de huiusmodi legato meo fiat
 mentio jn Registro seu libro dictæ fraternitatis, vt jd jta per-
 petuis futuris temporibus tanto melius sciatur et facto obser-
 vetur. Missale pulchrum et opulentum a bonæ memoriæ
 domino Attrebatensi michi donatum, jllud venundari vna
 cum alijs libellis opulentis et preciosis serico et argento ornatis
 200 manu jn membrana scriptis, quorum pretium jmpendetur
 jn Rem et vtilitatem futuræ executionis præsentis dispositionis
 meæ. Alios vero omnes et quoscumque libros meos, cuiuscum-
 13v que sint facultatis, linguæ siue ydeomatis, / impressos vel
 scriptos, volo jllos omnes collocari *simul* jn eo Collegio jn
 quo *alumni* seu bursarij mei, de quibus jnfra fiet mentio, a me
 vel executoribus meis instituentur. De reliquis omnibus bonis
 meis tam mobilibus quam jmmobilibus jnstitui volo et stabi-
 liri vnum Collegium jn Vniuersitate Louaniensi...

Close of Deed

Volens insuper et desiderans vt si huiusmodi testamentaria
 210 dispositio forte jure testamenti non sit valida, propter alicuius
 personæ præteritionem, solemnitatum et legum vigore requi-
 sitorum omissionem, quod id saltem iure codicillorum seu
 donationis causa mortis, aut inter viuos, seu quomodolibet
 alias, vt vltimæ defunctorum voluntates præcipue iuxta pon-
 tificij iuris sanctiones, valere possit et valeat, et pleni roboris
 firmitatem obtineat ; Cassans præterea, annullans et irritans
 quoduis aliud testamentum, seu codicillos a me quomodolibet
 conditos : saluo mihi semper iure addendi, diminuendi, cor-
 rigendi, mutandi.

220 Acta fuerunt hæc in domo mea Mechliniæ, per me dictata et
 propria manu subscripta die xxij mensis Junij anno a Natiui-
 tate Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo.

¹⁹⁰ ambono] MechlMS âbono.

¹⁹⁷ Missale... a domino Attrebatensi] *Rek.*, 4^{rr}, v ; cp. §§ 43, 47, 88.

²⁰¹ Alios omnes... libros] *Rek.*, 98, r ; cp. § 88.

Sic scriptum :

Hec est voluntas mea et dispositio testamentaria quam ego Hieronymus testator jn omnibus et singulis articulis suis post mortem meam per Executores supra nominatos otius ac fieri poterit commode exequuta jri fideliter cupio ; testamentaria hac subscriptione mea manu propria facta et sigilli appensione roborata.

Actum jn domo habitationis meæ Mechliniæ die xxij Junij
230 anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo.

Denuo sic subscriptum

jta est, vt supra Buslidius Ariensis Præpositus Testator,
manu propria.

II

BUSLEYDEN'S WRITINGS

1. INTRODUCTORY

101. — Besides his magnificent foundation, which Erasmus already highly praised before it was executed ¹⁾, and which proved to be one of the chief glories of the University of Louvain, Busleyden left a volume of *Lvsvs*, consisting of poems, orations and letters, which was copied out neatly by his friend Vegerius, no doubt for the author's personal satisfaction. Although his timidity and diffidence prevented him from publishing the fruit of his conscientious study and painstaking efforts ²⁾, he was deeply convinced that in such matters the earnest intention and careful endeavours are as meritorious as the highest success ³⁾. Notwithstanding his repeated expressions of humility ⁴⁾ and the consciousness of his unrelenting efforts to imitate high standards of literature, his poetry as well as his prose was praised unreservedly by Thomas More ⁵⁾, whereas Erasmus encouraged him whole-heartedly ⁶⁾,

¹⁾ Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. 1; Allen, III, 804, 13, sq; *NèveBusl.*, 35.

²⁾ Cp. further, §§ 164, sq.

³⁾ He expressed that conviction in his letter to Dorp: *Quarum... opum altissima penetralia si minus daretur attingere, attamen pulchrum erit hoc ita uoluisse*: *Epp.* 58, 77-78; also 6, 38-40, 82, 8-6; cp. *ETAdag.*, 652, 1.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, § 165.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, § 61, and *Carm.* xxviii; *NèveBusl.*, 24-25.

⁶⁾ Erasmus made him write a letter to More, which was to be inserted in the *Utopia*: *Epp.* 81.

and pronounced him as well versed in Greek as in Latin ¹). No wonder that Busleyden's writings tempted more than one editor ²), since they do honour to the author's literary taste and intellectual culture.

102. — His orations are very effective and to the point ; although not constituting a great enrichment to the verse literature of the sixteenth century ³), his poems are worth more consideration than as proofs of his endeavours to vanquish the difficulties of lyric composition ⁴). His letters are elegant ; they testify to an excellent discernment ; and although at times formal and conventional, they very often develop a fine, vivid style, especially where the author forgets that he has to take care of his diction ⁵). Even though laboured rather than familiar ⁶), his writings offer a rich wealth of information about his time, with its enthusiasms and its cravings, with its foibles and its outbreaks of glorious generosity, — provided they are thoroughly examined and connected with the circumstances that attended their composition : viz., with the events in which their author took such vivacious interest and such active share that he could not but refer and allude to them in the occasional epigrams or artistically

¹) Allen, I, 178, 1154 : letter to William Herman, Nov. 23, <1503> : H. Büslidius... vir vtriusque linguæ callentissimus.

²) Viz., Valerius Andreas and C. F. de Nélis : cp. further, §§ 127, sq.

³) NèveBusl., 24.

⁴) Busleyden generally uses distichs or, as the MS. has, *disthyca*. Still he also employs other forms, as that of the *Sanctorum meritis*, which he calls *Coriambicum carmen*, no doubt on account of the two *choriambi*, whereas it might be classed more rightly as *Asclepiadeum metrum tertium*, *δίκωλον τετράστροφον* : *Carm.* XIII ; also the *Carmen Alcaïcum* (id., VI), the *Carmen Sapphicum* (id., IV), the *Carmen Iambicum* (id., XXIV), the *Carmen trochaicum dimetrum quadratum catalecticum* (id., III), and a stanza formed by four Asclepiads (id., XI) : in fact for all these forms he introduces changes, or at any rate he differs from the models and from the prescriptions of the manuals, as is indicated for each of the poems.

⁵) E. g., *Epip.* 73 ; NèveBusl., 26, 27 ; Moeller, 85.

⁶) *ErAllen*, 157.

couched letters, with which he indulged in his bent for literature during the rare hours of leisure in a stirring career. — It is the aim of the present study to try and educe as much as possible of that information from the author's writings.

2. MANUSCRIPT ORIGINAL

103. — The manuscript original of Busleyden's works is preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels, as MS. 15676-77. It forms a small folio volume, bound up, with a dark brown leather back ¹⁾. It is written in a fine, clear hand, enclosed in regular spaces bordered by double lines in red ink, which leave ample margins, especially on the lower and on the outer side; it is ornamented by titles in colour, blue paragraphs, big blue initials and capitals marked by a yellow stroke ²⁾. It is composed of several quires of hand-made paper, which shows various kinds of watermarks. One, a crowned shield with three lilies, over a gothic *e*, is found on the greater part of the leaves; whereas the rest of the book has one of four other marks ³⁾: it implies that the manuscript was not written out at a stretch, but was made at intervals and on different quires which were started and continued simultaneously for some time, and which afterwards were gathered so as to form a codex.

104. — To that codex, which was bound up and paginated at least one hundred and thirty years after it had been written ⁴⁾, a title was added over the text of what has become the first page.

¹⁾ The pages measure 297 by 215 millimeters.

²⁾ Cp. further, § 118.

³⁾ A shield with a crowned capital E between two lilies is found on the conjugate leaves e5, k2 and k3 and in the whole quire B; a jug, on leaves h3, h4 and h5, and in quire i; another jug with an ornamented lid, on leaves k4, A3 and A5; a crowned empty shield over a capital E and a minuscule b, on leaves A2, A4 and on the eight leaves of the last quire marked I, 2, &c.

⁴⁾ It was still in its original order, — not bound up as now it is — when it belonged to Oliver de Wree, who died in 1652: cp. further, §§ 127, 129.

Hieronymi Buslidii

J. U. D., Canonici Leodiensis, Mechlin., Camerac., Bruxell.,

Praepositi Ariensis, supremi Senatus Belgici apud Mechlinienses Consiliarii,

Collegii Trilinguis Lovanii Fundatoris

Carmina, Epistolæ et Orationes

It evidently is centuries younger than the text itself ¹⁾; it suggests some abnormality in the way in which the quires were arranged when the book was bound, which explains, not only the evident lack of sequence, but even the fragmentary state of some of the poems ²⁾, due, no doubt, to the irregularity with which the quires and the pages were made to follow one another. Indeed, the original order is indicated by very small letters or figures used as signatures on the very edge of the lower right hand corner of the leaves ³⁾: on account of the unavoidable traces of the fingering on the rough paper, they are often hardly visible, — which explains how they were not taken account of when the manuscript was bound, and how they have not been mentioned before.

105.— Here is the list of those letters and figures compared with the pagination numbers of the obverse of the leaves; the signatures of the conjugate halves of each quire, on which, according to custom, they are not added ⁴⁾, are supplied between brackets.

{	<i>Pp.</i>	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	}	<i>quire b.</i>
	<i>sign.</i>	b1	b2	b3	b4	b5	b6	(b7)	(b8)	(b9)	(b10)		

¹⁾ It seems to have been added by one of the former owners, possibly C. van Hulthem, about 1813, and been inspired by the description in *BibBelg.*, 387 (1643); cp. further, § 131.

²⁾ Cp. further, § 106.

³⁾ It was the custom to place there the signatures in the manuscripts of the Middle Ages; it was followed for some time even for the printed books: McKerrow, 74-75.

⁴⁾ Usually the signature with the appropriate figure was added as far as the first leaf of the second half of a gathering or quire: McKerrow, 79.

{	<i>Pp.</i>	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	37	39	}	quire c
{	<i>sign.</i>	c4	c5	c6	(c7)	c1	c2	c3	(c8)	(c9)	(c10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	}	quire a-k
{	<i>sign.</i>	a	b	c	d	e	f	(g)	(h)	(i)	(k)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	61										}	fly-leaf
{	<i>sign.</i>	—										}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	63	65	67	69	71	73	75	77	79	81	}	quire 1-10
{	<i>sign.</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	83	85	87	89	91	93	95	97	99	101	}	quire d
{	<i>sign.</i>	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	(d7)	(d8)	(d9)	(d10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	103	105	107	109	111	113	115	117	119	121	}	quire e
{	<i>sign.</i>	e1	e2	e3	e4	e5	e6	(e7)	(e8)	(e9)	(e10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	123	125	127	129	131	133	135	137	139	141	}	quire f
{	<i>sign.</i>	f1	f2	f3	f4	f5	f6	(f7)	(f8)	(f9)	(f10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	143	145	147	149	151	153	155	157	159	161	}	quire g
{	<i>sign.</i>	g1	g2	g3	g4	g5	g6	(g7)	(g8)	(g9)	(g10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	163	165	167	169	171	173	175	177	179	181	}	quire h
{	<i>sign.</i>	h1	h2	h3	h4	h5	h6	(h7)	(h8)	(h9)	(h10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	183	185	187	189	191	193	195	197	199	201	}	quire i
{	<i>sign.</i>	i1	i2	i3	i4	i5	i6	(i7)	(i8)	(i9)	(i10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	203	205	207	209	211	213	215	217			}	quire k
{	<i>sign.</i>	k	k2	k3	k4	k5	k6	(k7)	(k8)			}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	219	221	223	225	227	229	231	233	235	237	}	quire A
{	<i>sign.</i>	A	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	(A7)	(A8)	(A9)	(A10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	239	241	243	245	247	249	251	253	255	257	}	quire B
{	<i>sign.</i>	B	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	(B7)	(B8)	(B9)	(B10)	}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	259	261	263	265	267	269	271	273			}	quire 1-8
{	<i>sign.</i>	1	2	3	4	5	(6)	(7)	(8)			}	
{	<i>Pp.</i>	275										}	leaf added
{	<i>sign.</i>	—										}	(*9)

106. — A glance at that list shows that the leaves of the gathering c, instead of being placed in order, have been put in two half quires : c⁴-c⁷, and c¹⁻³-c⁸⁻¹⁰. It explains the queer title of page 35 (c 8r) : *In idem*, a poem which treats the advantages of wine at a feast ; the title cannot refer to what precedes in the manuscript, namely an epigram *In Leonar. Pricardum*, ridiculing a friend's custom to use his fine garden

only to shoot crows ¹⁾. The *idem* evidently applies to the series of distichs *ad poculum Baccho sacrum*, one of Busleyden's jokes ²⁾, which are found on *p* 28, *f c 7 v*; they should have come immediately before, if the leaves of the gathering had been placed in their right order ³⁾. — Another anomaly is the series of four verses evidently composed in honour of Our Lady, *Diua parens*, which, being without a title on *p*. 41, seem to belong to the poem on *p*. 40, celebrating a picture of the three goddesses striving for the golden apple of Paris ⁴⁾, which was added on the reverse of *f c 10*, whereas the four verses to Our Lady are on the obverse of the first leaf of the gathering *a-k*. No doubt they should follow the sixteen verses — all beginning with the same words *Diua parens*, — forming the *Pæan Virgini Christiferae*, on the reverse of the last leaf of the gathering 1-10, *p*. 82, to which they evidently belong ⁵⁾.

107. — It is evident that quire *a-k* has to follow immediately on quire 1-10, and that the first page of the latter gathering is the very first of the book, since on the obverse of its first leaf, *p*. 63, it bears, in big red capitals, the following title :

HIERO. BVSLIDII
ARIEN. PRAEPO. LVSVS.

A later hand added in black ink an N to HIERO, and wrote, in the left margin near the second line, SITI, evidently meant to complete the abbreviation PRAEPO.⁶⁾ That was the original disposition of the manuscript which was kept until about

¹⁾ *BuslMS*, 34 : *c 3 v* : *Carm.* xxvi : this poem was added afterwards in a space left blank ; nor can *idem* refer to the distich which precedes, as it is entitled *Mensa Buslidiana* : *Carm.*, xxi, iv.

²⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 39-44.

³⁾ *Carm.* xxi, v, 9, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *Carm.* v, iii : the picture belonged to Busleyden's friend Philip Wiclant : cp. *Epp.* 25.

⁵⁾ *Carm.* x.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 9, *pr.*

63
HIERON. BVSLIDII
ARIEN. PRAEPO. LVSVS.
ADLECTOREM.

SITJ,

QUam fuerim in fratrem gratus, pius, officiosus,
Candide te, Lector, pagina nostra docet.

EN ~~non vultissimum~~ ^{um} primum nostrum in
in desideratum beneficentissim^{um} fratrem
Monumentum. non multâ, ut vides,
aut elegantia, aut inani uerborum phalacro
rationum. Sed magis, quod opto, insigni pietate
et gratitudine refectum. Quod modò in hoc
probetur, minus laboramus: si uel in altero
damnetur. Quando non ornatus, sed uni ma-
gis studuimus pietati. Quae amore imprimis
caritate et gratitudine concomitata, haud
usquam morata est Lenocinia uerborum, sen-
tentias, coloresq; Rhetorum. Quin satius

1650, when Oliver de Wree¹⁾ wrote his name in the right hand top corner of that page 'Oliuerj Vredj'. Later on ²⁾ the book was put out of order when paginated and bound up a second time, without taking care of replacing the quires in the old order; for it must have been sown or stitched together when it was shown to Thomas More, in the summer of 1515 ³⁾, since on the fourth page of a double fly-leaf provided in front, he wrote a *Tetrastichon* in praise of his friend and host's poetry and prose, which is still facing the original title of the bundle ⁴⁾.

108. From all that can be deduced that the manuscript was originally composed as follows :

{ fly-leaf p 62	}	containing Th. More's <i>tetrasthicon</i> .
{ sign. I-10 — a-k — b-b10 — c-c10 pp 63-82 41-60 1-20 21-40	}	containing chiefly poems, and beginning with the title <i>LVSVS</i> (f 1 r, p 63).
{ sign. d-d10 pp 83-102	}	containing three orations.
{ sign. e-e10 — f-f10 — g-g10 — h-h10 — i-i10 — k-k8 pp 103-122 123-142 143-162 163-182 183-202 203-218	}	[containing a first series of letters.
{ sign. A-A10 — B-B10 — 1-8 pp 219-238 239-258 259-274	}	bringing a second series of letters, and a fifth oration.
{ sign. — p 275	}	one leaf added, indicated as *9.

That original order explains the presence of several pages left blank in the manuscript ⁵⁾, and by the comparative places

¹⁾ Cp. further, §§ 127, sq.

²⁾ Oliver de Wree died in 1652 : cp. further, § 129.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 61.

⁴⁾ *Carm.*, xxviii : on *BuslMS*, 62, whereas the original title is on p. 63.

⁵⁾ Viz., p 60 (f k v), the end of one series of poems ; p 61, the ob-

of the documents, it helps to build up a certain chronological sequence, which must have been observed, although it is not indicated ¹⁾; it also corroborates the information about the disposition of this *codex* expressed in several letters.

3. THE COPYIST AND HIS COPY

109. — From Busleyden's correspondence it appears that the Mechlin Councillor found an encouraging appreciation for his literary compositions, which may have naturally occasioned a desire to have them nicely written out for his personal satisfaction. Being rather shy and diffident ²⁾, he never would have preserved those pieces if he had not had at his disposal the ready help of a young erudite, as willing to revise and correct the style and language, as to provide a neat and ornate copy of his protector's writings. That young scholar, Conrad Wecker, *Vecerius* or *Vegerius* ³⁾, no doubt, had enjoyed his powerful countryman's favour and help during his studies, and had probably been appointed on his recommendation to the office of secretary at Court by 1512 ⁴⁾. Busleyden attached great importance to the thorough revising of what he had written, and he reminded his clever friend of it in a letter of the latter months of 1512, when thanking him for having started the copying ⁵⁾; most probably the first instalment comprised the poem about his deceased brother with a letter to the Reader ⁶⁾, along with some other epitaphs and religious verses composed in Italy, or soon after his return to the Netherlands. He further entrusted to Vegerius' care what he called : *Nugas illas gerrasque meas... rudes ac plane*

verse of the fly-leaf; *p* 218 (*f* k 8 v), the end of the first series of letters; *p* 276, the reverse of the leaf added for the end of the second series of letters; cp. further, §§ 111, *sq.*

¹⁾ Cp. further, §§ 115, *sq.*, and the lists at the end of this work.

²⁾ Cp. further, §§ 164, *sq.*

³⁾ Cp. before, § 53.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 63, *b-e.*

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 63, 3, *sq.* 15-17 : *mallem te doctum... emaculatorem quam industrium... notarium probare.*

⁶⁾ *Carm.* 1; *Epp.* 9, 63, 8-9.

indigestas, announced in a letter of the last weeks of 1512 ¹⁾ : probably the distichs about his house and his furniture, which had been jotted down on the inspiration of the moment ²⁾ rather than composed painfully after long planing and filing ; or they may have been his orations, judging from the description he gave : *utque in buccam uenerant* ³⁾. Afterwards were sent letters either in the rough draughts or *exemplaria* ⁴⁾, in *archetypa* ⁵⁾, or copies ; they were passed as they were unearthed from old papers : for the first letter written to Martin van Dorp, December 29, 1509 ⁶⁾, is placed the last but one amongst the missives to that professor, written four or five years later. — It seems evident from a comparison of the letters that Busleyden kept rough draughts of his correspondence, as in some epistles he repeats word for word what he wrote some time before. Thus, by the middle of December 1510, he introduced whole sentences in his epistle to Martin van Dorp which he had used already in the beginning of 1508 in his plea to Luigi Marliano ⁷⁾.

110. — Unfortunately neither place names, nor dates were mentioned ; still in the last days of 1512 or the first of 1513, Busleyden, expressing his satisfaction about the correcting, the copying and the adorning, of which he had received a specimen, wrote to request Vegerius to come and see him before continuing, so that he might be told the *formula ipsa et ordo* which he was expected to follow ⁸⁾. In the first days of March 1513, Busleyden reminded his young friend to observe

¹⁾ *Epp.*, 65, 1, *sq.* 11, *sq.*

²⁾ E.g., *Carm.* xx and xxi.

³⁾ *Epp.* 65, 2.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 68, 9.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 68, 15.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 56 : *BuslMS*, 268-70 ; only one letter to Dorp follows in the manuscript, *Epp.* 78, in which his name as addressee is not mentioned.

⁷⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 47, 58, a.

⁸⁾ *Epp.*, 67, 18 ; that *ordo* was not necessarily chronological, which is rarely found in sixteenth century collections, but merely preferential, at least as far as can be judged.

carefully *seriem et notam characterum*, which, he wrote, *cuique (ut uidebis) in primori fronte prænotauimus*¹⁾, no doubt by letters or figures added to the top. At the same time he sent some more *exemplaria*, one of which was to follow on the letter by which Busleyden had invited Luigi Marliano to dinner²⁾, and which, as he thought, had been copied out already³⁾.

111.—As the documents to be reproduced thus came haphazard, Vegerius kept several quires into which he wrote down the compositions that belonged together, and which grew as the time went on. Judging from the title LVSVS written out on the first page of the gathering of 5 double leaves, marked 1, 2, 3, &c., the first collection started with the epitaph on Archbishop Francis de Busleyden preceded by the accompanying letter to the Reader⁴⁾; it was followed by all the poems on deceased friends or on religious subjects, which were continued in a second quire, also of 5 double leaves, marked *a b c d e f*, the last page being blank⁵⁾. Another quire with the signature b (marked b¹ to b⁶, in ten), was taken for worldly poems; the first — which now begins the manuscript — is the poetic discussion between Busleyden and Adrian Herbouts⁶⁾; amongst those which follow, are the short poems about the peace of Cambrai, 1508⁷⁾, and about Busleyden's

¹⁾ *Epp.*, 68, 11-15.

²⁾ *Epp.* 47; in the manuscript it is followed by a letter to Ferry de Carondelet, *Epp.* 27; he blames in it the spirit of lazy ignorance of some of his noble countrymen, whilst in that to Marliano he inveighs against their addictedness to feasting and revelry.

³⁾ *Epp.*, 68, 13-15.

⁴⁾ *BuslMS*, 63; *Carm.* 1; *Epp.* 9.

⁵⁾ Those two quires contain poems 1 to XIV, besides the letters to the Reader, to Adrian of Utrecht, and to Josse von Beyssel: *Epp.* 9, 16, 21, 22.

⁶⁾ *Carm.* xv; *BuslMS*, 1-11.

⁷⁾ *Carm.* XIX; *BuslMS*, 17-20; the monostich on Charles of Austria's emancipation, 1515, *Carm.* XIX, vii, was evidently inserted later by Vegerius: cp. further, §§ 116, 119.

house and furniture ¹⁾. They extend over a second quire with the signature c (marked c¹ to c⁶, in ten) : on the obverse side of the last leaf Vegerius wrote his own quatrain offering his copy to his protector ²⁾ ; and on the reverse side, was added afterwards a letter to Philip Wielant ³⁾, with a poem on a painting.

112. — Another quire of five double leaves, d (marked d¹-d⁶), was devoted to three of the five orations ⁴⁾ ; on its last page starts a series of letters, mostly to men in authority : to Archduke Philip the Fair ⁵⁾, to the Chapter of St. Gudula's, Brussels, to Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal, to John de Moscheron, archdeacon of Cambrai, to Adrian Sandelicus, dean of Antwerp, to the famous James Lefèvre d'Etaples, and others : they take up the quires e, f, g, h, i (in tens) and k (in eight) ⁶⁾ ; of this last gathering a little more than the three last pages were left blank : on two of them and on the remaining space of k7 r, p 215, was crammed a letter to Dorp with an unusual amount of abbreviations ⁷⁾, evidently after the rest of the collection had been written.

113. — A second group of two quires, each of ten pages, with the signatures A (A¹-A⁶) and B (B¹-B⁶) was started for letters to more humble personages, — such as Busleyden's fellow-students at Padua : Rainald of Tongres, the German Frederic, Ferry de Carondelet, — or to special friends ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ *Carm.* xx, xxi ; *BuslMS*, 21-36. On the open space left under the distich *Mensa Buslidiana* (*BuslMS*, 34, f c 3 v), Vegerius added afterwards the epigram *In Leonar. Pricardum*, which title is preceded by a paragraph in red, not blue, paint : *Carm.* xxvi ; cp. further, §§ 116, 119.

²⁾ *BuslMS*, 39 : *Carm.* xxvii : *Librarius*.

³⁾ *BuslMS*, 40 : *Carm.* v, iii ; *Epp.* 25 ; cp. § 115.

⁴⁾ *BuslMS*, 83-102 : *Orat.* B, C, D.

⁵⁾ *BuslMS*, 102-104 : *Epp.* 5.

⁶⁾ *BuslMS*, 104-215.

⁷⁾ *BuslMS*, 215-217 ; *Epp.* 57, belonging to the first months of 1510, — no doubt a document that had been overlooked, or handed too late to Vegerius ; cp. further, § 115.

⁸⁾ *BuslMS*, 219-255.

Of that section the three last pages were left blank : into that space were squashed, at a later date, by means of many shortenings, two letters : one to Dorp ¹⁾ and another to Abbot Bollart ²⁾.

114. — Finally, on a gathering of four double leaves (marked 1 to 5) was started a third series of letters ⁴⁾, to which, later on, was added the oration pronounced in the name of Mechlin clergy at Charles of Austria's solemn entry into that town on February 4, 1515 ³⁾. The remaining space, nearly two pages, was used for a letter without name of addressee, — no doubt Martin van Dorp ; — and since there was not room enough, another leaf was added : it closes the volume ⁵⁾.

115. — From the places occupied in the various quires by the documents, and the different way in which they are written, — either leisurely and regular, or hasty and cramped, — it follows that the bulk of them became part of the manuscript in 1513. Some spaces were left at the bottom of the pages and, evidently, at the end of each separate series : more recent poems or letters, or those older ones which were found after the greater part of their series had been copied out, were put, somehow or other, into those blanks. Thus a poem for, and a letter to, Philip Wielant were added on a page at the end of the series of poems ⁶⁾ ; an epigram on Leonard Priccard was inserted on a space at the foot of a page amidst the distichs on objects of Busleyden's household ⁷⁾. Another late addition

¹⁾ B 9 v-B 10 r : *BuslMS*, 256-57 ; *Epp.* 75, of the last days of February or the first of March 1514.

²⁾ B 10 r, v : *BuslMS*, 257-258 ; *Epp.* 76, of about March 1514 ; cp. § 115.

³⁾ *BuslMS*, 259-270 ; it contains the letters to Arnold van Vessem (prob. 1507), to James de Blasere (1507), to Adrian Herbouts (1508), and to Martin van Dorp (1509) : *Epp.* 35, 37, 52 and 56.

⁴⁾ *BuslMS*, 270-273 ; *Orat.* E ; cp. § 116.

⁵⁾ *BuslMS*, 273-275 ; *Epp.*, 78. That letter, perhaps the last to be added to the collection, belongs to October 1515 ; cp. § 116.

⁶⁾ *BuslMS*, 40 (f c 10 v : the end of the series of poems) : *Carm.* v, iii ; *Epp.* 25 ; cp. § 111.

⁷⁾ *BuslMS*, 34 (f c 3 v) : *Carm.* xxvi ; cp. further, § 118.

was the letter to Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal ¹⁾, dating no doubt from 1512, the period of his disfavour ²⁾, which was written on two pages and a half, possibly kept blank on purpose ³⁾, between a first letter to the same, of 1509 ⁴⁾ and one to John de Moscheron, of 1510 or 1511 ⁵⁾. A letter of 1510 to Martin van Dorp was crammed in at the end of the first series of letters ⁶⁾, and probably was to be followed by another, as the page after it is left open ⁷⁾. Two epistles of 1514, one to the same professor and one to Abbot Bollart, of St. Amand's, were pressed into the three pages that remained free of the quires A and B, containing the second series of letters ⁸⁾.

116. — Still those late entries were made before the manuscript was quite ready, for the ornamentation peculiar to the *codex* ⁹⁾ is extended to them ¹⁰⁾. Quite at last were added three texts referring to events that happened in 1515 : a chronogram on Prince Charles of Austria's emancipation, in January of that year, which found a place under two similar verses on the Peace of Cambrai ¹¹⁾. A speech delivered by Busleyden in the name of Mechlin clergy at the solemn entry of Prince Charles, on February 4, 1515, was copied after the third series of letters ¹²⁾, and it was followed by the text of an epistle, presumably written in October 1515 to Martin van Dorp, whose name is not added : they were the very last entries,

¹⁾ *Epp.* 54, *pr.* ²⁾ *BuslMS*, 110-12 (*ff* e 4 v-e 5 v) : *Epp.* 60.

³⁾ It shows an uncommon amount of abbreviations and a cramped writing.

⁴⁾ *BuslMS*, 107-110 (*ff* e 3 r-e 4 v) : *Epp.* 54.

⁵⁾ *BuslMS*, 113-114 (*f* e 6 r, v) : *Epp.* 59.

⁶⁾ *BuslMS*, 215-17 (*ff* k 7 r-k 8 r) : *Epp.* 57 ; cp. § 112.

⁷⁾ *BuslMS*, 218 (*f* k 8 v).

⁸⁾ *BuslMS*, 256-57, and 257-58 (*ff* B 9 v-B 10 r, B 10 r, v) : *Epp.* 75, 76.

⁹⁾ Cp. further, § 118.

¹⁰⁾ With the exception of the epigram on Priccard, *p* 34, of which the title is not adorned with the regular blue paragraph, but with a red one : cp. § 111, and further, § 118.

¹¹⁾ *BuslMS*, 20 (*f* b 10 v) : *Carm.* XIX, vii : this chronogram has the blue ornamentation, which shows that the decoration is younger than January 1515 ; cp. before, § 111.

¹²⁾ *BuslMS*, 270-73 (*ff* 6 v-8 r) : *Orat.* E ; cp. further, § 118.

62.

Thome Mor. istrasthicon

Deu numeru astrida probas, scribete uerba,
 Si pia scripta tibi, si tibi docta placent.
 Nec lege, quae musis, quae plenus Apolline scripta,
 Buslidus patrum gloria rara soli.

Verses added by Thomas Motus
on the fly-leaf of Busleyden's Eucrus

eisdem atq[ue] efficacissime saluta cui fausta ac felicem valetudine[m] ex a[n]i[m]o precor
 vxor mea et liberi salutem tibi co[m]perantur quibus ora[m] predicatione[m] no[n]
 min[us] notus et charus es q[uam] mihi ip[s]i Iteru[m] Vale Londini inq[ui]dus Augu-
 sti

plus ϕ totus Tmus

Thomas Morus

Letter of Thomas Mous
to Fr. de Cranevelt, London, Aug. 10, 1524 (Cran., 115)

made after the transcriber had finished his decorating, for although spaces are left, they miss the ornate initials in blue, as well as the titles in red ink ¹).

117. — Before these two last documents were inserted into the collection, it was submitted to no less a person than Sir Thomas More, in the summer of 1515, on the occasion of his visit to, and his stay at, Busleyden's mansion ²). The impression made on the great man was so good that he added on the fly-leaf ³) a fine tetrastich, inviting all those who like well-written prose or verse on pious or erudite matters, to peruse what Busleyden wrote, whom he called *patrij gloria rara soli* ⁴). No wonder that the inscription on the fly-leaf, was kept when the manuscript was bound : it still is at its original place, namely just opposite of what was the proper title of the collection, HIERO. BVSLIDII... LVSVS ⁵).

118. — The text of the documents is copied out within a frame of two red lines, leaving two good-sized margins ⁶). A few titles are written in letters in black imitating print, but generally they are in minuscules in red ink. The initial of each document extends over three or four lines below, and is painted or drawn in a sky-blue tint, which colour is also used for the paragraphs placed before each title and before each new sentence in the text. That colour stuck at places on the opposite pages, so that either part of the writing disappeared, — or some of the blue peeled off ⁷), — so as to produce some small

¹) *BuslMS*, 273-75 (ff 8 r-9 r) : *Epp.* 78.

²) Cp. before, §§ 44, sq ; maybe the collection was specially decorated on that occasion.

³) *BuslMS*, 62 : the obverse, p 61, is blank ; the leaf must have been double, for a small strip, or guard, is left, stuck to the preceding leaf, viz., the last of the gathering *a-k*.

⁴) *Carm.* xxviii; cp. § 61 and p. 155

⁵) *BuslMS*, 63 (f 1 r).

⁶) Cp. the reproduction of *BuslMS*, 113 here in this book, p. 158 ; also before, § 103.

⁷) E. g., pp. 233 (*Epp.* 3, 15) quantum ; 234-35 (*Epp.* 20, 14) totam ; 156 (*Epp.* 8, 29) humanitatis ; 139 (*Epp.* 33 1) AVDIO ; &c.

blanks in title or text. Moreover, all capital letters are marked by a small stroke or touch of yellow tint : those colours make the manuscript into a very ornate book. A few documents were evidently added after January 1515, when that decoration was put on ¹⁾ : the speech to Archduke Charles has a title in black ink, the last letter to Dorp has none : in both documents there is left the usual space for a large initial, which was not added ; neither are there any blue paragraphs, but only the yellow lines for capital letters ²⁾. The epigram on Leonard Priccard, inserted afterwards in an open space, has a title in black with a paragraph in red tint ³⁾. For the *Tetrasthicon* contributed by Thomas More, apparently the last addition but one, no colour is used ⁴⁾, as it does not properly belong to the *Lvsvs*.

119. — The writing of Busleyden's compositions betrays Vegerius' hand ; it is quite identical with that of several autograph letters of his, which are part of the Cranevelt Collection ⁵⁾. Although there is naturally a difference in the general aspect of what was written at considerable intervals and in various moods, that difference is not in the formation of the letters, in the peculiar form of the shafts that rise above, or fall below the line ⁶⁾, nor in the form or flourish of capital letters ⁷⁾, which particularities are not even abandoned when an unusually large amount of text is to be crammed into a very small space ; the forming of the characters was

¹⁾ The most recent document that has the regular ornamentation in colours, is the chronogram on the emancipation of Prince Charles of Austria, January 5, 1515 : *Carm.* xix, vii. The speech delivered on his entering Mechlin, February 4 of the same year : *Orat.* E, lacks the blue initial and the blue paragraphs, for which some space is left.

²⁾ *BuslMS*, 270-275 ; *Orat.* E ; *Epp.* 78 ; cp. before, § 116.

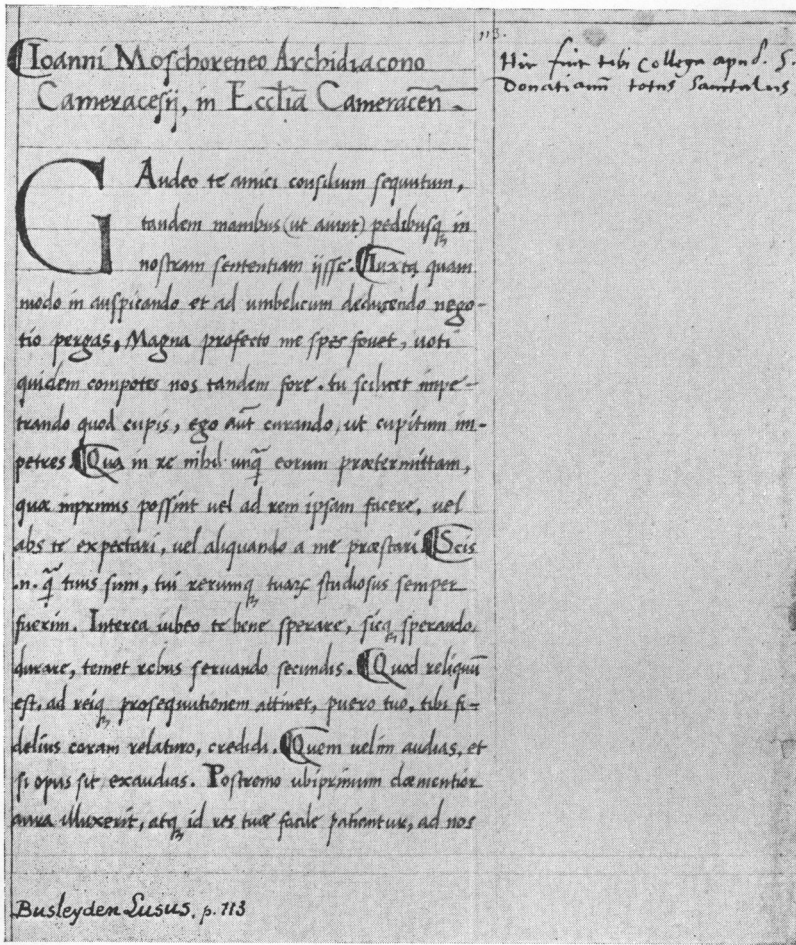
³⁾ *BuslMS*, 34 ; *Carm.* xxvi.

⁴⁾ *BuslMS*, 62 (a page left blank) ; *Carm.* xxviii.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 12, 17, 68, 73, 77 ; cp. here *p.* 159.

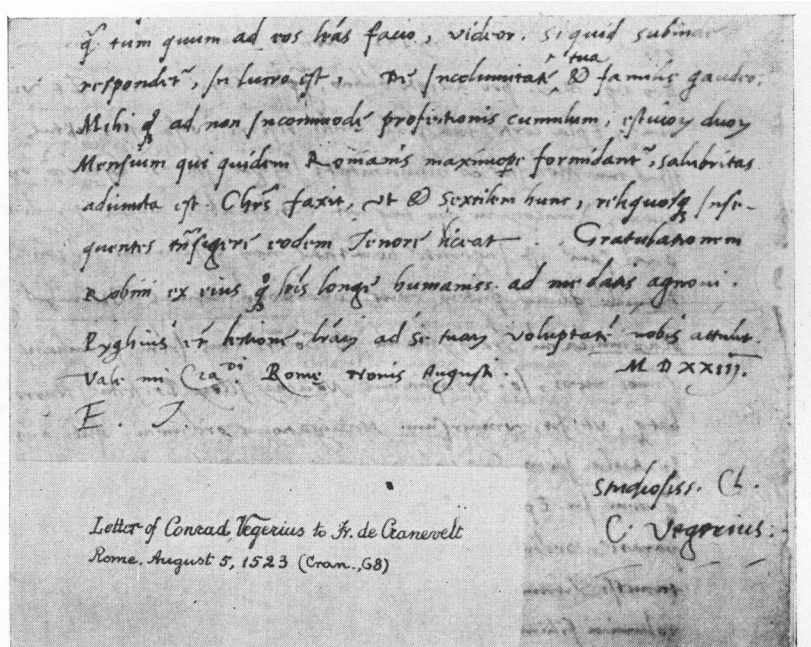
⁶⁾ The shafts are rather long, and turn at their ends to the right if they rise, to the left if they fall.

⁷⁾ Vegerius used either imitations of the printed capitals with peculiar hooks at the ends of the shafts ; or swash capitals like Italics, with a long tail, e.g., for Q or R.



not changed although the letters of a word, and the words of a line were placed as close to one another as possible, and although ample use was made of abbreviations by contractions, as well as of signs and symbols ¹⁾. As can be expected the aspect of the pages changes a little as the work advances :

¹⁾ Such as : *coem nrm aium*, for : *communem nostrum animum* ; — *probet*, for : *probetur* ; *animor*, for *animorum* ; — *q3* or barred *q*, for : *que, quæ* (, *quam*) ; initial *9* for *con-* or *com-* ; and *9* for *-us* or *-um* at the end of words ; *e* with a cedilla for *æ* ; &c.



Giles de Busleyden, van artikel tot artikel, doen overloopen
 en verbeteren, ende daerom de selen Reken, per hooft mij dat
 adpasset, en in mij te grappabroet, en mit mijn handteken
 onder getyken opten vuyt de doch van Janszoo (alre) biffenblijnd

Giles de Busleyden

Giles de Busleyden's approval of the
 Account of the Executors, Jan. 24,
 1525: Rek., 100, v.

especially the later additions are slightly different from the rest : the writing is a trifle larger ; the ink — which is also used for some of the corrections, — is of a lighter shade ¹⁾,

¹⁾ The difference of the writing is e.g., already visible on pp 259 and following : Epp. 35, 52, 37, 56 ; it is similar, in its larger size and lighter shade of brownish ink, to that of Epp. 49 (pp 175, 59) and the corrections brought about e. g., in Epp. 27 (pp 169-175).

and there are peculiar ways of initialling ¹⁾. Still the whole manuscript is in one and the same hand, and Vegerius evidently did not make use of Busleyden's offer to apply to another *librarius* ²⁾.

4. SPELLINGS, CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS

120. — In an ornate transcription of Latin composition evidently devised for show, one would expect that the expert copyist, who was so insistingly requested to correct and revise the style, should also have regularized the orthography. Instead of uniformity, the collection offers a strange variety of spellings : after short vowels the consonant is as often double as simple : *strennuus* ³⁾, *relligio* ⁴⁾, *rettuli* ⁵⁾ and, especially, *litteræ* or *literæ* with its derivatives ⁶⁾ ; an *-h-* is inserted or added ⁷⁾, — which Quintilian already pointed out as a fashion ⁸⁾ ; whilst in many words the *-y-* alternates with *-i-* ⁹⁾, and the *-n-* with *-m-* ¹⁰⁾. It even

¹⁾ Many words have small capital initials, not bigger than the writing itself : *Lectio*, *dictio*, *voluptas*, &c ; they are not marked by yellow strokes ; cp. further, § 120.

²⁾ *Epp.* 63, 14, sq.

³⁾ *Carm.* xv, 129.

⁴⁾ *Carm.* i, 14, ii, ii, 8, xi, 55, xix, iv, 4 ; *Orat.* B, 10.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 76, 3.

⁶⁾ In several cases the word is written in abbreviation : *lvæ* ; yet it occurs full out, e. g., with one *-t-*, on *Epp.* i, 12, 2, 15, 5, 6, 27, 19, 103, 50, 99, 64, 29, 71, 15 ; with two, *Epp.* 8, 128, 21, 13, 26, 19, 46, 8, 54, 1, 33, 56, 29, 58, 1, 60, 2, 5, 74, 74 ; *Carm.* xxv, 6.

⁷⁾ E.g., *charus Carm.* i, 10, xv, 98 ; *hymber Carm.* iii, 26 ; *gertha Epp.* 65, 11, 67, 1 ; *cathalogus Orat.* B, 192 ; *rheticulum Carm.* xv, 58 ; *thricæ Epp.* 37, 19.

⁸⁾ *Oratoria Institutionis Liber* i, 5, also 7.

⁹⁾ E. g., *digytus Carm.* xviii, 26 ; *hymber Carm.* iii, 26 ; *hystrio Carm.* xv, 137 ; *hyems Carm.* xviii, 6, *Orat.* B, 64 ; *syncærus Epp.* 17, 38, 27, 3 ; *sydus Carm.* xi, 2, *Orat.* B, 189 ; *lympidus Epp.* 58, 58 ; *Clyentulus Epp.* 71, 35 ; *Hyspania Orat.* B, 34, 104 ; *hystoria Epp.* 39, 24, 49, 163, *Carm.* xx, iv ; *ocyus Epp.* 41, 8, 44, 26, 51, 40, 74, 16, *Carm.* xxi, i, 6, *Orat.* D, 39 ; besides 'desyderium' and its derivatives nearly on every page. On the other hand *umbelicus*, for *umbilicus*, occurs on *Epp.* 50, 87, 59, 3, 63, 3, 71, 25, 73, 46.

¹⁰⁾ E.g., *plærunque Epp.* 19, 7, 27, 65 ; *nanque Carm.* i, 23, *Epp.* 69, 6 ; *utcunque Epp.* 57, 34, 65, 10, *Orat.* B, 11 ; and similar compounds ; besides : *inprimis*.

appears as if different orthographies characterize the various epochs at which the documents were written, or, at least, were entered the collection. In the beginning preference was given to archaisms in the spelling ¹⁾, in grammatical forms ²⁾ and in constructions ³⁾, as well as in the writing of compounds with the prefix *ad-* ⁴⁾. About the middle of the Councillor's career, neologisms make their appearance : the *-c-* before *-i-* is written *-t-*, in *sotius* ⁵⁾, *sotietas* and *sotiale* ⁶⁾, and in several other similar words ⁷⁾. The digraph *-ph-* for *-f-*, which occurs exceptionally in the first letters as, e. g., *phucus* ⁸⁾ and *Aphrica* ⁹⁾, is far more frequent in the latter period : *phas* ¹⁰⁾, *phama* ¹¹⁾, and is found even where there is no connection at all with the Greek *φ*, as in *phramea* ¹²⁾. That also applies to the writing of *-e-* as *-æ-*, which is sporadic in the beginning ¹³⁾, but becomes common in the later documents, especially in the letters in-

¹⁾ E.g., *terribule Orat.* A, 18; *secordia Epp.* 31, 20; *uorto Epp.* 27, 59, 51, 2, 52, 32, 64, 24; *quor Carm.* VII, 3, XI, 17, *Epp.* 15, 16, 50, 18, 74, 45, 54, 56; *adulescens Epp.* 56, 1. Cp. Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, I, 7.

²⁾ E.g., *aggrediunda Carm.* xx, iii, 6; *perferunda Epp.* 6, 11; *efficiundo Epp.* 7, 23; *experiundo Epp.* 36, 19; *conficiundo Epp.* 39, 2, 44, 11; *exscribundo Epp.* 63, 3; *siet Epp.* 21, 22; *assuescier Carm.* xx, v, 14; *præsagierat Epp.* 51, 4; *omneis Epp.* 73, 73.

³⁾ E.g., *qui cum* (for : *cum quo*) *Epp.* 57, 34.

⁴⁾ E.g., *adfecerunt Epp.* 15, 4; *adsimulo Epp.* 15, 16; *adplico Epp.* 21, 6; *adpono Epp.* 22, 34, 38; *adsequor Epp.* 22, 13, 47, 63, 75, 31; *adsigno Epp.* 57, 21; *adsero Epp.* 37, 10; *adcumulo Epp.* 39, 9; *adplaudo Epp.* 73, 23; *adscribo Epp.* 47, 11; *adcæptum Epp.* 75, 34; *adsertor Epp.* 35, 59; *adsecla Epp.* 73, 8, *Orat.* A, 7. — Yet, on the contrary, is used *exatiare* : *Carm.* xv, 113.

⁵⁾ *Carm.* XI, 32, xv, 157.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 49, 51, 72, 78, 80.

⁷⁾ E.g., *offitium Epp.* 57, 41; *homuntio Orat.* C, 10; *suspitio Epp.* 75, 4; *benefitium Epp.* 76, 17; *otyus Epp.* 75, 17; *negotium Epp.* 27, 72.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 9, 5, 15, 30 : the word *phaleræ* follows in each case. Cp. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I, 5.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 50, 77.

¹⁰⁾ *Carm.* XIX, iv, 5; *nephas Epp.* 15, 14, *Orat.* B, 6; *nepharius Carm.* XXIV, 10.

¹¹⁾ *Epp.* 58, 23, *Carm.* xx, vi, 9, *Orat.* B, 60.

¹²⁾ *Epp.* 60, 30.

¹³⁾ Viz., *plæbeius Epp.* 3, 8; *plærusque Epp.* 8, 86, 13, 11, 19, 7, 27, 65, 64, 32; *synærus Epp.* 9, 21, 17, 38, 27, 3, *Orat.* B, 21.

serted at the very last ¹⁾, in words like *ræs* ²⁾, *cærtus* ³⁾, *næscio* ⁴⁾, *appræhendo* ⁵⁾, *acceptum* ⁶⁾, *ræligio* ⁷⁾ *æcclesia* ⁸⁾, *tæla*, *tælum* ⁹⁾, *clæmentia* ¹⁰⁾ and others, in which no etymologic law could warrant their use ¹¹⁾. In these same, later, epistles the *v-* is occasionally employed in the beginning of words, like *vs-quam*, *vitalis*, *vt*, &c., where in the first documents the *u-* is used regularly.

* * *

121.— After Vegerius had copied out the text of the various compositions, it was subjected to a final correction : several words are underlined or expunged, and their substitutes are added, generally in the margin ; at times a second term is added in a poem, as if the decision in the choice was left to the author. That correction is different from the one which was made at the very time of the copying, and is as an unavoidable part of it : when, namely, a mistake is put right at once by the copyist before proceeding any further ¹²⁾. Indeed that final correction does not refer so much to the language itself, as to the very selecting of the word which, in a verse or in a prose sentence, seems the fitter and more adequate expression of

¹⁾ *Epp.* 57 (inserted long after the regular order) 75, 76, 78; cp. § 115.

²⁾ *Epp.* 57, 7, 11, 24, 27, 31.

³⁾ *Epp.* 57, 29.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 57, 28.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 60, 20; similarly : *succæssus*, *profæssus* *Epp.* 57, 1, 21.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 62, 1, 75, 34, 76, 11, 17.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 75, 6, 19.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 57, 20.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 14, 16, 60, 22, 69, 5, *Carm.* xv, 57, 66, 109, 115, xx, vi, 1.

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 59, 14; *Orat.* B, 65, 174, C, 4, 13, 22.

¹¹⁾ E.g. *scæptrum* *Carm.* I, 28, xx, iv, 9; *cædo* *Carm.* xx, iv, 9; *cæra* *Carm.* xv, 103; *cræditus* *Epp.* 57, 1, *Carm.* xix, vii; *særo* (*sero*) *Epp.* 57, 1; *ædo*, *æsse* *Epp.* 47, 58, *Carm.* xx, vi, 10; *ædidi* *Epp.* 81, 11; *vætus*, *Epp.* 57, 32; *fælix* *Epp.* 75, 6, 7; *fræquens*, *Epp.* 57, 32; *æsu-riens* *Epp.* 58, 20; *ræsigno* *Epp.* 57, 14, 16, 37. That *æ* is even found once to replace the final *-e* of an adverb : *ægræ feram* : *Epp.* 47, 7; it is used regularly for *ê* in *lætum*, *lætifer*, *lætalis* : *Carm.* xv, 115, xix, iii, 6, xxi, i, 5, *Orat.* B, 38.

¹²⁾ Such corrections are marked by S (= Scriptor) in the textual notes.

thought. Those alterations were made by Vegerius, who, without any doubt, reread what he had written as he was as good as responsible for the correctness of the transcription which he had undertaken; the writing often betrays his hand ¹⁾, and the shade of the (light brown) ink is in many cases identical with that used for later additions to the collection ²⁾. Some alterations, however, were brought about by Busleyden himself, who was evidently expected to check the transcription; at any rate at one place a verse-line was left incomplete for him to fill out ³⁾, and where two equivalent terms are found, they evidently were submitted by the copyist to his choice. Some of those equivalent terms to choose from, added in the right hand margin, in a round, clear, simple writing, in a peculiar black ink, seem to be corrections by Busleyden—at least, for as far as can be guessed ⁴⁾: for alterations and erasures in a manuscript that has had so many owners, can hardly yield a sufficient evidence to identify the hand that brought them about.

* * *

122. — It sounds most consistent that the Manuscript with Jerome de Busleyden's works should have been part of his brother Giles's heritage. If not, it may have been amongst the books which between February 1 and December 1, 1529 the president of the *Trilingue*, Nicolas Wary of Marville, sold him for fifty pounds ⁵⁾, — possibly books which were more worth to a brother as remembrances, than to a professor or a student as a text or as a book of reference. At his death in 1536, it probably descended to one of his sons, who afterwards gave it as a present, — or at any rate, passed it on, —

¹⁾ Those alterations are marked C (= *Corrector*) in the textual notes.

²⁾ Such e.g., as the *Epp.* 75, 76 and 78.

³⁾ *Carm.* xv, 29 : the verse is still incomplete.

⁴⁾ E.g., *pp* 17 (*Carm.* xix, ii, ₂), 32 (xxi, i, ₃₄), 33 (xx, vi, ₉, ₁₀), 34 (xxi, iv, ₁), 37 (xxiii, ₅, ₇), 38 (xxiv, ₃), 43 (xi, ₂₈), 64 (*Epp.* 9, ₂₀); those and other corrections or changes, apparently brought about by Busleyden, are marked B in the textual notes.

⁵⁾ *AccMarvIII*, 2 r : Jtem noch heeft Meester Claes Marvilla ontfaen van Meester Gillis van Busleyden ter causen van seker boucken der Collegien toebehoerende ende hem vercocht ofte ouergelaten l *Rg.*

to a Canon of St. Donatian's at Bruges. Indeed, he added a few notes to the titles of some letters and poems, and to some names quoted, with the evident intention to make the Manuscript more interesting. To the title of a letter to John Louis Moscheron, Archdeacon of Cambrai, of about 1510-1511, *Epp.* 59 ¹⁾, he added, in a light and round, but irregular writing, in very black ink : *Hic fuit tibi Collega apud S. / Donatianum totus Sanctulus* ²⁾. A second indication is provided by a note to the title of *Epp.* 31 ³⁾ : '*Cornelio nepoti suo*' : after *Cornelio* is inserted '*erdorfio*', and after '*suo*' is written '*ex sorore*', — details which only a member of the family, or a very intimate friend could supply ; moreover in the left margin is written : *Hic fuit tibi studiorum comes / & socius. Sub Joāne borsalo. / Neuio. & Martino Dorpio Louanij.*

123. — Besides an intimate acquaintance with family history, it thus shows a knowledge of some details of the life of the recipient of the Manuscript, who was a student in the Lily about 1506 or 1507, as Erdorf did not stay very long ; it evidently points out the Canon-Scholaster of St. Donatian's, John de Fevyn, who matriculated as '*dives Liliensis*' in Louvain University, along with Erdorf and the other inmates of the Lily, on August 31, 1506 ⁴⁾. He afterwards went to study in Bologna where he promoted Doctor of Laws ; having been appointed Canon at Bruges in 1510, and consequently John Louis de Moscheron's colleague ⁵⁾, he became Scholaster before 1523, and exercised a beneficent influence on the Chapter

¹⁾ *BuslMS*, 113, (cp. the reproduction *p* 158) ; this is not the earliest letter to Moscheron, to whom is addressed *Epp.* 15, written soon after his return from Italy (1503-4).

²⁾ That note sounds as if some time had passed since Moscheron's decease, which happened in 1535 ; and it is not probable that Giles gave the Manuscript to the Bruges Canon in the last months of his life ; his writing, or at least his signature, in *Rek.*, 100 *v*, is quite different from the light tracing of those notes : *cp.* the few lines reproduced on *p* 159.

³⁾ *BuslMS*, 134.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIII*, 128 *v* : *Cornelius erdorf de lussēburgo Traject. dioc. / Johannes feuin de furnis Cameracensis dioc... lilienses diuites : ult. aug. 1506.*

⁵⁾ *Cp.* before, § 122, and *Epp.* 15, *b*, *c*.

School. He was an intimate friend not only of the famous Dean Mark Laurin, but of Erasmus and Vives, of Cranevelt and Hubert Barlandus, and of several other literators; he himself was a scholar and a thorough humanist, devoting all his time and efforts to the promoting of his ideals until his death in 1555 ¹).

124. — As he was most eager in tracing literary treasures and in securing the help of all those who could further him in his quest, it is likely that de Fevyn had become acquainted with some member, at least, of the Busleyden family, and that the *Lusus* of their famous uncle was offered to him. The Manuscript was provided with some notes on that occasion; others may have been introduced before, as they do not suggest any connection with the friend who was to become the possessor of the precious document. Some point out obvious allusions to Jules II and to Louis XII ²), to Charles V and to Adrian VI ³); one styles the poet Remacle 'bibaculus' ⁴); another calls Luigi Marliano 'Mediolanensis' ⁵); and two identify Busleyden's copyist, 'Librarius', with Charles V's secretary Conrad Vegerius ⁶). The note added to the *Appendix ad Epitaphium Episcopi Atrebatensis*, namely: *Nicolai Ruterij. qui postea Louanij instituit / Collegium Attrebatense*, is evidently wrong ⁷); though joined to John van Nispen's, this epitaph seems to belong to the period of Busleyden's 'début' when he wrote the poem on his brother's death; indeed it would have been most improbable that he should have praised his de-

¹) *Cran.*, xci-xcix; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. vii. An epitaph praising him as his Maecenas was composed by Franciscus Dryander, and printed in Arnoldi Laurentii Berchemi *Piorum Carminum Liber* (Antwerp, 1560: 42 r, v), edited by Victor Ghisellini and dedicated to George de Vriese, *Friso*, canon and de Fevyn's successor as Scholaster in St. Donatian's, Bruges (*BrugSDon.*, 191).

²) *BuslMS*, 12; *Carm.* xvi: poem on Venice and her fickle fortune.

³) *BuslMS*, 47; *Epp.* 21: letter to Adrian of Utrecht.

⁴) *BuslMS*, 81; *Carm.* viii: epigram to Remacle d' Ardenne.

⁵) *BuslMS*, 162; *Epp.* 47: letter to Marliano.

⁶) *BuslMS*, 39, 195; *Carm.* xxvii: Vegerius' envoy; *Epp.* 65: letter to Vegerius.

⁷) *BuslMS*, 69; *Carm.* ii, ii.

ceased friend Ruterius merely for his piety, and made no mention at all of the College he founded.

125.— Another mistake is the name *Resendio* added to the title of letter 3 : '*Andrææ Lusitano, Commilitoni suo*' ¹⁾, at any rate, that Portuguese, called Andreas, cannot be identical with the poet Andrew Angelus de Resende, who attended the lectures in the *Trilingue* about 1530 ; for that friend of Erasmus and of Janus Secundus ²⁾ was born at Evora about 1500, so that he can hardly have been Busleyden's fellow-student in Padua University from 1501 to 1503 ³⁾. Although there may have been a second Andreas Resendus, it rather seems as if the annotator of the manuscript was led into making the confusion by the two parts of the name otherwise unknown, *Andreas* and *Lusitanus*.

126.— A third wrong alteration is that of the title to *Epp.* 27, which in the *MS* is addressed to Ferry de Carondelet : the annotator crossed off that name on p. 168, and wrote on the top of p. 169 '*Marliano*' ⁴⁾ ; indeed, the letter is an urging appeal for a more active life, addressed to a rich young man who wastes his time and talents, neglecting all study and intellectual work, — which did apply to Carondelet, but not to Marliano, who constantly declined Busleyden's invitations to a dinner or to a feast, preferring study, to which he had been devoted from a youth ⁵⁾. It follows that those alterations can hardly have been made by Giles de Busleyden, Jerome's brother, who must have been aware of the inconsistencies resulting from them : as a man acquainted with the leading personages at Court, he cannot have addressed the severe admonition to work to an overzealous scholar as the Prince's physician, nor made a thirty years' mistake in guessing at the age of the lively poet who, in Brussels, during the autumn of

¹⁾ *BuslMS*, 232 : *Epp.* 3 : this note seems to be in a different hand from those which were added on *BuslMS*, 113 and 134.

²⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapts. XII and XV.

³⁾ Cp. before, §§ 26, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *BuslMS*, 168-169 ; *Epp.* 27, *b* ; the writing of this name seems quite different from that on *BuslMS*, 113 and 134.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 47-50.

1531, was a guest of the Portuguese ambassador Pero Mascarenhas ¹⁾. Most probably the mistake was made by one of his sons, belonging to another generation, and not upheld by a constant family tradition, like that about the origin of de Fevyn's acquaintance ²⁾.

5. HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

127. — The fact that Busleyden's codex, by the middle of the sixteenth century, was offered to the Bruges Scholaster, explains how, a century later, it belonged to an erudite of that town Oliver de Wree. He communicated it to the Louvain bibliographer Valerius Andreas for the corrected and enlarged edition of his *Bibliotheca Belgica* of 1643. The name '*Oliuerj Vredj*' appears on the (very) right top corner of what was the first page originally ³⁾, which has the title as well as the letter to the Reader prefixed to the memorial poem of Archbishop Francis de Busleyden ⁴⁾.

128. — That Oliver de Wree, *Vredius*, was born on September 28, 1596, at Bruges, where his father was a lawyer ⁵⁾. After a short time spent in the Jesuit noviciate, he went to study laws at Douai, where he promoted licentiate. On November 23, 1622, he was appointed barrister of the Council of Flanders; having settled at Bruges, he was repeatedly appointed councillor, alderman and treasurer of that town from 1624 on; he was even mayor in 1643, and, besides fulfilling other public charges, he was warden of St. John's

¹⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. XII : Resendius probably organized the play produced during a well attended feast at the ambassador's apartments, which was at least irksome to the Papal Legate Jerome Aleander, one of the chief personalities invited : cp. *MonHL*, 615-16 ; *Læmmer*, 92.

²⁾ Cp. before, § 122 ; it is always possible that the alteration was made by a later owner.

³⁾ *BuslMS*, 63 ; cp. before, §§ 111, sq. and the reproduction, p 147.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 9 ; *Carm.* 1.

⁵⁾ John de Wree, L.V.J. (1567-1607), was councillor of Bruges in 1593, and warden of the Bogard School in 1599 ; he had married Anne van Praet († 1634). The family de Wree, formerly de Wrede, was originary from Westphalia : *Brug&Fr.*, III, 290-92 ; *BrugInscr.*, II, 190-191, 313.

Hospital, which still preserves his picture by Nicolas Maes. He was a man of great energy and activity, for, although burdened by his office and by the part he took in the management of his native town, he still found time to devote to literature and study; he published two bundles of Flemish poetry¹⁾ and a biography of general Charles de Longueval, count of Bucquoy, baron of Vaux²⁾; he further studied the history of the Counts of Flanders by means of records, diplomas and chronicles. In 1639 he printed in his own house a book, which now is much appreciated for the documents it preserves, though it was hardly welcomed at the time³⁾: *Sigilla Comitum Flandriæ et Inscriptiones Diplomatum ab iis editorum*, dedicated to Philip IV of Spain⁴⁾. In 1642, he published *Genealogia Comitum Flandriæ a Balduino Ferreo usque ad Philippum IV*⁵⁾, and he further wrote *Historiæ Comitum Flandriæ Libri Prodromi duo*⁶⁾.

129. — Through those works he came to the foremost rank of the historians of Flanders⁷⁾, thanks to the thorough and sagacious erudition which he acquired after years of research and study. He encouraged his friend the Ypres canon Antony Sanders, *Sanderus*⁸⁾, in his grand design of publishing a description of Flanders, of which part was issued

¹⁾ *Mengeldichten, Fyge-snoeper, Bacchus, Cortryck* : Bruges, 1621; *Venusban* : Bruges, 1625.

²⁾ *De vermaerde Oorlogstukken van den wonderdadigen Veldheer Carel de Longeval* : Bruges, 1625.

³⁾ Vredius complained that the sale of the *Sigilla* had not covered the costs of the setting up of a press.

⁴⁾ This work, with recommendatory poems by J. de Tollenaere and Lambert de Vos, was published by J. B. van den Kerchove, Bruges, 1639; it was translated into Flemish in 1640, into French in 1641. Cp. *ULAnn.*, 1862 : 234.

⁵⁾ J. B. & L. vanden Kerchove, Bruges 1642; in the same year appeared a French translation.

⁶⁾ Bruges, 1650.

⁷⁾ Vredius printed several other of his own works about seals and documents of the early times of Flemish history : *BibBelg.*, 708. Cp. *BrugInscr.*, II, 293; Schrevel, II, 455; Paquot, v, 361.

⁸⁾ Antonius Sanderus was born at Ghent on Sept. 15, 1586, and died at the Abbey of Affligem on January 16, 1664 : *BibBelg.*, 73-75.

in 1641, the *Flandria Illustrata* ¹⁾ ; he provided information, and practically helped to find maps and views, as well as able draughtsmen and engravers. A collection of 77 unedited letters from Sanderus to Vredius attest to the great influence of the latter on that noble work, which the author was still bent on continuing and perfecting years after his friend's decease ²⁾. Another collection of letters to Vredius from various eminent persons ³⁾, as well as stray epistles in the correspondence of great contemporaries, such as Erycius Puteanus ⁴⁾, give some idea of the consideration he enjoyed. His house *De Groene Poorte* ⁵⁾, The Green Gate, in Short Square Street, was the centre of a group of learned men ⁶⁾, besides being famous for a fine collection of medals and coins, as well as for his books ⁷⁾ and manuscripts ⁸⁾ collected with great care and judgment,

¹⁾ Cologne, Corn. von Egmond, for Henricus Hondius.

²⁾ Royal Library Brussels, MS. II, 3015. That collection was commented upon by H. Hosdey, *Correspondance d'Antoine Sanderus avec Olivier Vredius 1628-1647*, — a study which was finished in 1904, but has never been published ; G. Caullet, *De Gegraveerde Onuitgegeven en Verloren geraakte Teekeningen voor Sanderus* 'Flandria Illustrata' : Antwerp, 1908 : 2-3, 12-18, 31-36, 42, 61-63, 67, 78-9, 81.

³⁾ Royal Library Brussels, MS. II. 3016.

⁴⁾ *Erycii Puteani Epistolarum Apparatus... Centuria Quarta* : Amsterdam, 1646 : 1-2 : letter to Vredius, Louvain, February 20, 1626 ; *Erycii Puteani... Epistolarum Posthumarum Centuria III* : Louvain, 1662 : 101-102 : letter to Vredius, February 27, 1640.

⁵⁾ *BrugHist.*, 526 ; before, Vredius used to live in Jerusalemstreet, in a house of the family Adornes, by the side of the almshouse Jerusalem which was reconstructed by Peter and James Adornes in 1428 : in that house he printed himself his *Sigilla*, 1639. — He also possessed a castle, *Hoymakerscasteel*, which Sanderus wanted to have drawn for his *Flandria* : *BrugHist.*, 559 ; G. Caullet, *Teekeningen &c* (cp. note 4 of this paragraph) : 14.

⁶⁾ Such as Lambert de Vos, Anselme de Boodt and John Lernutius. When the Prince of Orange was going to attack Bruges on June 1, 1631, the inhabitants were roused to resistance by Oliver de Wree, who formed, in a few hours, an army sufficiently strong to defend and save the town, which he afterwards described in his chronogram : AVRIACVS BRVGAM VENIT, VIDIT, ABIIT.

⁷⁾ The copy of Alard of Amsterdam's edition of *Rodolphi Agricolaë Opera* : Cologne, 1539, in the Royal Library, Brussels, V. H. 10.764, once belonged to 'Oliverius Vredius'.

⁸⁾ Vredius seems to have had in his possession a collection of

for he contended that history can only rely on diplomas or official documents, such as coæval records and chronicles. He died before his time on March 21, 1652 ¹⁾; his son Oliver and his stepson John Baptist Bonaert ²⁾ erected a fine monument in Our Lady's, Bruges, on his and his first wife's tomb ³⁾. It was quite natural that a man of his style should secure a document like Busleyden's *Lusus*, and communicate it — perhaps with others — to Valerius Andreas, at work on the second edition, 1643, of his *Bibliotheca Belgica* ⁴⁾. Having mentioned the founding of an institute for the study of the three languages, the bibliographer continues Busleyden's praise : 'Plane virum fuisse in primis eloquentem & politioris litteraturæ amantem insigniterque peritum, testantur abunde ingenii monumenta, ab eo relictæ, nimirum *Carmina*, *Orationes*, & *Epistolæ* variæ, quæ mirum est latuisse hactenus. Leguntur ea modo Lovanii, beneficio V. CL. *Oliverij Vredij*, qui Brugis Flandrorum reperta ad nos misit' ⁵⁾.

130. — Nothing is known about the fate of the collection during the next hundred years ; it seems to have remained at Louvain ⁶⁾, where, between 1760 and 1768, one of Andreas'

Flemish manuscripts and antiquities gathered by Philip Wielant : cp. *Epp.* 25, c.

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 707-708 ; *BrugInscr.*, II, 189 ; *Brug&Fr.*, III, 292-94 ; *FlandOHR.*, II, 283-89 ; *BrugErVir.*, 64 ; *FlandIll.*, II, 34, 172, 414 ; *BN*, s. v. Laurens, Guy & Marc.

²⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, III, 294 : John Bapt. Bonaert, husband of Jane de Wree, was pensionary of Ypres.

³⁾ *BrugInscr.*, II, 189 ; Vredius had married first Joanna Marrisael, who was buried in Our Lady's ; then Margaret van Woestwynckel, and, finally, Catherine Peussin ; he had only one son, Oliver, and a daughter, Jane, from his first wife : *Brug&Fr.*, III, 291-294.

⁴⁾ The first edition, Louvain, 1623, of the *Bibliotheca Belgica* does not mention Busleyden.

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 386-87.

⁶⁾ Oliver Vredius may have presented the document to a Louvain College, possibly the *Trilingue* : either he, or his immediate heirs, even seem to have bequeathed all his papers to some relative, or to an intimate friend, or to some institution in the University town : at any rate those papers were sold there on October 27-31, 1902. Amongst them was a letter from Erasmus to Schets : Allen, VII, 2072, *pr*, which may have strayed from the famous collection comprising 43 letters

successors as University Librarian ¹⁾, C. F. de Nelis ²⁾, had access to it ; for having conceived the plan of editing a *Sylloge* ³⁾ of literary texts by professors or patrons of Louvain University in former centuries ⁴⁾, he printed Martin van Dorp's

to Schets which belonged to the first Rector of the reinstalled University of Louvain, Mgr. P. F. X. de Ram, from about 1842 to his death, on May 14, 1865 : Allen, VI, pp 492-93. Most probably they were documents which good friends had hidden after 1796, at the Suppression of the Alma Mater, from the agents of the French Revolution; they had remained in the hands of some family as a restoration of the *Alma Mater* was hoped for, and they were naturally entrusted to the Rector of the nascent University. His heirs, no doubt, treated those restituted records as personal property, although it is hardly possible to consider the immense amount of documents that were sold by them, otherwise than as the archives of some of the old University Colleges : cp. FUL, *xxxv-xxxvi, xl-xliv*.

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 852-853 ; *NèveMém.*, 250-267.

²⁾ Cornelius Francis de Nelis, born at Mechlin, June 5, 1736, was most proficient in his studies in Louvain, where he was appointed librarian in February 1758. He caused an academic printing-office to be founded in 1759 with the help of Count de Nény, minister and royal Commissary for Louvain University, whom he seconded in all his efforts to subdue the old Alma Mater to the views of the Austrian Government. In that spirit he suggested, and greatly contributed to, the founding in 1769 of the Royal Academy. He was canon of St. Peter's, Louvain, and of Tournai Cathedral. In 1785 he was nominated Bishop of Antwerp, in which dignity he finally sacrificed the interests of the Austrian regime to those of his country and of faith. He left his diocese for the persecution under the French domination in 1794, and died at Campo Malduli, near Florence, on Aug. 21, 1798 : *GoetLect.*, III, 240-268 ; FUL, *xxiii*, 218-9, 227-9, 4350 ; *ULAnn.*, 1842, 215-18 ; 1848, 229-47 ; *ULD*, III, 532-33 ; A. Verhaegen, *Les 50 Dernières Années de l'Université de Louvain (1740-1797)* : Liège, 1884 : 10, sq, 86, 105, 112, 135, 166, 173, 188, 199, 229, 380, 538.

³⁾ He refers to it under that name in the first note of p 69 of the first bundle, of which a letter is reproduced here as *Epp*. 72.

⁴⁾ Probably from about 1764 (*GoetLect.*, III, 244), Nelis was having printed three bundles of *Sylloge* ; they were never completed. Judging, by a collection of the three fragments now in the University Library, Louvain, the first, with the signatures A-M, was literary : it contains Dorp's *Oratio* and his *Tomus*, P. Castellan's *Ludus*, and (a fragment of) E. Puteanus' *Auspicia Bibliothecæ Lovaniensis* (pp 1-192). A second, with the signatures *Tom. I, Pars II, A-C*, announces Viglius' *Dissertationes Historico-Pragmaticæ Quinque*, of which the first is given entirely, and the second only in part (pp 1-48). The third, signatures *Tom. II, A-L*, said to have been printed only on six copies,

Tomus Aululariæ Plautinæ adjectus dedicated to Busleyden ¹⁾. It gave him the occasion to declare in a note : 'Ipse quoque Buslidius reliquit ingenii monumenta nonnulla, prorsa ac vorsâ oratione, hodiedum Anecdota ; ex quibus aliqua forte in hac nostra Sylloge proferemus.' ²⁾

131. — By the end of the eighteenth century the Manuscript became the property of P. J. Baudewyns, professor of 'Syntax' at the Brussels Theresian College ³⁾ ; it may have been acquired as salvage at the suppression of some of the many Colleges of Louvain University in the tumult of the closing years of the *Old Régime*. Four years before his death, on May 29, 1813, when he was at the head of a school in Brussels, he sold it for sixty francs to the Ghent book-lover Charles van Hulthem. That man, who in 1812 became chief Keeper of the Royal Library, and in 1815, President of the Academy, besides being invested with several other honourable appointments ⁴⁾, gathered an enormous amount of books and manuscripts, which at his death, on December 16, 1832, were acquired for the Royal Library, Brussels : Busleyden's *Lusus* has been preserved there since, under the press mark *MS. 15676-77* ⁵⁾.

132. — Circumstances have never favoured the publishing of the writings of the generous Maecenas that founded the *Trilingue* : his friend and *Librarius*, Conrad Vegerius, who copied the manuscript, died prematurely in the last days of 1526 or the first of 1527 ; his own works were left unedited, and probably have perished ⁶⁾ ; Busleyden's heirs, into whose

promises *Tabulæ Publicæ Lovaniensium* 1233-1368, but reaches only to 1332 (*pp* 1-175). Cp. *NèveMém.*, 113. — A set of those most scarce issues belongs to the Royal Library, Brussels.

¹⁾ Cp. *Epp.* 72.

²⁾ *NelisSyll.*, 69.

³⁾ Baudewyns died in 1817, at the age of sixty-six.

⁴⁾ *GoetLect.*, iv, 325-361 : van Hulthem was born in Ghent, April 17, 1764 : *BN*.

⁵⁾ In Van Hulthem's Catalogue, made after his death, it is marked as n° 9286.

⁶⁾ In October 1529 and again in April and May 1530, his friend Claud Cantiuncula mentioned his intention of publishing those works ; still nothing seems to have been issued : *Cran.*, 225, a, b, 12, a-d.

hands the codex came, were not so experienced in literature as the deceased prelate, and may have taken too literally his frequent expression of diffidence about the value of his compositions¹⁾; at any rate, they set so little store by the writings of the chief glory of their family that they let them pass into strangers' hands before they were half a century old²⁾. In the turmoil through which the country afterwards passed, they were lost sight of, until by the middle of the seventeenth century one of Belgium's greatest bibliographers pointed out their excellence, and expressed his surprise about their having been hidden up to then³⁾. A century later, about 1764, a most enterprising young University librarian, announces his intention of publishing without great delay some of Busleyden's compositions : yet in the upbreak of events the attention of that would-be editor was soon averted from all literary or philological pursuits, and the so-praised *monumenta* remained *anecdota* for another century⁴⁾.

133. — Although occasionally referred to in biographical notices, they were only used once, and that even most cursorily : — namely, for the memoir entitled *Le Conseiller Jérôme Busleiden, Écrivain Latin et Protecteur des Lettres*, by F. Nève in 1873⁵⁾. To be true, a few verses are quoted, and ten letters are printed in the appendix ; yet the information gathered from those documents is proposed with disconcerting hesitation⁶⁾, in so far that the manuscript collection, although written as clearly as one might wish, is not merely left unedited, but has as yet hardly yielded any help or benefit towards the history of the first quarter of the XVIth century. It thus appears that some of Busleyden's correspondents escaped identification for a long time, and several still do ; or they led to gross historical errors : for example, the Antwerp Pensionary Adrian Herbouts, the father of several children, was, for

¹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 122, *sq.* and further, §§ 164, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. before, §§ 122, *sq.*

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 386-87 ; cp. before, §§ 129, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *NelisSyll.*, 69.

⁵⁾ Brussels, 1873 (extract from the *Bulletins* of Brussels Academy : 2nd series, xxxvi); *NèveBusl.*, 20, *sq.* 36-55 ; Moeller, 85.

⁶⁾ *NèveBusl.*, 24.

some time, considered to be the same as Adrian Barlandus, a priest and canon, who filled a most busy career as professor of Latin and Rhetorics in Louvain University ¹⁾. That and similar mistakes would have been avoided if Busleyden's documents had been peremptorily placed in a well specified time, so as to suggest the particular circumstances in which they were composed. Unfortunately, hardly any poem or oration is ostensibly connected with a well defined period, and not one single letter bears a date ; — they thus lack all testifying power ²⁾, and constitute a continual danger, exposing to errors and wrong constructions ³⁾, in so far that an authority on the matter pronounced them 'tantalizingly inexact as material for literary history, from a complete absence of dates' ⁴⁾. That confusion is partly due to the chaos in which the various quires forming the collection were bound together, as has been pointed out before ⁵⁾ : not only were various matters mixed up, or broken off, but even the four final lines of one poem come exactly 41 pages before its very beginning ⁶⁾. It explains how the charming manuscript, which, at first sight, it seems as easy to edit as to walk downhill, has, up to now, discouraged all would-be editors that looked more carefully into the matter ⁷⁾. They possibly were also deterred by the slighting estimate brought out by some critics who consider them merely as literary exercises ⁸⁾, whereas others regret that the letter prefixed to More's *Utopia* ⁹⁾ is Busleyden's only composition available in print ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. Edm. Reusens' biography in *BN*, and those by F. Neve in *ULAnn*, 1874, 386-97 ; *NèveRen.*, 195-97, and *NèveBusl.*, 18, 29 ; on the other hand, *BB*, B, 250, 14-15 ; *Cran.*, 62, a ; Daxhelet, 12.

²⁾ Cp. *NèveBusl.*, 12, 13, 27, 31, 33, 34.

³⁾ *NèveBusl.*, 14, 30 ; cp. following note.

⁴⁾ P. S. Allen, in his *Trilingual Colleges of the Early Sixteenth Century*, a paper read on December 11, 1916 : *ErAllen*, 157 ; he himself was led to a wrong dating for one of the letters : cp. *Epp.* 71.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, §§ 106, sq.

⁶⁾ *Carm.*, x : ll 1 to 16 are on p 82, ll 17-20 on p 41.

⁷⁾ Cp. *NèveBusl.*, 27-28.

⁸⁾ *NèveBusl.*, 24, 26 ; Moeller, 85-86 ; cp. however, § 61.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 81.

¹⁰⁾ *ErasRott.*, 107.

6. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

134. — It is quite possible that the lack of dates and the irregular composition of the manuscript were helped in the scaring away of all potential editors, by the very language in which the documents are couched. The style frequently causes diffidence by a want of spontaneousness; it gives the impression that the author thought less of communicating ideas and feelings, than of applying as many as possible technical rules of ornate composition, so as to secure above all a literary form and finish. Instead of representing a natural outflow of thoughts and emotions, Busleyden's writings often prove constrained and conventional, although painstaking, exercises of an overzealous student of literature. In his letter to Luigi Marliano he owned that he composed his letters with a view to learn Latin ¹⁾; consequently the same style ornaments and the same images are found everywhere: pleasures are compared to *ambrosia* and *nectar* ²⁾; new friends are inscribed in an album or catalogue ³⁾; benefits or promises received call up a phraseology connected with debt and credit ⁴⁾; moreover some proverbs ⁵⁾, and some incidental remarks, whether bracketed or not, recur constantly ⁶⁾; whereas several sentences are repeated in two or more letters ⁷⁾. Even taking into consideration the disadvantage by which the correspondence of so rich and versatile an author as Erasmus is harmed when his letters, intended for different persons, can

¹⁾ *Epp.* 50, 98, *sq.*

²⁾ *Epp.*, 3, 15, 15, 5, 24, 9, 27, 89, 47, 73-74, 49, 123, 58, 21, 64, 21; *Carm.*, XI, 20, XV, 103. Cp. Martial, *Epigramm.*, XI, 57: *Ad Severum*: Jupiter ambrosia satur est, et nectare vivit...

³⁾ *Epp.*, 27, 31, 46, 11, 47, 64, 49, 66, 58, 41, 60, 8, 64, 16, 70, 7; *Orat.* C, 18, E, 11.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 38, 12-13, 42, 5-12, 62, 3-7, 73, 57, *sq.* 76, 16, *sq.* 77, 11, *sq.*

⁵⁾ They are mostly derived from Erasmus' *Adagia*: cp. further, § 151.

⁶⁾ Such as: *quod quum ita sit, hæc qualicunque sint*, and the various parentheses indicating the novel interest of the writer or his friend in the matter referred to: cp. further, §§ 139, 140.

⁷⁾ E. g., *Epp.* 47, 44 = 58, 23; 47, 47 = 58, 32; 47, 58-63 = 58, 34-40; 47, 82-84 = 58, 22-24; 2, 29-31 = 41, 1, & 50, 96-97; 63, 2-3 = 50, 87, & 71, 24-25, & 73, 46.

be laid out one by the side of the other ¹⁾, Busleyden's correspondence can hardly be said to give the impression of much natural variety or of unconscious exuberance.

135. — The language in which the works are written may also have contributed to discourage editors, as Busleyden not only affects antiquated orthography ²⁾, but uses words which even in the XVIth century seem to have been ignored, or not considered as proper ³⁾ : thus *morari fauorem*, in a letter added to the *Utopia*, 1516, was probably deemed faulty and, consequently, altered into *mereri fauorem* in the reprint of 1563 ⁴⁾. Even constructions are preferred that now appear out of the way, such as comparatives followed by *ac* ⁵⁾ and even *atque* ⁶⁾ ; such also the imperative *esto*, used as conjunction, no doubt with the meaning of *etsi* ⁷⁾, — after the example of Plautus ⁸⁾, whose plays, on account of their shortness, could be easily copied and therefore had to serve as models of Latin in Bus-

¹⁾ The presence of the same ideas and the same pieces of information expressed in the same words, is one of the chief helps in the dating of Erasmus' letters : cp., e. g., Allen, I, (prefaces to) 59, 64, 71, 74, 81, &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, § 120.

³⁾ Cp. further, § 139.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 81, 5 ; cp. Thomæ Mori *Lucubrationes* : Basle, 1563 : 160, l 11.

⁵⁾ E. g., *Epp.* 23, 13 : *magis in uotis ducas, ac...* ; 27, 15 : *magis ac ungues* ; 73, 74 : *non tam doctior ac melior...* Cp. also *Epp.* 15, 36, 25, 10, 47, 2, 56, 18, 58, 13, 75, 17, 81, 76.

⁶⁾ E. g., *Epp.* 76, 17 : *magis animum mei gratificantis atque... beneficiorum pondus...*

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 71, 24 : Allen, I, 244^a, 21, changes the word into *etsi*. Busleyden also used *esto* on *Epp.* 49, 14 : *esto non ignorem* ; also in *Carm.* xv, 15 and 181. Further, on *Epp.* 8, 55, 47, 7, 49, 54, 173, 50, 42, 58, 18, 79, 65, 13, 70, 7, 74, 47, *Carm.* xx, vi, 10.

⁸⁾ Cp. Plautus, *Poenulus*, 1108 : *Malum crudumque esto olidum (est' olidum)* : that reading, however, is no longer accepted. Another example : *Esto barbari externique ritus inuenerint &c.*, is ascribed to Plautus in *Thes.*, s. v. *sum*. — The meaning of : 'etsi, quamquam', given to *esto*, seems to have derived from that of : 'sit, concedo' : cp. *AEneis*, iv, 35, vii, 313, &c ; Horace, *Sat.* ii, i, 83, ii, 30, &c. It was commonly used in that sense with the Humanists : cp. *ErAdag.*, 1005, E, sq : *Esto promus* : ... quasi dicas, esto dignitate Episcopus, moribus vel canis, si libet &c, — and may have been influenced by the Greek : cp. *ἔστω σοι καὶ τοῦτο οὗτος* : *Plut., Mor.*, 987, b, 1072, d, &c.

leyden's youth. — No doubt Plautus and the Latin poets ¹⁾ also suggested Busleyden — to quote another example — the use of the infinitive mood with the meaning of the dative or ablative of the verbal noun, like the Greek infinitive of purpose : 'agis tu non minus recte quam ipse egerim temere, tam impudenter illam efflagitasse' ²⁾. That turn, which never occurs in classical prose, may also have been imitated from the mediæval Church Latin, which frequently expressed an aim or an intention by it ³⁾. That same Ecclesiastical Latin, for certain, accounts for the subjective and objective clauses with verbs in the indicative or the subjunctive, used to replace the regularly classical accusative with the infinitive construction after verbs expressing : saying, thinking, learning, knowing, believing, commanding, and even appearing ⁴⁾, especially for words quoted from a speech. They were probably imitated from the Greek in the translating of the Bible, when clauses with the conjunction ὅτι were rendered by such as began with *quod*, or its synonyms, *quia*, *quoniam*, and even *ut*. Whereas Tertullian and Cyprian employ sparingly that unclassical construction, it is of frequent occurrence in St. Jerome and the Vulgate ⁵⁾. From them, no doubt, Busleyden derived the few sentences with *quod*, *quia* and *ut*, which he employs chiefly in connection with Holy Scripture and theological matters ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ E. g., Reddere hoc, non perdere, erus me misit : Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 642 ; Nec dulces occurrent oscula nati / Præripere : Lucretius, III, 895 ; Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati : Horace, *Epist.* I, ii, 27.

²⁾ *Epp.* 49, 166, sq.

³⁾ Cp. Nunn, 48-49.

⁴⁾ The construction *uidetur tibi quod* &c is called *Rusticanus sermo... et agrestis* by Lorenzo Valla : *De Linguae Latinæ Elegantia* : III, li (Lyons, 1538 : 211-12).

⁵⁾ Cp. H. Goelzer, *La Latinité de St. Jérôme* : Paris, 1884 : 333, sq, 375, sq ; Nunn, 51, sq, 63, sq.

⁶⁾ *Subjective clauses* : *Epp.* 74, 48 (*Videtur quod... nulla legitima suberat... ratio*), 61 (*uidetur absonum quod... supplicio teneamur*) ; *objective clauses* : *Epp.* 50, 11 (*quod quam ægre... præstem ipse sat scio*), 74, 42 (*nunc cognoui quia tu times Deum*), 43 (*se cognouisse dicat quia Abraam timeat Deum*) ; *Orat.* B, 26, sq (*non tibi persuadeas quod... minus deuotus fuerit Rex, sed quod... distractus extiterit*), 103 (*Adde quod is Rex... inauguratus est*) ; *dependent commands* (cp. Nunn, 66-67) :

136. — Nor did he ignore himself his shortcomings, as appears to all evidence from the title which he chose for the bundle of his writings : he styled them *Lusus* : at the most, exercises ¹⁾ ; it was the unqualified owner who had the manuscript bound in disorder ²⁾ that added the title *Carmina, Orationes et Epistolæ*, which Busleyden never ambited ³⁾. If his compositions seem unsatisfactory in a way, it is on account of that wrong title, inspired by the favourable judgment brought out by Valerius Andreas ⁴⁾, of what the author humbly conceived as *Lusus*. It is as *Lusus* they have to be considered and gauged, and as such they are most interesting and suggestive for the history both of humanism and of the development of mankind.

137. — Busleyden's writings actually constitute precious documents for the knowledge of the evolution of intellectual and moral growth of culture ⁵⁾ : they provide an excellent example of how Renaissance and Humanism influenced the rising generation, and shaped it into well-spoken and clear thinking men, not to mention other beneficent effects. Indeed, if it did not transform Busleyden into an author of genius, it made him a protector of arts, a lover of literature and erudition instead of a man who would just have enjoyed the sensuous pleasures that his riches could provide. Instead of letting his fortune run dry in the barren sand of nameless relatives, he changed it into an everlasting well of science and culture, the *Collegium Trilingue*.

138. — Busleyden's compositions moreover show a conscious effort to embellish language and style by every possible ornament that would make it clearer and more effective, whereas up to then authors had had little care for the outward form

Epp. 60, ³² (hoc addiderim... ut memineris). Occasionally the conjunction is dropped : *Epp.* 70, ²⁰, *sq* : uoluit <Deus> tua... persequutio, nusquam fieret tibi... macula.

¹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 107, 127.

²⁾ Cp. before, §§ 106, *sq*.

³⁾ Cp. before, § 104.

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 387 ; cp. before, §§ 127, 132.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, § 136.

in the expressing of their thoughts. He reaches his aim first by an appropriate wording, and secondly by various style ornaments : the former produces a lucidity of thought and expression : the latter develops erudition and art.

139. — The wording of all Busleyden's compositions, is clear and correct ; it endeavours to avoid the platitudes as well as the negligence and the humdrum that prevailed in the mediæval writings. That is done by varying as much as possible the terms used : choice words and synonyms are introduced ¹⁾ ; sentences are diversified by changing the order of the elements ; for example, by the postposition of the relative, of the pronoun or of the adverb ²⁾ ; instead of the ordinary forms or expressions, older ³⁾ or less usual ones ⁴⁾ are occasionally employed. In the mediæval method the syllogistic representation of thought dominated ; here the ideas are rather compared and coordinated by conjunctions or conjunctive expressions, which offer a large variety of meanings : — from the cumulative and illative *tum quod... tum quod* ⁵⁾, to the concessive locutions *quod quum ita... sit* ⁶⁾, *quod reliquum est* ⁷⁾ or *hæc qualicunque sint* ⁸⁾.

140. — The personality of the author and, occasionally, that of the reader, which for centuries had been ignored, now are referred to ; for statements are no longer brought out as

¹⁾ Those synonyms constitute groups which become ornaments of the style : Cp. further, § 141.

²⁾ E. g., *Epp.* 3, 13, 4, 11, 7, 6, 11, 8 (... tuorum quod laborum...), 19, 3 (... tuas quam aures...), 32, 32 (tantum..., una quantum ratione...), 33, 5, 45, 35, 57, 34, &c.

³⁾ E.g., the old ablative *quî* for *quô* : *Epp.* 3, 13, 57, 3 ; *siet* for *sit* : *Epp.* 21, 22.

⁴⁾ E.g., *susque deque ferens* : *Epp.* 49, 146 ; *verum enimvero* : *Epp.* 53, 5, 58, 66 ; cp. : before, § 135.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 66, 13-14.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 6, 14, 9, 27, 10, 28, 13, 16, 14, 6, 22, 21, 27, 12, 25, 32, 19, 33, 2, 35, 18, 40, 9, 46, 13, 50, 15, 51, 23, 53, 32, 54, 19, 66, 11, 70, 26, 78, 14 ; *Orat.* A, 28.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 59, 11.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 8, 123, 21, 22, 49, 13, 50, 59, 95, 52, 15, 53, 10, 57, 34, 60, 16, 65, 15, 70, 47, 81, 4, 63 ; *Orat.* A, 54.

independent from them : it is particularly mentioned in what way they impress : whether they rouse pleasure or fear, assurance or doubt, whether they produce ready acceptance, patient endurance or violent reaction. Moreover the particular connection of the writer with the subject treated is indicated by pointing out the source of his information, or the way in which he reproduces it. Those and many more connections are expressed in numberless parentheses, like : *quod dii auerant* (*Epp.* 2, 28-29, 47, 86) ; *quod magis uelim* (*Epp.* 15, 11) ; *si lubet* (*Epp.* 27, 14) ; *inquies* (*Epp.* 27, 4) ; *si sapieres* (*Epp.* 27, 27) ; *ni fallor* (*Epp.* 3, 14) ; *si qui sint* (*Epp.* 4, 13) ; *quo nil maius possideo* (*Epp.* 3, 6-7) ; *ut*, or *quod*, *aiunt* (*Epp.* 5, 23, 70, 25) ; *si quis sit* (*Epp.* 47, 16) ; *ut audio* (*Epp.* 73, 25) ; *ut cætera præteream* (*Epp.* 72, 20) ; *ut paucis me absoluam* (*Epp.* 33, 16) ; *ut ita dicam* (*Epp.* 15, 8, 47, 11), and a variety of others. They are used so profusely that, in some letters, there is one at least on every four lines ¹⁾, and they are equally abundant in the *Orationes* ²⁾, even not counting those which are not indicated by brackets ³⁾. That profusion of parentheses was a characteristic feature of the new style : it results, for example, from a comparison between Erasmus' letter ⁴⁾ and the one which, at Busleyden's request, he corrected and polished, so as to have it inserted in More's *Utopia* ⁵⁾.

7. LITERARY ORNAMENTS

Parallelism and Antithesis

141. — Amongst the literary ornaments there is none that Busleyden used as frequently as the repetition of a word or a

¹⁾ E.g. *Epp.* 8, 1, 13, 16, 22, 23, 24, 28, 43, 44, 47, 50-52, 60, 101, 127 ; 15, 2, 8, 11, 13, 18, 24, 33, 37, 43, 48, 51 ; 27, 4, 10, 14, 20, 27, 28, 36, 37, 38, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 57, 66, 71, 73, 78, 83, 105 ; 50, 17, 25, 33, 42, 43, 46, 49, 50, 55, 59, 62, 64, 79, 80, 83, 100 ; 73, 2, 4, 15, 15, 22, 25, 29, 33, 39, 55, 59, 63, 64, 67, 76.

²⁾ E.g., *Orat.* B, 4, 14, 38, 49, 52, 58, 75, 108, 114, 116, 126, 162, 163, 181, 199, 206, 210, — besides the three unmarked parentheses 45, 112, 188.

³⁾ E.g., *Epp.* 45, 10, 47, 18, 74, 27 ; *Orat.* B, 43, 112, 188.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 29, 10, 27, and without brackets, 6, 11, 13, 13, 21, 24, 31.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 81, 3, 4, 10, 36, 38, 43, 48, 54, 63, 68, 84, 86 : only the first and the last but three (3, 63) of these parentheses are marked by brackets both in the first edition of *Utopia* and in *MoreLuc.* ; the printers thus point out only 2 on 12.

sentence in equivalent terms or expressions, so as to produce not only a clearer representation of his idea, but also a parallel description of it. Generally he adds two synonyms, or two synonymous constructions built on one and the same scheme, and thus introduces trilogies of words¹⁾, of which one improves on the others by a different tonality and figure. In one of his first letters he writes that he tries to favour erudites and students : *ad quod ita faciundum, non tam obuia uoluntas ducit, quam uotum uel professio nos nostra trahit, stimulat, impellit* ²⁾. He bewails his brother's loss, *quippe qui...*, he writes, *non modo fratris loco duxerit, uerum unico pro filiolo semper habuit, tractauit, fouit* ³⁾.

142. — Such groups are found in nearly all Busleyden's prose compositions ; they recur most frequently : thus in his letter to Ferry de Carondelet there are four such trilogies on five lines ⁴⁾ :

Qui uere amat, semper in amato est, illius salutis,
rei, accessionis anxius. Qui recte amat nusquam amicum
fallit, circumuenit, palpat ; qui syncære amat, interpel-
lat, arguit, castigat quem amat. Quorsum (inquies)
huiusmodi tam abrupta, subitaria, tumultuaria ?

Ten other of such trilogies occur in that same letter dating from the time of Busleyden's embassy in Rome in the winter of 1505-1506 ⁵⁾, and as many are found in a letter that is ten years younger, that to More, of the first days of November 1516 ⁶⁾, whereas they are hardly less frequent in his speeches ⁷⁾. On some occasions that ornament is extended, and instead of three, four synonyms are gathered, as in the letter to Vegerius ⁸⁾ :

¹⁾ A few instances are found in which only one synonym is added : *Epp.* 8, 31, 33, 24, 5, 15, 16 ; maybe it was used spontaneously, without being intended as a style ornament.

²⁾ *Epp.* 2, 18-20 ; *cp.* 49, 36-49.

³⁾ *Epp.* 5, 4, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 27, 1-5.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 27, 11, 19, 26, 28, 33, 39, 84, 86, 88, 92.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 81, 1, 5, 22, 23, 29, 31, 37, 39, 90, 95.

⁷⁾ E.g., his Sermon on Easter Sunday : *Orat. A.*, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 28, 30,

32, 40, 41-42, 47, 50, 55.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 65, 1-4.

Nugas illas... tua uelim eleganti manu, docta censura reconcinnes, expendas, recenseas, expungas.

also in that to Martin van Dorp ¹⁾ :

Profecto tanto adsertori, jllustratori, buccinatori, preconi sacerrimæ jntemeratæ Virginis... aderit Deus. and in several other letters and orations ²⁾).

143.— Still the most interesting development of that ornament of style is less its extension than its deepening. From a terse repetition : *Fac precor, oro, obtestor*, — in the letter to Philip of Austria ³⁾, it blossoms out into a fine trilogy of thought and figure, as in the letter to Ferry de Carondelet ⁴⁾ :
 futurus tunc certe tuus... ubi tam rarum et incomparabile bonum semel agnoueris, agnitum colueris, ex-cultum seruaueris.

and into brilliant amplifications, such as that in the Sermon on Easter Day ⁵⁾, where it is said that Christ shows :

quantæ esset uirtutis eius omnipotentia, quanti uigoris essentia, quanta bonitatis suæ in humanum genus abundantia ; qua inprimis uoluit, nostræ carnis ergastulo assumpto, hominem agere humanum : cuius infirmitas nostra foret sanitas ; cuius passio, nostra consolatio ; cuius gloriosa a morte respiratio, certissimam fidem... uniuersali resurrectioni adferret.

* * *

144.— Besides parallelism, Busleyden's style frequently offers examples of antithetic comparisons, showing contrast or opposition between two beings or two ideas. That contrast, indeed, points out differences between two objects or two sets of material circumstances : < *fortuna* > *te uarie nunc in portu, nunc in salo exercuit* ⁶⁾ ; or between sets of ideologic circum-

¹⁾ *Epp.* 75, 21-33.

²⁾ *Epp.* 22, 27, 81, 36-37 ; *Orat.* A, 22-27, D, 22, sq.

³⁾ *Epp.* 5, 23.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 27, 110-113.

⁵⁾ *Orat.* A, 9-15.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 49, 26-27.

stances : *tuum erat iubere, non orare* ¹⁾ ; or even between two meanings of one and the same word : *nusquam minus solus quam quum solus* ²⁾ or, *neque minus otiosi quam quum... maxime otiosi* ³⁾ ; — also : *ipse aliquando periculum, non sine periculo, feci* ⁴⁾ ; — or between the meanings of two similar words : *non eo se uiuere ratos ut cédant, uerum eos æsse ut uiuant* ⁵⁾.

145. — The opposition very often hardly exceeds the mere difference between two correlative conceptions, expressed each of them in nearly similar terms : *tu scilicet impetrando quod cupis, ego autem curando ut cupitum impetres* ⁶⁾ ; or : *munus tam te donante dignum quam mihi donato gratissimum* ⁷⁾ ; it thus naturally expands into a balancing of two ideas, as it has been called ⁸⁾, with, in either of them, a similar syntactic construction of similar words, or of such that are of the same family, or have nearly the same sound : *consciis inprimis imperitiæ simul et ignauiciæ meæ, quorum unum minus nouit, alterum minus potest* ⁹⁾. The harmony of those balancing structures encouraged its frequent use, even when the opposition is merely apparent, and seems as a different expression of the same thing : as, where Busleyden ends his letter to James de Blasere by addressing him as : *bonorum doctissime, doctorum optime* ¹⁰⁾ ; or writes to Abbot Bollart : *quo tibi iucundius, illi gratius huiusmodi munus obueneret & ornatiùs a me proficisceretur, lubens illi remisi... debita* ¹¹⁾ ; or when he

¹⁾ *Epp.* 66, 12-13.

²⁾ *Epp.* 49, 52 ; 27, 22.

³⁾ *Epp.* 27, 22-23 ; 17, 5-6.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 71, 22-23, 52, 19.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 47, 58-59, 58, 34-35.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 59, 5-6 ; also : quando pungendo iocaris, iocandoque pungas : *Epp.* 15, 5 ; de otio negotium, de negotio facientes otium : *Epp.* 27, 23-24.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 52, 2-3.

⁸⁾ A. Feuillerat, *John Lyly* : Cambridge, 1910 : 452, sq.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 55, 8-10, cp. 23, 9-10 : prudenti diligentia et diligenti prudentia.

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 37, 30-31.

¹¹⁾ *Epp.* 76, 7-10 ; also : quum inter honoratos sis honoratissimus, inter spectatos iuxta spectatissimus : *Epp.* 27, 61-62.

suggests to More : continue doing '*quod in Rempublicam colatum illi perpetuitatem, tibi immortalitatem addat*' ¹⁾).

146. — A new direction to that ornamental construction is given by comparison : as where the ambassador of Philip the Fair declares to Pope Julius II the degree of his master's devotedness to the Roman See : *nescio an æque quisquam, certe nemo magis est ei addictus* ²⁾ ; or where he blames Ferry de Carondelet's remissness in studying : *utpote ad maiora nato, maioribus exercendo, et maximis decorando* ³⁾. Similar comparisons are used, e. g., in that same letter, stating that about his affection : *te ægre uideat, ægerrime ferat, extraria ista et temporaria tantopere curare* ⁴⁾ ; in that to More, whose erudite writings are called : *Mira profecto raraque felicitas, ac plane eo rarior, quo magis ipsa sese inuidens plurimis non præbet nisi raris* ⁵⁾ ; or where he tells Dorp that Our Lord will consider as done in His honour what is done to His Mother : *gratus Filius, quicquid tu gratissimus gratissimæ ac pietissimæ Parenti impenderis* ⁶⁾ ; finally where he declares to Cardinal de Carvajal that Prince Charles appreciates his loyalty and affection : *multo quidem amore, maiore pietati, maxima animi gratitudine* <te> *prosequitur* ⁷⁾.

147. — A special group consists of antithetic structures in which various compounds of the same root are used in their different meanings ; thus : *quem uelim audias, et si opus sit, exaudias* ⁸⁾ ; — *mora ipsa, quæ alijs sæpe dispendium, summum nobis compendium* <a^{ffert}> ⁹⁾ ; — *meritis non tam merita quam muneribus merita* <adstruere> ¹⁰⁾ ; — *si iisdem esset*

¹⁾ *Epp.* 81, 96-97.

²⁾ *Orat.* B, 28-29 ; cp. *Epp.* 49, 52-53, 50, 8-9.

³⁾ *Epp.* 27, 98-99.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 27, 7-8.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 81, 20-22.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 75, 34-36.

⁷⁾ *Orat.* D, 31-32.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 59, 13-14 ; cp. 32, 26 præesse... nedum adesse.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 49, 11-12.

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 24, 4-5.

auspicijs auspicatae <*Reipublicae*> ¹⁾; — *tu miserandam miseratus sortem* ²⁾. It leads to witty sayings as : *poteris... tum maxime quum maxime uelis* ³⁾; and *a laudato uiro laudari*, ⁴⁾ which repeatedly appear under various forms in Busleyden's writings. They were, no doubt, echoes of the fine talk of the Italian erudite literators : thus in his dedicatory letter of his *De Linguae Latinae Elegantia Libri Sex* to 'Joannes Tortellius Aretinus, cubicularius Apostolicus', Lorenzo Valla asks : 'quod magis opimum præmium generoso animo contingere potest, quam laudari a laudato uiro ? ut ille apud Accium inquit : Gaudeo abs te laudari pater, laudato uiro' ⁵⁾.

118. — In that eager pursuit of graceful expression, as well as in the readiness of accepting the literary teaching of Renaissance, Busleyden had a worthy yokemate in Thomas More, whose English style already gave, in the first years of the XVIth century, an idea of what would be, at the end of it, the 'balancement lylien' ⁶⁾. No doubt they were formed at the same school, and if circumstances had been more favourable to either of them, they had made their countrymen enjoy far sooner the advance in intellectual culture of which they had understood the meaning and gauged the value long before their contemporaries.

* * *

149. — The peculiar ornamentation of the Renaissance style may have suggested the set of two distichs or small poems, in which one enounces the opposite of the other in the same

¹⁾ *Epp.* 81, 35.

²⁾ *Epp.* 81, 42-43.

³⁾ *Epp.* 58, 81-82, 74, 18-19, 40, 22.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 50, 32, 38, 18, 8-9, 49, 158, *sq.* 78, 15.

⁵⁾ Laurentii Vallæ *de Linguae Latinae Elegantia Libri Sex* : Lyons, Seb. Gryphius, 1538 : ff a 1 v-a 2 r. Erasmus used that expression in his first letter to John Colet, in October 1499 : 'lætarer profecto... laudari abs te, viro omnium facile laudatissimo' ; and he refers to it in a following letter, of the same month : 'lætabor antea... laudari a viro omnium laudatissimo' : Allen, I, 107, 3, 108, 14-15.

⁶⁾ Delcourt, 302-303 ; F. Th. Visser, *A Syntax of the English Language of St. Thomas More* : Louvain, 1946 : v, *sq.*

form, in the same verse and even with many identical words. They seem to have grown from the balanced contrary ideas ¹⁾, which, instead of comprising only a few words, extend over two and more verse lines. Busleyden wrote several : thus the *Deprecatio Calamitatum Belli* and the *Gratulatio Donorum Almae Pacis* ²⁾. In two distichs, of which the wording is otherwise identical, the advantages and disadvantages of having houses built are pointed out ³⁾. In other poems referring to Busleyden's *castum torum*, cares and sorrows are banished, or sleep and rest invited ⁴⁾; similarly the *Laus Vini* and the *Damnatio Vini* are enounced in similarly construed verses ⁵⁾; so are the results of the love of *Virtus* and that of *Voluptas*, between which Hercules is made to choose ⁶⁾.

Comparisons and Classic Lore

150.— For the sake both of a more graphic representation and of ornament, Busleyden frequently resorted to comparisons. Some of them are inspired by nature : by the self-complacency of the hedge-sparrow ⁷⁾, by the blindness of the owl ⁸⁾, by the longevity of crows and stags ⁹⁾, and by the fertility of the soil ¹⁰⁾. Others are derived from human life and society : beneficent learning is compared to a mother's breasts ¹¹⁾; the greatness of study and erudition, with the subsequent eternal fame, is represented by contrast with the enjoyment

¹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 144, sq.

²⁾ *Carm.* xix, iii and iv.

³⁾ *Carm.* xx, i : *In Ædificantem*.

⁴⁾ *Carm.* xxi, iii.

⁵⁾ *Carm.* xxi, vii *Laus Vini*; viii *Damnatio Vini*; vi : a distich on a *poculum Baccho sacrum*, in which on thirteen words there are six which have a double, and opposite, term : read with one series of those six, the verses describe the good effects of a glass of wine on Muses and men and feasts ; read with the second, they picture the cold and languid results of its absence.

⁶⁾ *Carm.* xxiii.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 49, 2.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 22, 20.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 49, 57.

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 62, 3-5 ; he refers to the *lectores post messoros* on *Epp.* 22, 35.

¹¹⁾ *Epp.* 58, 46-47.

of feasting and revelry ¹⁾; the correcting of the *Lusus* by Vegerius is illustrated by the touching up of an indistinct old picture by an able painter ²⁾, and the repeated request that Dorp should publish his Sermon on the Assumption, is likened to the effort of children who keep on trying to catch fish, although not encouraged by a single bite ³⁾. The friends who have promised a letter or a visit, are spoken of as debtors, and Busleyden threatens to prove a hard and exacting creditor ⁴⁾; on the other hand, he considers himself as the debtor of all his well-wishers ⁵⁾, whom he hopes to find indulgent as creditors, since he is unable to pay the heavy debts ⁶⁾. He fancies that his debtors are all inscribed on a list ⁷⁾, just like the names of friends are entered into his *amicorum album* ⁸⁾ or his *catalogus* ⁹⁾, of which he promises the first place to those he likes best, whereas he wants it for himself on theirs ¹⁰⁾.

* * *

151. — Busleyden's writings are further rendered more graphic and lively by proverbs and proverbial sayings. They are occasionally borrowed from the popular talk: for example the *mala... ansulis sese continentia*, based on the widespread belief that an evil never comes by itself ¹¹⁾. Still they generally are derived from the rich store of adages of antiquity which Erasmus had collected from Greek and Latin literary docu-

¹⁾ *Epp.* 47, 38, *sq.* 58, 22, *sq.* 36, *sq.*

²⁾ *Epp.* 67, 8-12.

³⁾ *Epp.* 74, 1-16.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 38, 10-13, 50, 93-94, 58, 6.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 42, 5-14; a similar idea is developed by Erasmus in his letter to Antony de Berghes, January 14, 1518: *Habebis debitorem neque malæ fidei neque ingratum*: Allen, III, 761, 55-56.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 24, 14-26, 62, 5-7, 73, 58, *sq.* 76, 16-18, 77, 10, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Cp. *in albo debitorum*: *Epp.* 38, 13-14.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 27, 31, 46, 11, 47, 64, 49, 66, 58, 41, 60, 8, 64, 16, 70, 7; *Orat.* E, 11.

⁹⁾ *Orat.* C, 18.

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 46, 11, 47, 64, 49, 17-18, 60, 8.

¹¹⁾ *Orat.* B, 38-39.

ments ¹⁾. Some of those proverbs, such as *herbam porrigere* ²⁾ or *gerræ plusquam Syculæ* ³⁾ are of constant use throughout Busleyden's writings; whereas in the letters, especially in those which were not written for any matter-of-fact purpose, but rather as an occasion for literary compositions, *adagia* actually abound ⁴⁾: they are not merely inserted as quotations, but most effectually interwoven in the text, to which they confer great vivacity, apt picturesqueness and particular brilliancy.

* * *

152. — That same result was also obtained by another constant motif of ornamentation, the frequent allusions to facts and personages of Greek and Roman history and mythology. That group comprises the often recurring comparisons with *ambrosia* and *nectar* for all agreeable things ⁵⁾, and with the *Mævii* and *Bavii* for all imperfect literators, amongst whom he was humble enough to include himself ⁶⁾. The allusions rank from the trite mentions of Bacchus ⁷⁾ or Hercules ⁸⁾, to Prometheus' *pyxis* and Calliopes ⁹⁾, to Lucullus', Apicius'

¹⁾ The *Adagia* appeared as *Veterum maximeque Insignium Paræmiarum, id est Adagiorum Collectanea*, in Paris in 1500, and were reprinted eleven times before 1516: *BB*, E, 54-65; they were considerably enriched during Erasmus' stay in Italy, where Aldus Manutius printed them at Venice in September 1508 as: *Adagiorum Chiliades Tres, Ac Centuriæ Fere Totidem*; the book was reproduced three times before a third, once more enlarged, issue (3411 *adages*) was brought out by J. Froben, at Basle in 1515: *BB*, E, 89-93. In two instances Busleyden quoted one after another two *adagia* also following each other in Erasmus' collection, which evidently proves that it was used: cp. further, § 163.

²⁾ *Epp.* 6, 33, 15, 31, 70, 39, 81, 15; *Carm.* XIX, iii, 7, iv, 7, 14.

³⁾ *Epp.* 49, 178.

⁴⁾ Thus in the 101 lines of *Epp.* 50 there are nineteen (6, 10, 11, 17, 42, 45, 53, 53, 55, 55, 56, 60, 66, 74, 79, 83, 86, 97, 100). Cp. *Epp.* 15, 8, 18, 20, 26, 31, 42, 51; 47, 18, 20, 41, 70; 49, 15, 30, 144, 170, 171, 172, 173, 178.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, § 134.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 49, 4, 73, 53.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 39, 28-30, 40, 14, sq, 41, 5, (42, 3), 43, 11, (44, 11, sq); *Carm.* XXI, v.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 52, 1, sq; *Carm.* XXIII.

⁹⁾ *Carm.* XV, 29, 75.

and Cleopatra's luxury ¹). It is not surprising to find classic reminiscences in the writings of a Maecenas who had a Romulus placed on the top of his house, and who adorned his walls and windows with the legend of Tantalus, and with scenes and sentences from the lives of Sertorius and Scævola, of Demades and Lycurgus ²). That they were not references which he only knew from hearing them repeated, results from the fact that he often refers to, or reproduces, sentences and ideas from the great authors of antiquity : not merely some trivial principles of Hellas' great philosophers which he had heard at the University ³), but sayings and quotations from Xenophon and Plutarch, Homer, Hippias and Athenæus ⁴), from Pliny the Elder or Suetone ⁵), as well as verse lines and devices from Virgil, Horace and Martial ⁶), from Tibullus and Juvenal, from Persius, Catullus and Terence ⁷), besides allusions connected with Cicero and Quintilian ⁸).

Renaissance Culture.

153. — Those richly adorned prose documents, which are occasionally embellished with an initial or closing distich or quatrain ⁹), give an excellent idea of the way in which, in the first years of the sixteenth century, young scholars were trained after the new fashion. They show the means by which the mastery of Latin, which up to then had been the monopoly of a few erudites, was imparted to all those who wanted to share the distinction valued so highly by the new civilization ; thus replacing most advantageously the long years of useless drudgery formerly spent on the speculative rather than

¹) *Epp.* 47, 44, *sq.* 83, *sq.* 49, 117, 58, 23, *sq.*

²) *Carm.* XX, XXIV.

³) E.g., Aristotle : *Epp.* 49, 72; *Orat.* B, 2; Plato : *Epp.* 49, 85, 73, 15, 81, 48; Socrates : *Carm.* XXI, ii, 1-8; the Stoics : *Epp.* 49, 68.

⁴) *Epp.* 8, 133, 47, 46, 83, 50, 69, 57, 32.

⁵) *Epp.* 17, 35; *Carm.* XXVI.

⁶) *Epp.* 2, 30, 15, 5, 18, 27-29, 50, 97, 58, 12, 42, 43, — 49, 179; *Carm.* XVII, 10; — *Epp.* 47, 58, 98, 49, 4, *Carm.* X, XV, c, 10, 24, XX, XXI, and § 134.

⁷) *Epp.* 18, 23, 28, 10, 47, 19, 70, 49, 2, 176, 50, 10.

⁸) *Epp.* 8, 107, *sq.* 17, 42, 27, 47, 50, 67, 64, 35.

⁹) *Epp.* 9, 1-2, 38-41, 58, 1-4, 93-96.

grammatical meaning of the verses of Alexander de Villa Dei¹). It produced the clear and exact, supple and nervous, discriminating and yet elegant, style in which those letters and orations are couched²) : even though not embodying bold conceptions, nor recondite information, those compositions are most welcome specimens of intellectual culture at one of the most important periods of its history, exemplifying the efforts to bring the expression on the level of educated thought, and making familiar letters and formal orations into actual enjoyments by their exquisite form.

154. — That form, to be true, later on became conventional and constrained, as all good things are liable to be spoilt by lack of taste and spontaneity : it does not lessen the immense benefit which the refined expression of thoughts conferred on intellectual, and even on social, intercourse : its significance may be gauged by comparing Busleyden's style with that of some of the chief contemporary humanists in this country, like Dorp, Barlandus, and even Vives : although their writings convey far richer ideas, their phrases sound rough and uncouth compared to those of the Mechlin Councillor ; and yet he never intended that his letters, at least, should be read by any one except by the friend to whom they were addressed. Nor did the extreme care he bestowed on the form prevent him from making the most of the matter imparted ; such as, for example the arguments in his orations, in which even the ornaments are cleverly turned to advantage in the furtherance of his purpose³). He thus provided a fine testimony to the great intellectual and cultural advance caused by Renaissance education on the threshold of the sixteenth century, which was to be the start of the great development in human activity shaping the modern times⁴).

¹) Sandys, I, 665-669 ; cp. Fr. Zarnke, *Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff* : Leipzig, 1854 : 346, sq.

²) As examples might be quoted passages like *Epp.* 51, 15-22, and 74, 74-80, or letters like *Epp.* 75.

³) E.g., *Orat.* B, 43-47.

⁴) Burckhardt, 178, 199, sq, 203, sq, 209, sq.

155. — Indeed, already a quarter of a century later, that intellectual education had become so highly esteemed all over the civilized world that the benefit was extended to a much wider range by the use of modern languages, on which were adapted the methods employed with so great success for Latin. In 1529 Don Antonio de Guevara, archbishop of Mondoñedo and Cadiz, published his *Libro llamado Relox de Principes* ¹⁾, which applied to Spanish the Renaissance style, ornamented with choice words and sentences, with parallels and antitheses, with comparisons and allusions to antique history and mythology. That treatise of education for princes was so welcome that, within a few years, it was translated in all European languages. Bertaut de la Grise made, in the same year, a rendering in heavy, dark and unharmonious French ²⁾, which was used by Thomas North for *The Diall of Princes*, 1557. In the evolution which followed, both for Latin and modern languages, the style ornaments were systematically expanded and worked out : alliteration and other embellishments were introduced, as the humanists took up the fashion.

156. — It developed — to mention only English literature — into the flowery language of *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, of 1576 ³⁾, and it was elaborated still more exquisitely by John Lyly in his *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wyt*, of 1578. This work gave the name *Euphuism* ⁴⁾ to the over-ornate style, which is neither the direct outcome of Guevara's book, nor of North's rendering, but the natural development of the literary language as it was renewed by the Renaissance erudites and the Humanists, as is illustrated by a comparison with Busleyden's writings. Not only the sententious spirit, for which the *Anatomy* vividly recalls the Uncle's precepts to his wayward nephew ⁵⁾, — but also, and especially, all the

¹⁾ Schück, III, 334, 489.

²⁾ *Liure dore de Marc Aurèle* : Paris, 1531 ; it was revised for the edition of 1540 : *Lorloge des Princes*.

³⁾ Edition by I. Gollancz : London, 1908 : I, ix, sq.

⁴⁾ R. Warwick Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly* : Oxford, 1902 : I, 119-148 ; A. Feuillerat, *John Lyly* : Cambridge, 1910 : 411-475 ; *ErasInvl.*, 92, sq.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 31, 19, sq.

structural devices and ornaments of Euphuism are found in the bud in Busleyden's *Lusus* : the latter, evidently, sounds sober and simple when compared to Lyly's composition, which is as the zenith, from which that affected language soon descended : Shakespeare imitated it in his first comedies, but hardly ten years elapsed before he ruthlessly parodied its excess in his *Hamlet*. Yet, the great innovation had done its work, — and is still doing it.

8. BUSLEYDEN AND HUMANISM

Principles and Purpose

157. — Busleyden's writings provide an evident testimony of his addictedness to humanism, not only through their language and style, but also through the ideas expressed. The Mechlin Councillor was very pious as his poems show ¹⁾, and as he declared to Martin van Dorp ²⁾, whom he insistingly urged to tackle religious and devotional subjects ³⁾. Yet, with all that, he uses pagan terminology : even when referring to God, he talks of the *dii*, and mentions the *ira deorum* ⁴⁾. In the very poem that celebrates the Lord's Resurrection, he introduces the Sibylls, calls hell by the heathen names *Avernus* and *Acheron*, and praises that most important day in Christian economy by the typical expression of pagan superstition : *dies meliore notanda lapillo* ⁵⁾ ! — That strange terminology was not at all the result of any doubt, but the natural sequel of the sincere wish of any intellectually and culturally developed XVIth century man, to lift up talk and conversation from low, slovenly routine by what was considered as the chief source of ornamentation, classic lore. Not only solemn teaching, but even the ordinary social intercourse was then changing from terse and vulgar statements into an intellectual,

¹⁾ *Carm.* III, VI, X, XI, XIV, &c ; *Epp.* 16.

²⁾ *Epp.* 73, 67 ; pietatem (cuius sum studiosus) ; cp. æsuriens pietas nostra : *Epp.* 22, 33.

³⁾ *Epp.* 73, 63, sq ; 75, 19, sq.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 50, 76 ; also 2, 24, 23, 6, 27, 107, 28, 21, 39, 9, 43, 1, 47, 52, 86, &c. Marliano also writes about *dii boni* : *Epp.* 48, 75 ; NèveBusl., 23.

⁵⁾ *Carm.* XIV, 2, 5, 8, 15 ; references to the *Manes* and *Elysii* occur in *Epp.* 8, 82, 17, 30, 68, 5.

if not a literary, enjoyment ¹⁾. Nor could anything less be expected from the highly ornate sermons and speeches of Busleyden, whose conversation was found more entertaining and interesting than his choice selection of books by as nice a judge as Thomas More ²⁾. Even without that unequivocal statement, the letters and compositions of the *Lusus* call up to any attentive reader the attractive talk, sparkling with wit and humour, of the hospitable Provost, as where he warns Ferry de Carondelet against becoming a Wandering Jew, and Canon Priccard against being too much like Domitianus ³⁾; or where he feelingly cuts short a long speech of welcome on account of the recipient's being tired of the journey, or threatens all avaricious people with the torture of Tantalus ⁴⁾.

158.— A more peculiar characteristic of the humanists is Busleyden's full understanding of the excellence of study : he never misses an opportunity to express it : not merely on the occasion of the education of his nephew Erdorf ⁵⁾, but even when referring to the indispensable qualifications of any young nobleman : it made him write a long admonitory letter to his friend Ferry de Carondelet, who was wasting his time and his opportunities in idleness and dissipation ⁶⁾. He praised a life of study as the only real nobility, and extolled it far above all enjoyment of feasts and pleasures ⁷⁾, advocating it by word and example : '*plus olei ad lucernam lucubrando quam vini ad mensam ingurgitando*' ⁸⁾, assuring that it provides peace and happiness of the mind ; moreover the eternal fame which it procures amply makes up for all present loss, and is an apt reward for all efforts and labour ⁹⁾, in so far that

¹⁾ Cp. Burckhardt, 328, sq. 333, sq.

²⁾ Cp. § 61, 62, 163.

³⁾ *Carm.* xxv, xxvi.

⁴⁾ *Orat.* D, 45, sq ; *Carm.* xxiv, 17-20. That Busleyden's jests were bitter at times, is implied by his reply to J. L. de Moscheron, *Epp.* 15.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 31, 32, 51 and especially 36, in which letter he allows him a new suit only on the condition that he can recite by heart a play by Terence (1-24).

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 27.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 47, 52, sq. 58, 22, sq. Cp. Burckhardt, 180.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 58, 26, 36, 47, 59, 60.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 17, 26, sq. 47, 62-63, 54, 38-46, 58, 37-40, 73, 56 ; *Carm.* xv, 155.

posterity is said to be the only rightful judge of our work and our life : *Te vixisse probet posteritas* ¹⁾).

159. — Still, before all, it is in the method and the aim of any study that Busleyden shows that he is a thorough humanist. He proclaims the principle that in dealing with a subject, one should not limit oneself to repeating what has already been found out and enounced by others, but one should deepen and enlarge that knowledge, — which is as the lever of all humanistic work, as the source of all its power. Referring to the thorough acquaintance with the Bible which he wants to acquire, Busleyden declares that he considers it is as disgraceful as useless, *tam turpe quam otiosum*, to content oneself with the existing comments without adding anything oneself : *semper ex commentarijs sapere, nilque illis ex captu nostro superaddere, quasi natura ingenijs nostris aditum præcluserit* ²⁾. And he directs that intellectual enrichment to what is the transcendent aim of all humanistic study, the moral perfecting of man, the humanizing him, proclaiming that he should strive '*quo... non tam doctior ac melior evadat*' ! ³⁾

160. — True to the genuine spirit of humanism, Busleyden did not try to attain moral perfection only for himself, but wished to share with his fellow-men whatever he valued as an improvement to himself. Instead of revelling in intellectual pursuits, or in the possession of artistic and literary documents, he turned them, if not directly, at least mediately to the good of mankind in general. He thus realized the lofty principle that all knowledge and erudition should be directed, not to the glory and pleasure of one man, but to the welfare

¹⁾ *Carm.* XXI, i, 27-28. Cp. Burckhard, 178, 498, quoting Poggio's statement (*De Avaritia : Opera*, 1513 : 2) that only those who had written learned and eloquent Latin books, or who had translated Greek into Latin, could say 'se vixisse'. When writing to Antony de Berghes, Abbot of St. Bertin, on December 13, 1517, Erasmus urges that prelate to favour him because he deserves it : 'quod fortassis extincto me posteritas rectius iudicabit ; quanquam nec hac ætate desint qui perspiciant : Allen, III, 739, 25-26'.

²⁾ *Epp.* 58, 58, sq, 74, 62-71, &c.

³⁾ *Epp.* 73, 74-75.

and, not in the least degree, to the perfecting, to the humanizing of humanity at large ¹⁾. That explains the frequent moralizing in his writings, not merely about learning and study, but about the wisdom of life : whenever opportunity offers, he tries to do good to his neighbour : he vindicates solemn meals and feasts as occasions to exercise civil and traditional hospitality to one's friends and fellow-men, and to impart freely the results of experience, and of erudite and artistic pursuits ²⁾. He advocates criticizing and blaming the times and the fashions, *tempora et mores*, which one witnesses amongst one's countrymen, not to blaze them abroad as a charge, but to deplore and amend them : *ut... positos magis referendo defle-rem, quam aliqua ex parte notiores redderem* ³⁾ : he practised that sound and beneficent censuring which is quite characteristic of humanism in the spirit in which Erasmus and More excelled ⁴⁾. He thus claimed the right to admonish a frivolous friend ⁵⁾ ; he warns another of the danger of trusting courtiers ⁶⁾ ; he prescribes a moral code to his nephew ⁷⁾ ; he advocates the mourning for the deceased ⁸⁾ ; he tranquillizes the conscience of a correspondent about whether it is becoming to attend friendly feasts and meetings, especially if they may help to communicate beneficent information about study and other advantages to man ⁹⁾, thus directing all intellectual activity to the welfare of humanity in general ¹⁰⁾. He even considered it an intelligent man's duty to devote himself to the welfare of his brethren, realizing and generalizing the principle which he put into his brother's mouth : 'repetens me solum non mihi natum, Sed potius charæ progenitum patriæ' ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ *Epp.* 47, 60-63 ; 49, 124-7, 132 : *alioqui scire tuum nihil est: nisi te scire, hoc sciat alter.*

²⁾ *Epp.* 49, 98, *sq.*, 124, *sq.*, 81, 24, *sq.*

³⁾ *Epp.* 49, 135, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp. *ActaMori*, 81-82.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 50, 23, *sq.*, 27, 71-72.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 56, 16, *sq.*

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 31, 19-30.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 8, 83, *sq.*

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 47, 21, *sq.*, 67, *sq.*, 49, 59-132.

¹⁰⁾ *Epp.* 49, 131-132.

¹¹⁾ *Carm.*, I, 9-10 ; cp. *Epp.* 49, 68, *sq.*, 124, *sq.*, 81, 24-25.

Study and Research

161. — As a natural result of his high opinion of personal study, Busleyden professes a deep veneration for erudites ¹⁾, as well as for erudition and for the indispensable means to acquire it, books and manuscripts. He gave a magnificent example of the care to be bestowed on the monuments of history and literature, and whole-heartedly encouraged all those who shared that noble passion. In his lifetime he no doubt was famous for his literary pursuit, and all book-lovers were known to him. Thirty years and more after his decease, he was still remembered for it, as is attested to by the Bruges humanist George Cassander ²⁾, who in 1549 dedicated his edition of Pliny the Younger's *De Viris Illustribus* ³⁾ to the Flanders Councillor John Wouters, *Gualteri*, Lord of Vinderholt and Meerendree, who had been actually Vives' host, and nearly that of Erasmus ⁴⁾; referring to his patron's fine collection of books, Cassander mentions that he has been told that Jerome de Busleyden had declared to him in his house ⁵⁾ that there might be others who had as many, and perhaps, more, books, but that it would be very difficult to find any one whose volumes were nicer, more ornate and more elegant ⁶⁾. A similar testimony is provided by the letter in which Busleyden admonishes his old professor and colleague Peter l'Apostole, and enjoins him to take more care of his volumes ⁷⁾. — On the other hand, he is for ever inquiring after nice books and *codices* which, true to the tradition of Renaissance, he wanted to free from darkness and vermin, from '*scombris blattisque*' ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ *Epp.* 2, 14-17.

²⁾ *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xvii; Schrevel, I, 263, 387, *sq.* .

³⁾ Cologne, Mart. Gymnicus, 1549.

⁴⁾ VO, VII, 172, 216-17; Allen, v, 1303, 54; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. ix.

⁵⁾ Cassander (1513-1566) must have known John Wouters intimately as in 1543, he started a journey to Germany and Italy with his son Corneille, canon of St. Donatian's, Bruges: *HisTriLov.*, chapt. ix, xvii.

⁶⁾ Cui quidem ut numero parem nonnulli, aliqui etiam ea instructiorem <bibliothecam>, certe cultu, elegantia, ornatuque conferendam haud facile quisquam alibi reperiatur. Id quod Hieronymum Buslidium aliquando apud te professum audiui: *HumLov.*, III, 7, 10, 71.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 20.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 20 8-10. Cp. Symonds, 73-74, 132, *sq.*

He bought whatever literary documents he found available, and highly treasured them ; and when he could not buy, he anticipated our modern bibliographers, trying to have a list made of all the items in a rich library, so that they might be used by scholars, such as his erudite friend the provost of Arnhem William Heda ¹). He himself placed his magnificent collection at the disposal of his learned friends, as we hear from Erasmus' letter of December 23, 1520, to Polydore Vergilius, author of a collection of *Proverbia*, the *Adagia Prophana ac Sacra* ²) ; the great Humanist, having looked in vain for that book throughout different countries on this side the Alps, finally had found a copy in the possession of his Mechlin friend : 'tandem', he writes, '*mihi casu repertus est in bibliotheca clarissimi viri Hieronymi Buslidii; nam is, ut erat omnium librorum emacissimus, ex Italia secum detulerat*', ³).

162. — Erasmus' remark, which confirms the great interest Busleyden took in books, suggests at the same time the Pre-late's readiness to place the wealth of literature and erudition he gathered, at his friends' disposition. It shows that he is more than a book-lover, more than a collector of fine and rare editions and manuscripts jealously guarding his treasures like a dragon. He was a scholar himself ⁴), and was the very first to make use of his books. He had started that study from his early youth, and it is quite characteristic that he made a present of Martial's poems to a fellow-student when at Padua ⁵). Not only was he interested in the literature of antiquity : for the pictures that adorned one of his windows and the inscriptions on different parts of his home show that he was famil-

¹) Ep. 55, e, 12, sq, 26, sq, 41-42 : Busleyden calls his friend not merely a 'uenator, sed uel magnus... uorator helluoque' of books, manuscripts and learning.

²) Venice, Chr. de Pensis (2nd edition) : November 6, 1500.

³) Allen, IV, 1175, 50-53 ; Sandys, II, 212. — Erasmus probably saw that book at Mechlin after his return from England, by 1515 or 1516 : cp. Allen, II, 531, 408-414.

⁴) He refers to his desire to investigate philosophy : *Epp.* 58, 58, sq, 68, sq, 82, sq. — Amongst his belongings were found a globe, *sphera*, and two astrolabes, which at the sale were purchased by Dean John Robbyns : *IBM2*, 298, 1.

⁵) *Epp.* 3, 11-14.

iar with Petrarca's writings ¹⁾, whereas Boccaccio had provided the subject of one of his poems and of one of the wall paintings of his *hypocaustum* ²⁾. Throughout his life he showed the same eagerness for literature : in after years he communicated a *Pæana* by the Bruges poet Charles Fernand, to his friend Sylvius Italicus ³⁾. The study of language and Roman antiquities were equally attractive to him, as results from his possessing Vergilius' *Adagia* ⁴⁾, and from his sending to his protégé Martin van Dorp a copy of Budé's *De Asse*, a little while after it was published ⁵⁾. His inquiry into some points of exegesis, for which Dorp ⁶⁾ was to help him in his research, show that his interest extended far beyond philology and literature, which also follows from the fact that his colleague John Louis Moscheron offered him a book on art by Pomponius Gaugericus ⁷⁾. In a word, he eminently realized that characteristic of the modern spirit which, together with the humble acknowledgment of his limitations, he enounced in one of his letters : *tenuitas nostra doceri semper præsto et obuia* ⁸⁾.

163. — Thomas More, who attributed to Busleyden the conversation of an erudite and a scholar, and considered it more interesting than his splendid collection of books ⁹⁾, praised his poems and compositions unconditionally ¹⁰⁾. Indeed, the writings of the venerable Prelate testify to a most refined culture and a great command of Latin Literature. From the fact that on two occasions, two proverbs follow on each other as well in his letters as in Erasmus' great collection of *Adagia*, it is evident that he was familiarized with that work of his great friend ¹¹⁾; and it is most probable that he purchased

¹⁾ *Carm.* xx, vi.

²⁾ *Carm.* xxiv ; cp. before, § 41.

³⁾ *Epp.* 45, 25, sq.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1175, 50-53 ; cp. before, § 161.

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 78, 27-34.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 74. He also made a present of Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium* (1509) to the St. Matthias Abbey of Treves : cp. *Epp.* 46, c.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 77, 13-15.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 74, 71-72.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 61, 62.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, § 44, and *Carm.* xxviii.

¹¹⁾ *Epp.* 49, 170-171, 50, 53 ; cp. before, § 151.

and perused all the writings of the famous Humanist, a soon as ever they were published.

Personal Character

164. — If Busleyden did not publish his writings, it was not so much on account of the principle enounced by Marliano: *Non eadem est ratio scribendi & edendi* ¹⁾, as of his own deep sense of humility and his diffidence about the value of his *Lusus* ²⁾. He merely had them copied out, no doubt, as a personal remembrance of the joy he had felt in the composition of each particular poem or letter. Still he was not devoid of due self-esteem; at times he insists on not being an *humi repen[s]*, *inglori[us]*, *illaudat[us]* *uir*, and on having some claim on literary value ³⁾. Yet, when he mentions his writings, he always feels the necessity of apologizing for them: not only when writing to a clever author like Luigi Marliano ⁴⁾, but even to a young man just home from the University, his 'protégé' Conrad Vegerius, whom he thanks for revising and copying his compositions ⁵⁾, as if that gave them their only value ⁶⁾. Notwithstanding that apparent lack of assurance, he never refused, when asked, to make a poem or an oration, ready to endanger his literary reputation, he said, rather than to disappoint a friend or to shrink his duty ⁷⁾. He welcomed most heartily such occasions of practising composition and poetry so as to get a complete mastery over the language ⁸⁾. That constant connecting of all his efforts to the final aim inspired him no doubt the often recurring thought that earnest and actual attempts at realizing great things are most praise-

¹⁾ *Epp.* 48, 104, *sq.* 49, 163-170.

²⁾ Cp. before, § 109, *sq.* and *Epp.* 21, *a*; he expresses that timidity, e.g., in *Epp.* 22, 24-38, 49, 163-179 and 82; he repeatedly compares himself to a *raucus inconcinnusque anser*: *Epp.* 2, 30, 41, 1, 50, 97, alluding no doubt to the adagium *Anser inter olores*, signifying: *indoctus inter doctos*: *ErAdag.*, 270, c.

³⁾ *Epp.* 50, 37-51.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 49, 1, *sq.* 50, 41, *sq.*

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 63, 4, *sq.* 65, 7, *sq.* 67, 1, *sq.* 68, 1, *sq.*

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 65, 1, *sq.* 67, 1, *sq.*

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 9, 32-34, 25, 4-6; 82, 6-10; *Orat.* B, 60-61.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 50, 56-58.

worthy ¹⁾; yet besides that consolation it also brought the discouraging apprehension of the remoteness of the final goal, which explains his unremitting timorousness in the judging of his accomplishments.

165. — That timorousness, resulting from a conscious 'reach' for perfection, is repeatedly expressed in his letters to his various friends ²⁾; he pleads at times that he had devoted less attention to the expression than to the thoughts and to the feelings that he wished to impart ³⁾. His poems, especially, make him very shy: he excuses their very existence as the result of the leisure of his holidays ⁴⁾, and he hardly ever mentions them otherwise than as '*quantulascunque sint*' ⁵⁾, if he does not represent them as occasioning ridicule ⁶⁾, and worth only to be burnt or to serve as paper bags for the *aromatarii* ⁷⁾. In his oration to Julius II he cannot help remarking that he accepted that office with reluctance ⁸⁾. That humble feeling voiced throughout his compositions, is correlative to his sound principle that the effort, not its result, is worthy of glory ⁹⁾, as well as to his high esteem for what others do, and to a deep feeling of gratitude for what is done to him. That gratitude finds a fit expression in his poems about his, deceased brother ¹⁰⁾, in the sadness that permeates the letters written to condoling friends ¹¹⁾, and in the acknowledgment of the praise bestowed on the late Archbishop of Besançon ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ *Epp.* 6, 39, 58, 78-79, 82, 5-6.

²⁾ *Epp.* 49, 3-4, 170, *sq.* 50, 95-100, 54, 34-35, 55, 9-12, 58, 40, *sq.* 67, *sq.* 85-88, 73, 53, *sq.* 74, 71, *sq.* 76, *sq.* 82, 1-10.

³⁾ *Epp.* 21, 19-21, 22, 32-38.

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 16, 1, *sq.* 21, 1, *sq.* 22, 3, *sq.*

⁵⁾ *Epp.* 21, 1, 22; 8, 123, 50, 95; on *Epp.* 22, 4-5, 45, 28, he calls a poem *tale quale*; on *Epp.* 63, 5, he doubts whether his compositions deserve the name of *opus*.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 45, 29.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 47, 98, *sq.*

⁸⁾ *Orat.* B, 58-60.

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 58, 67-78, 74, 18, *sq.*; also 6, 39, 82, 5, 6.

¹⁰⁾ *Carm.* I.

¹¹⁾ *Epp.* 4, a, 5, a, 3-18, 28-32, 6-12, 14.

¹²⁾ *Epp.* 6, 2, *sq.* 10, 6, *sq.* 12, 12, 14, 13-17, 17, a, 9, *sq.* 18, 3, *sq.*

166. — In many letters he professes himself his correspondents' debtor, declaring that he has not the wherewithal to repay what he owes ¹⁾, and either proclaims that if he is vanquished in kindness, he is not in gratitude ²⁾, or offers the most precious thing he possesses, his *animus*, himself ³⁾, — thus realizing, as a true humanist, the old *mancipatio* of the Roman Respublica, when an insolvent debtor was to become his creditors' slave ⁴⁾. That gratitude was as the result of his cordial friendship which was not different from that of the great humanists, whose name is often found in old libraries as owners of their books followed by the significant correction : ... *et amicorum* ⁵⁾. Busleyden indeed made an *alter ego* of each of his friends ⁶⁾, and shared with them whatever he had ⁷⁾ : in so far that he called his house theirs ⁸⁾, and as they were all lovers of art and literature, he could style it with enthusiastic pride : an '*hospitum amicitiarumque... <ac> studiosorum omnium literatorum conciliabulum*' ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ *Epp.* 24, 10²¹, 62, 5⁷, 77, 11, 29, *sq.*

²⁾ *Epp.* 77, 29³¹.

³⁾ *Epp.* 3, 7, 62, 6, 73, 61, 76, 16¹⁷, 78, 24, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *Epp.* 39, 11, *sq.*, 42⁵, *sq.*, 69, 16, 73, 61, *sq.*, *Orat. C.*, 25, *sq.*

⁵⁾ As an example may serve the copy of the *Institutiones Juris Civilis in Græcam Linguam per Theophilum Anticensorem traductæ ac... explicatæ... cura... Viglii Zuichemi... denuo a Rutgero Rescio recognitæ, adiectis... Petri Nannii annotatiunculis* (Louvain, Rutger Rescius, Jan. 5, 1536), preserved in the Brussels Royal Library : shelf mark II, 60922 (NijKron., I, 2002 ; Polet, 127-134). That copy was presented by the editor to his friend Francis de Cranevelt, Mechlin councillor, as results from the inscription below the date on the title-page : 'Dono Rescij p^a Aprilis a^o 1536'. Cranevelt added to it in his own hand : 'Francisci Craneveldij & amicorū'. Cp. *Cran.*, 150, *i.* — It was as the putting into practice of the first of Erasmus' *Adagia* : *Amicorum Communia Omnia* : Τα τῶν φίλων κοινὰ : *ErAdag.*, 13, F¹⁴, F, 119, E ; Terence, *Adelphoe*, 804 ; cp. *Epp.* 7, 8.

⁶⁾ *Epp.* 23, 3, 77, 35 ; Busleyden also advocates the '*pectora fenestrata amicorum*' *Epp.* 15, 21²², 50, 1³⁰ ; he was quite frank with them, too, as follows from his letters to Carvajal, Carondelet and Moscheron : *Epp.* 70, 27 and 15.

⁷⁾ *Epp.* 7, 8.

⁸⁾ *Epp.* 46, 9, *sq.*

⁹⁾ *Epp.* 46, 9¹², 47, 8, *sq.*

167. — That ideal friendship, based on the common interest in studies, and, consequently, on the humanizing of human society, was not limited to a select group, or to one country : it included all erudites and extended beyond all bounds, so as to be as wide as humanity. It naturally prompted the yearning for the solution of all political trouble by the founding of one ideal state ruled by intelligent prudence and sound humaneness, uniting all men in a generous and mutual understanding, excluding all hatred and jealousy, and consequently, all wars. It would realize the Republic of the Mind which Plato had evoked so many centuries before, which was as the ideal dream of Erasmus, that first 'Citizen of the World', and of Thomas More, who, in his *Utopia* as well as in his life, preached sympathy and understanding between all men ¹). Unfortunately the beautiful scheme of the reign of peace and happiness, for which they and all other lofty-minded men yearned, was never actualized. Yet, though proving a mirage, it undoubtedly secured an initial realization through the numerous humanists who entered the councils of all rulers as secretaries and advisers, replacing many narrow-minded, prejudiced and often unqualified predecessors, introducing humaneness and justice, where, up to then, covetousness or brutal force and tyranny had prevailed ²). It is especially in that respect that Jerome de Busleyden, following his brother's admirable example, proved to be an eminent humanist by doing his full share of the shaping of the old method of governing into a policy that is more worthy of the dignity and of the higher aspirations of humanity.

¹) Cp. D. Bendemann, *Staats- und Sozialauffassung des Thomas Morus* : Charlottenburg, 1928 : 76, sq.

²) Cp. before, § 65 ; also d'Avoine, *Essai Historique sur Marguerite d'Autriche* : Anvers, 1849 : 8, sq, 24, sq.

9. EDITION OF THE TEXT

168. — This edition of Busleyden's writings attempts at reproducing the original manuscript with fully reliable exactness. The text is represented with meticulous care. The orthography is reproduced as adequately as possible, the only alteration being the solution of the abbreviations into the very form which the writer may be considered to have intended. That applies to the frequent abbreviation *lris*, which is expanded as *literis* since that form is generally found when written out entirely ; although in those letters or documents in which the form *litteris* occurs, the double *tt* is used in the expanding of the other shortened writings ¹⁾. — The ligature *æ* of the Manuscript is regularly represented by *æ*, because the writer clearly intends by it the junction of *a* and *e*, since for *o* and *e* he generally uses two separate letters : *coelum*, *poena*, *coena*, *coepio*, &c. ; if those words occur with a ligature in which the *o* is distinctly formed, they are printed with *æ* : *cælum*, *cæpio*. Indistinct letters are pointed out in the textual notes, which, however, do not indicate the small blanks caused by the sticking of the blue paint of the opposite pages, as they hardly cause any trouble to the reader ²⁾ ; nor is any notice taken of the small spaces left open at the end of some lines, especially the first or the last of a page ³⁾, — apparently to adapt the text to the space. — Some words which are regularly written together in the Manuscript, are always printed as such : *adhuc*, *iampridem*, *indies*, *inprimis*, *nonnullus*, *nonnunquam*, *quandoquidem*, *quominus*, *siquidem*, *tamdiu*, &c. ; the enclitic *-ne* and *-ue* are added to the preceding word, although in a few cases the transcriber wrote them apart. — On the other hand words such as : *in æternum*, *in posterum*, *operæ pretium*, *paulo ante*, *plus quam*, *post hac*, *procul dubio*, *proh dolor*, *quam ob rem*, *quam primum*, *ubi primum*, *usu*

¹⁾ Cp. before, § 120 ; that evidently applies to all other forms or derivatives : *litteras*, *literæ*, *literarius*, *obliterandus*, &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, § 118.

³⁾ E.g., the first lines of *pp* 199, 201, 244, 253, 261, 262, 264, 265, and the last of *pp* 176, 183, 185, 195, 200, 259, 264, — and several lines on *pp* 199, 201, 203, 207, 209-15, 219-23.

uenit, verum enimvero, &c — are separated as they occur only exceptionally as joined in the writing.

169. — Though mostly reproducing the marks of the author or copyist, the punctuation has been regularized, as manuscripts are supposed to adapt themselves to the rules in use when they are printed, unless a study is made of that matter. With a view to adorn the pages, the full stops, regularly followed by big blue paragraphs, are extremely numerous ; the majuscule initials, moreover, are touched up with yellow : in this plain reprint the periods have been replaced by colons or semicolons when the sentences are not finished ; consequently, many upper-case initials are replaced by ordinary letters. Common words within a sentence which are written with a capital initial, are printed with lower-case initials ; yet to words like *Deus*, big first letters are given. — No punctuation marks have been kept at the end of titles except to indicate abbreviations ¹).

170. — Long letters have been divided into paragraphs, and verses, instead of following one another in a straight row, are printed with some space in front when the metre is evidently shorter. — All changes and alterations brought about are carefully indicated : what seems to be the author's choice is printed in the text, and the modifications introduced by the copyist or the corrector, by the author or by subsequent owners are described in the textual notes or in the introductions, so as to give a fair and complete idea of each case. Words that have been underlined in the Manuscript, or such as are pointed out by small slanting strokes or obelisks in the left margin, are also indicated in the Textual Notes ²).

¹) For many letters the title ends in two or three periods followed by a macron (˘) : they are normalized into (...) three dots.

²) As abbreviations are used : *exp* (expunged) ; *cr* (crossed off) ; *chd* (changed) ; *underl* (underlined) ; *corr* (corrected) ; *rmg*, *lmg*, (right, left margin) ; *r* (please read). — If possible, the corrections are attributed to S (*scriptor*, whilst writing), C (*corrector*, viz., the copyist at a later date) or B (Busleyden) : cp. before, §§ 121, sq. — T is meant for : Title.

III
HIERONYMI BVSLIDII
ARIENSIS PRAEPOSITI
LVSVS

1. CARMINA

BuslMS, 66-68 (2 v-3 v)

⟨End of 1502⟩

I. — EPITAPH ON HIS BROTHER FRANCIS

ARCHBISHOP OF BESANÇON

This epitaph with the two distichs, one preceding, the other following, was destined to be engraved, or at least placed, over the heart of the deceased laid at rest in Besançon Cathedral : l 36. It has as preface a letter *Ad Lectorem*, also preceded and followed by distichs, *Epp.* 9, which probably dates from the first months after Francis de Busleyden's death, viz., the end of 1502. It may have been printed some months later, possibly with one, maybe two of the three other epitaphs, so as to form a small bundle : for it seems superfluous to introduce the memorial poem about his brother to the 'general reader', if it were only passed round amongst his nearest friends and relatives in a manuscript copy.

INCOMPARABILIS FRATERNÆ PIETATIS
IN FRATREM VITA FUNCTUM PERPETUUM MONUMENTUM

QVIS, qualis, cuias fuerim, rescire laboras ?

Paucis te moneo : siste uiator iter.

FRANCISCO nomen, gens est Buslidia clara,
Nobile Lucenburg, patria cara mihi.
5Annis a teneris me sedula cura parentum
Artibus ornauit, moribus instituit.

- His tandem imbuto, studiorum insigne merenti
 Laurea doctorum cinxit honore caput.
 Hinc animo repetens me solum non mihi natum,
 10 Sed potius charæ progenitum patriæ :
 Ergo Senatum intro, mihi quo Respublica cordi
 Communisque boni maxima cura fuit,
 Iustitiam seruans, æqui, pietatis, honesti,
 Et fidei custos, religionis amans.
 15 Orator celebris varias Legatus ad oras,
 Finibus e patrijs horrida bella fugo,
 Et male concordēs animos Regumque Ducumque
 Pace bona, et stabili foedere composui.
 Austrius a nobis sua prima elementa Philippus
 20 Accipiens, dextram supposuit ferulæ :
 A quo cura, fides, labor, obseruantia nostra
 Tandem pro meritis præmia digna tulit.
 Munere nanque eius, studio, pietate, fauore,
 Magnis et pulchris emicui titulis,
 25 Atque alios inter, sedes Vesontio sacra
 Lætata est, nacto me sibi Pontifice.
 Regna ad Hibera meum quum prosequor usque Philippum
 Poscentem Regni debita scæptra sibi,
 Sextus Alexander me, Pastor maximus orbis,
 30 Inter Cardineos vult numerare patres.
 Sed fera mors, nimium successibus inuida nostris,
 Me rapit e medio, proh dolor, ante diem.

15 Orator &c.] on p 67 31 nostris] *underlined and crossed off* : replaced by tantis C

8. Laurea] probably at Padua.

15. Orator] namely in France and Germany : cp. before, §§ 5, sq.

16. bella fugo] whereas Maximilian by the very marriage of his son with a Spanish Princess sealed his anti-French policy, Francis de Busleyden, as one of the chief councillors, made Philip the Fair strike a path of his own, so as to keep war from our provinces, and to prevent them from becoming mere tributaries to Austria, even in their connection with the neighbouring countries : cp. before, § 5.

18. Pace bona &c.] Busleyden

made it possible for his master to follow an independant policy for the good of his country ; he, moreover, averted from him the displeasure of his father and of his father-in-law : cp. before, §§ 5, 6.

25. sedes Vesontio sacra] the archbishopric of Besançon, 1498.

28. Regni debita scæptra] Philip went to Spain to assert the rights he had on Castile through his wife.

31. fera mors] August 22, 1502 in the Monastery of St. Bernard, near Toledo, where he was buried; his heart was taken to the Cathedral of Besançon.

Tunc sibi sublatum Princeps, Proceres, Populusque,
 Lugens me multis prosequitur lachrymis.
 35 Tolleti moriens, Bernardi condor in æde :
 Ac sacer iste locus nobile cor retinet.
 Perge, uiator iter, monitus satis : ecce repente
 Qui fueram tantus, sum cinis, umbra. Vale.

Dysthycon

Hieronymus lugens cari cita funera fratris,
 40 Manibus hæc eius dat monumenta pijs.

BuslMS, 68-71 (3 v-5 r)

II. — THREE EPITAPHS

- a* These three epitaphs recall the memory of Busleyden's early friends and well-wishers, whose acquaintance he probably made through his brother at Court ; one of them dates of the time of his studies, and may have been issued in print with the poem in memory of the Archbishop of Besançon (1) ; the third is of a later composition.
- b* The first epitaph is that of James ANTONII, Anthonisz, *Middelburgus*, a native of Middelburg, in Zeeland, Doctor of Canon Law. He had been almoner in Duke Philip the Good's service : on September 3, 1472, Laurent Boucqueri, *clericus* of Duke Charles the Bold's Chapel, gave to him, 'Jacobus Anthonius' zoon', procuration to resign preferments : Fruin, 358. He was 'cantor in St. Gudula's, Brussels, and also chaplain of St. Ann in the Domburg church, about whose dowry he had to start a lawsuit in 1494 (Fruin, 97, 409). He was also the canon 'phonascus' in Cambrai cathedral, and became Vicar-General of Bishop Henry de Berghes, which made him acquainted with Erasmus. He had written a treatise *De Præcellentia Potestatis Imperatoriæ*, dated Brussels, *October 31, 1500, which was dedicated to his Bishop, who greatly admired it and undertook to have it printed. Erasmus was requested to arrange the publication in Paris by the middle of 1501 ; still it was only brought out on April 1, 1503 in Antwerp by Thierry Martens, with an elegy by Erasmus on Bishop Henry († Oct. 7, 1502), addressed to his brother Antony, Abbot of St. Bertin's (NijKron., I, 120 ; *Epp.* 45, c-f ; Allen, I, 153, 714) ; it also contained a letter to the author, dated Louvain, February 13, 1503, in which Erasmus greatly praises the book written 'in ætate tam grandi', and mentions that he himself only lightly touched up the wording ; he expresses a doubt about whether the letter of Leonardo Aretino to his friend Cyriacus, which is criticized, is really Aretino's :

35 Tolleti &c.] on p. 68 38. Dysthycon] *corr into* Dystichon

36. sacer iste locus] Besançon Cathedral.

Allen, I, 173. That letter entitled : *Regis nomen maius esse quam dictatoris, dictatoris autem præstantius imperatoris nomine fuisse doctet*, — the seventh of book VI, — is found amongst the *Epistolarum Leonardi Aretini Libri Octo*, e.g., in the edition of August 1535, Basle, Henricus Petri : 265-272. The author, no doubt, is identical with the 'Jacobus Antonij,' aged 76, who is recorded to have resigned against a pension part of the revenue of the parish of Koudekerke, near Middelburg, January 24, 1504 (Brom, I, ii, 653) ; the year of his death is not known : Allen, I, 153, *pr* ; *HEpM*, 25, b ; *ErAllen*, 116.

c The second poem is an *Appendix ad Epitaphium defuncti Episcopi Atrebatensis*. This was, no doubt, Peter de RANCHICOURT, *Ranchicurtius*, 43rd bishop of Arras, a most virtuous and able spiritual director, who was protonotary and first chancellor of the town Amiens when, in 1462, he was promoted to the see of Arras. He managed that bishopric with great prudence and success during thirty-seven years, several of which were made most troublesome through wars and hostile incursions. On July 7, 1484 he dedicated his cathedral church, in which he was buried under a marble monument. At his death, on August 26, 1499, the see, attributed to John Gavet, remained vacant on account of the dispute of Louis XII and Philip of Austria for the ownership of the town. In 1501 it was occupied by Nicolas Ruterius, Busleyden's friend and countryman (*BelgChron.*, 376 ; Berlière, 135 ; *GallChrist.*, III, 345-46), to whom, quite wrongly, a note by one of the first possessors of this manuscript attributed this Epitaph, adding to '*Episcopi Atrebatensis*' the words : '*Nicolai Ruterij, qui postea Louanii instituit | Collegium Attrebatense*' ; cp. before, § 35.

d The third epitaph celebrates the memory of John van NISPEN, or Nyspen, who was issued of a noble family of Breda ¹⁾. He had gone to study, or to continue his training at Bologna, where he, no doubt, promoted doctor of Canon Law ; for certain he was elected Rector of the Ultramontane Students Corporation in the University in 1474-1475 ²⁾, on which occasion he granted a bounty to the *Natio Germanica* of that academic republic ³⁾. When he returned to the Netherlands, he was provided with several preferments : he was canon of Breda, dean of St. Oedenrode, North-Brabant ; also dean of Hilvarenbeek, which dignity he exchanged in 1508 with John van der Vorst for that of provost of Cambrai Cathedral. The two latter offices are not recorded in Busleyden's epitaph, which mentions, on the contrary, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which gave him the title of Knight of Jerusalem ⁴⁾ ; as well as his eloquence, his spirit of faith and his devotion. He was an old and intimate friend of Busleyden's, and so

¹⁾ Cp. for his parents and family, *HisTriLov.*, ch. I.

²⁾ Kaufmann, I, 184-190 ; F. Schulze & P. Ssymank, *Das Deutsche Studententum* : Munich, 1932 : 32-33.

³⁾ Knod, 203 : 1474 a nobili et generoso d. Johanne de Hispen huius almi gymnasii Bononiensis rectore dignissimo I flor. Renensem, alias postulatum et cognominatum. — 1474-75 D. Johannes de Nispen vel de Hispen, de Breda, Scholarium Utriusque Universitatis Rector. Cp. C. Malagola, *Monogr. Storiche* : 172 ; Dallari, *Rotuli* : 94.

⁴⁾ Coppens, III, i, 130.

was his younger brother Nicolas ¹⁾, secretary of the Bishop of Cambrai ²⁾. It was, no doubt, that long-trying affection which suggested this poem when John van Nispen died 'morbis confectus et annis' on November 14, 1511 ³⁾.

EPITAPHIUM DñI IACOBI ANTONIJ

EPISCOPI CAMERACENSIS VICARIJ

- L**ECTOR, nosse iuuat fuerit quis, qualis et unde,
 Quem lapis iste tegit : hæc monumenta lege.
 Hunc genuit uasto celebris Zelandia ponto,
 Obtigit huic nomen diue Iacobe tuum.
- 5 Artibus exculto pulchris, Iurisque perito,
 Est data doctrinæ laurea digna suæ.
 Prospiciens miseris pietas Ducis alma Philippi,
 Illi nummosos crediderat loculos,
 Quos pie distribuens, multa pietate studebat
- 10 Multorum duram tollere pauperiem.
 Huius Canonicus sacræ Phonascus et ædis,
 Doctus psallentum ducere rite chorum.
 Hunc Cameracensis Præsul sibi seligit unum,
 Cui recte proprias crederet usque uices.
- 15 Quod munus peragens mira probitate fideque,
 Humanis tandem, proh dolor, eximitur.
 Corpus humum inhabitat, coelum mens, gloria mundum.
 Vita caduca acta est : perpetua fruitur.

7 Prospiciens &c.] on p 69
 17 coelum mens] in inverse order, with corrective marks

¹⁾ It is quite possible that Nicolas was to John only a nephew, instead of a brother.

²⁾ Cp. before §§ 71 and 93 ; *HisTriLov.*, ch. 1. — 'Nicolaus nispen de roda leod. dioc.' matriculated 'in artibus' in Louvain on October 9, 1472 : *LibIntII*, 95, v. — possibly the Nicolas de Nyspen, Præmonstratensian of Tongerlo, who worked as parish priest at Hapert (1507), Loon (1514) and Westerloo where he died on Dec 31, 1523 : *TongNecrol.*, 263. — An 'Adrianus de nispen, Leod. dyoc.' also matriculated 'jn artibus' on Aug. 31, 1473 : *LibIntII*, 101, v. A few months before, on February 27, 1473, 'Cornelius Nispen' — probably a farther relative, — was inscribed amongst the inmates of the Porc : *LibIntIII*, 97 v. By the middle of the following century a John and a Cornelius van Nispen are recorded as business men in Antwerp where a Baltasar van Nispen, in 1643, founded the Hospice van Nispen in the Short Squire Street : *AntvAnn.*, II, 375, 390 ; *AntwHist.*, VI, 97. — Amongst her benefactors Tongerlo Abbey recalled every Sept. 30, the memory of Ava de Nispen : *TongNecrol.*, 198.

³⁾ The *Necrologium Ecclesiæ B. Mariæ de Breda* records for Nov. 14 :

APPENDIX AD EPITAPHIUM DEFUNCTI

EPISCOPI ATREBATENSIS

HVC qui concedis, saluus sis hospes amice :
 Tantisper celerem te rogo siste gradum,
 Aurea dum cernas pulchræ monumenta tabellæ,
 Quæ tibi, quod passim commemoras, referent.
 Scilicet æternum uiuens per sæcula nomen
 Attrebatensis Flaminis eximij :
 Qui uita hac functus, fruitur meliore, pararunt
 Quam sibi culta fides, religio, pietas.
 I nunc, et cœptum peragas iter, hospes amice,
 Quando datum est oculis satque superque tuis.

EPITAPHIUM D. IOANNIS NIJSPEN

IURIS CANONICI DOCTORIS, DECANI RODENSIS

HVC quicumque pia concedis mente uiator
 Numina culturus, quæ loca sacra fouent,
 Siste, precor, gressum, neque te mora terreat ulla,
 Quo minus agnoscas, cuius hic ossa cubant.
 5 Est prope maiores Nispen situs ecce Ioannes,
 Cui data diuini laurea Iuris erat.
 Alma Rodensis eo fuit ædes recta Decano,
 Eloquio claro, religione, fide.
 Oras ad Solymas multa pietate profectus,
 10 Inuisit ueri Sancta Sepulchra Dei.
 Occupat (hinc migrans morbis confectus et annis)
 Coelum mens, orbem gloria, corpus humum.
 Carpe uiator iter, monitus sat sis, memor usque
 Te fore mortalem : prospice, uita fugit.

5. Scilicet &c.] on p. 70
 4 cuius] *underlined* 4 hic] *added over line* C 12 Coelum &c.] on p. 71

Obitus magistri Johannis de Nyspen quondam Decani Bekensis Capitulo XIJ st et Capellanis totidem anno 1511 : Hoyneck, III, i, 415, 358 ; Coppens, III, i, 130.

BuslMS, 72-74 (5 v-6 v)

<Passion Week 1504>

III. — CHRIST ON THE CROSS

The poet considers with sadness the sufferings of a crucified God, and prays for a constant memory of, and a share taken in, those pains accepted out of love. He dedicated this poem to his friend, the Aix patrician Judocus von Beyssel, by a letter which most probably was written in the Holy Week of 1504, March 31-April 6 : *Epp.* 16.

Disthycon, summam complectens sequentis carminis

In cruce pendentem lugens flet Nænia Christum
Pro nobis diram qui tulit ecce necem.

Carmen trochaicum dimetrum quadratum catalecticum archiloicum et eurypodium quod quandoque spondæum admittat. Ode dicolos distrophos

SINT procul sales iocique
Gaudia et tripudia.
5 Plausus omnis hinc facessat,
Risus et modi chors.
Fistula absit et sonora,
Dulce concinens melos.
Moeror et dolor profundus
10 Corda nunc premant pia.
Squalor ora fuscet ater,
Fletus irriget genas :
Vox gemens lamenta ructet
Næniasque eiulet.
15 Tempus instat en dolendum :
Flebilis dies redit,
Quo uolens salutis author
Nostra ferre crimina,
Accipit plagas cruentas,
20 Dira sustinens probra.
Spineam caput coronam
Fert cruore profluam.
Actus in crucem potatur
Felle : trux latus ferit
25 Miles, hinc aquæ et cruoris
Largus hymber effluit.

2nd Title eurypodium] *corr. into euripideum archiloicum] corr into Archi- C*
12 Fletus &c.] *on p. 73*

Sol suum iubar profundis
 In tenebris occulit ;
 Terra mota contremiscit,
 30 Vela templi concidunt,
 Obstupendo fata dura
 Conditoris omnium.

Si solum, et polus doloris
 Tanta signa præferunt,
 35 Num magis decet dolere,
 Quos amore prosequens
 Sanguinis sui talento
 Asserit Deus sibi.

Vt memor tui doloris
 40 Sim, Creator Optime,
 Vberes fletus ministra,
 Moesta redde pectora :
 Da mihi tecum dolere,
 Flere, compati, mori.
 Amen.

BuslMS, 75-76 (7 r-v)

IV. — MESSAGE OF THE ANGELS TO THE SHEPHERDS ON CHRISTMAS NIGHT

This poem, a paraphrase of LUKE, II, 8-14, describes the Christmas Night message of the Angels to the shepherds, but not the impression felt by the latter, as the title implies.

CARMEN SAPPHICUM BUSLIDIJ

super euangelio Lucæ,

PASTORES LOQUEBANTUR AD INVICEM

NOCTE quum multa pecorum magistri,
 In solo herboso uigilant cubantes,
 Vt greges diuo caperent aperto
 Pascua læta :
 Angelus pacis uolitans superne,
 Quem chorus multus superum coronat,
 Luce flagranti pepulit profundæ
 Nubila noctis.

29 Terra &c.] on p. 74

- Vnde pastores nouitate tanta
 10 Quid sibi hæc uellent, dubij manentes,
 Obstupent ualde, trepidantque multo
 Corda pauore.
 Este securi, metus omnis absit,
 Angelus dicens : Animis fauete :
 15 En fero uobis populoque cuncto
 Gaudia magna.
 Natus est uobis hodie salutis
 Auctor, humani generis redemptor
 Christus, illustres habet eius ortus
 20 Regia David.
 Cuius in signum properate uisum
 Lacteam foeno positum puellum :
 Quem fouet Virgo niuei pudoris,
 Vbere pleno.
 25 Hæc ubi dixit sacer Angelorum
 Ordo, cælestes remeans ad arces,
 Concinit Christum, genitumque laudant
 Organa Diuum.
 Gaudio miro superum cohortes
 30 Excipit coelum reduces triumphans :
 Totus hinc plaudens modulos sequentes
 Personat æther.
 Gloria et uirtus, honor ac potestas
 Sit Deo soli, dominanti in altis :
 35 Pax et in terris, quibus est uoluntas,
 Mens quoque recta.

BuslMS, 77, 78 (8 r, v), 40 (c 10 v)

V. — POEMS ADDED TO PICTURES

- a* These three poems were designed as inscriptions to pictures : the two first of religious subjects, the third, no doubt posterior, of a mythological event.
- b* The first poem was, no doubt, to be painted on the outside of the wings of a triptych belonging to Busleyden, representing Our Lady and the Divine Child, surrounded by prophets and sibyls who had

foresaid the Birth, Passion and Resurrection of her Son. The *Hugo nobilis pictor* is most probably the famous Hugh van der Goes, born



at Bruges in 1366, a pupil of the van Eycks, author of several delicate and charmingly coloured oilpaintings, who died in 1427. The picture mentioned here is not known; it has been surmised that it served as model to two imitations, one by Ambrose Benson († 1550), now in Antwerp Museum; the other, a miniature of the Flemish School, ascribed to Simon Bening (*fl.* 1530), found in a Book of Hours of Munich Library. Both paintings are similar, and evidently reproduce one prototype. They represent, however, only the middle part of the original, namely, Our Lady with the Child on her arm, over a group of three men — Solomon, Isaias and Barlaam — between two sibyls the one, of Cumæa, the other, ascribed to Persia by Filippo Barbieri. These five personages carry strips on which there are texts referring to the Nativity. It is believed that on the wings were similar *vates* and prophets announcing the Passion, to the left, and the Resurrection, to the right, which would make the picture answer this poem. That is suggested by four angels painted on the sides of Our Lady. The two

on her right show fear and trouble in Benson's picture, those on her left, joy and admiration, which seems to be the impression of the predictions they are supposed to hear. Cp. J. Destrée, *Un Triptique de Hugo van der Goes*; and *A propos du Triptique de van der Goes* (in *Bull. de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, BelgAcM.*, 1926: 26-37, 64-67. No doubt the outside of the wings was plain and fit to receive the distichs of the owner in ornate lettering..

The third picture represented, not the three *Charites*, but *Hera*, *Aphrodite* and *Athena*, the three goddesses that claimed the golden apple which Paris was to attribute. That results from the reference to the judge, *hospes*, and from the *disparitas morum*, which is especially pointed out. Jean Lemaire de Belges, Margaret of Austria's Court poet, gives, in his *Illustrations*, a description of the three naked beauties waiting for the judgment (quoted in Thibaut, 193-195), which may well have been those of Wielant's picture. — Busleyden possessed a representation of the same three goddesses worked on cloth : *IBM2*, 295, *r*.

i

Carmen appendicium ad alas tabellæ, ab Hugone nobili pictore depictæ, Virginem Deiparam Vnicum fouentem Puellum representantis, Circundantibus illam Vatribus, Prophetis et Sibyllis, Ortum illius, Supplicium, Resurrectionem, multa ante sæcula prædicentibus

VIRGINE matre satus, Daudidis vocor inclyta proles,
In Bethlem natus, mihi nomen Christus Iesus.
Natales nostros, gentem, cunabula, stirpem,
Supplicium, tormenta, crucem, probra, uulnera, mortem,
Præterea et clarum superata morte triumphum,
Iamdudum ueterum resonant oracula Vatum,
Sacra prophetarum celebrant monumenta uirorum,
Carmina præ sagæ referunt tibi prisca Sybillæ.

ii

Ad pedem tabellæ depictæ, in qua Christi Natiuitas, Epiphania, Purificatio repræsentantur Tetrasthycon

QUVM non immensi capit ardua machina mundi
Virgine Matre satum, tenet hoc præsepe puellum :
Hunc vario sacri venerantur munere Magi,
Et stringit cupidis Symeon iustissimus vlnis.

i *Carmen &c.*] on p. 77 6. ueterum] before it et is exp S
ii *Ad pedem &c.*] on p. 78 Tetrasthycon] corr. sthichon 3 Magi] under!

(V. ii. *title*) tabellæ] judging tetrastichs were intended also for
from the three subjects, these a triptych.

Item aliud Tetrasth.

NASCITUR in Bethlem de virgine conditor orbis
 Paupere sub tecto, angusto præsepe locatus :
 Lucida quem Magis ostendit stella sacratis,
 Oblatumque pijs Symeon complectitur ulnis.

iii

Carmen pro tabula picta

TRES sumus (en hospes) præstanti corpore Nymphæ.
 Quis decor est noster, corpora nuda docent.
 Si magis e tribus una placet tibi, tolle placentem :
 At prius id tentes, dispice quam tuleris.
 Nam quamuis nostras æquat par gratia formas,
 Morum disparitas non sinit esse pares.

BuslMS, 78-80 (8 v-9 v)

VI. — TO THE HOLY VIRGIN, MOTHER OF GOD

This poem in honour of Saint Mary the Virgin is written, according to the note added to the title, as a *Carmen Alchaicum*. Still it does not represent at all the *metrum Alchaicum*, *τρίκωλον τετράστροφον*, as it appears in Horace's *Carmina* : instead of having only two Alcaic lines of eleven syllables each, formed 1° by one iamb or one spondee, 2° another iamb, followed 3° by a long syllable and two dactyls :

υ — | υ — | — || — υ — | — υ

it repeats that verse four times, and, in two stanzas, six times, apparently without any intentional change.

Ad diuam Virginem Deiparam

Carmen Alchaicum

O MATRE pulchra, filia pulchrior :
 O matre sancta, filia sanctior ;
 Mater colenda a matribus omnibus,
 Laudanda castis usque puellulis.

ii 7 Magis] *underl*

iii Carmen &c.] *on p. 40*

1 O matre &c.] *on p. 79*

(V, iii, *title*) *tabula picta*] it belonged to Philip Wielant, who had requested his colleague Busleyden to adorn it with some

verses ; they were sent to him along with *Epp.* 25, probably in 1505 or 1506. Cp. before, §§ 34, 115.

5Quæ facta parens, Virgo puerpera,
 Omnis uirilis seminis inscia,
 Sacris fouendo uisceribus Deum
 Nusquam relinquis uirgineum decus.

Sponsam sibi quam cunctipotens Deus
 10 Præ cæteris legit mulieribus,
 E ventre cuius (factus homo Deus)
 Mundi Redemptor prodijt inclytus,
 Mortem sua qui morte repelleret,
 Vitam ut pijs perpetuam daret.

15O quam beata es, Virgo pijssima,
 Et matre digna, filia dignior :
 Candore uincens lilia candida,
 Mortalium spes, uita, salus, uia,
 Lapsis leuamen, præsidium bonis,
 20 Fons gratiæ semper miseris patens.

Patrona me mitissima respice,
 Immensa moles quem scelerum premit :
 Audi clientem me miserum pia,
 Audi gementem noxia crimina :
 25Fac donet illa iam precibus tuis
 Qui natus ex te est, unicus filius.

BuslMS, 80 (9 v)

VII. — NATIVITY NIGHT

This hexastich on the night of Nativity is in the form of a poetical epistle to 'Ludovicum Ponsanum, amicum incomparabilem'. This *Ponsanus*, a good friend of Busleyden's and a man famous as a litterator, as he is called here, was one of his colleagues by 1507, when he asked him to induce Francis Friscobaldi to share John Becker of Borselen's tuition with Cornelius Erdorf, as he wrote to his nephew : cp. *Epp.* 34, b, 9-11.

18 Mortalium &c.] on p. 80

10. mülġērībūs] the -e- is taken as a long syllable, against the general acceptance, on the authority of the Christian poets Fortunatus and Dracontius : ō bēnēdicta intēr mülġērēs, ūndē mīhi

hōc, mē (Fortunatus, VIII, 6^{bis}, 65).

14. Vitam ut pijs] here the second foot is evidently a trochee instead of an iamb ; it may have been intended for : Vitām¹ pijs¹ ūt¹ ...

De Nocte Natali Christi

Hexasthycon

AD LUDOVICUM PONSANUM AMICUM INCOMPARABILEM

MI Ludouice, animæ salve pars maxima nostræ,
 Inter littratos gloria prima uiros,
 Dic age, quur noctis nomen sibi uendicat atræ,
 Nox ea, quæ lucem, non tenebras habuit ?
 Mira quidem res est, hanc noctem dicere noctem,
 Quæ potuit clarum uincere luce diem !
 Vale.

BuslMS, 81 (10 r)

VIII. — TO THE POET REMACLE D'ARDENNE

a This decastich was composed in reply to a poem on Our Lady's Seven Dolours, which Remacle had offered to Busleyden, either by 1509 when he was in Louis Vacca's service, or after 1512 when he was one of Charles of Austria's secretaries. One of the first owners of Busleyden's Manuscript added to his name '*Remaclum poetam*' the word '*bibaculum*'.

b Remacle D'ARDENNE, born about 1480 at Florennes ¹⁾, *Florenas*, studied Arts in Louvain, and made there the acquaintance of Nicolas Everardi, the erudite jurispudent whose *Topica* of 1516 he afterwards praised (Iseghem, 258; *Cran.*, 123, *d*; *NijKron.*, I, 911). He entered the service of John de Hornes, Bishop of Liège, in whose court he found time and opportunity of thoroughly studying Latin language and literature. It came him in good stead at his master's decease, January 15, 1505 (*BelgChron.*, 241-42), as it allowed him to tutor young men of rich families, like the Francesco Friscobaldi of *Epp.* 33, 1. He accompanied one of his pupils to France, probably in 1507, though he did not stay there very long, for in that same year he went to Cologne where he issued, in 1507, a bundle of poems, *Epigrammatum Libri Tres*, dedicated to George Koeler, a Breslau patrician ²⁾, who, no doubt, was his protector, as also may have been the

Hexastycon] *corr. into* - stichon C 2 littratos]

4. Nox ea &c.] this sounds as Liturgy of the Saturday before an adaptation of some of the in- Easter. vocations of the *Exultet* of the

¹⁾ Hubert Thomas, or of Liège, also a native of Florennes, praises his countryman in his book *De Tungris et Eburonibus*: Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1584: 129. Cp. *BN*.

²⁾ Possibly the father of a fellow-student Matthew Koler, of Breslau, who matriculated on Oct. 30, 1496: Keussen, 413.

Cologne canon Reinhard Count of Linnynghen, Lord of Weisterburch (Keussen, 598), to whom one of the poems is inscribed. Ulrich von Hutten, who studied in Cologne in 1505 and 1506 (Keussen, 584), and probably got to know Remacle (*Hutten*, 28, 54, 509), praised those poems in his elegy *Ad Poetas Germanos* (*Hutten*, 49-50; HutO, III, 74):

Et non vulgari peregrinus laude Remaclus,
Cuius pauca quidem, sed bona, visa mihi.

For certain, Remacle knew Ortwin Graes, *Gratius*, teacher of the *Bursa Cucana*, whose *Quodlibeta*, 1508, he praised in an *Epirogramma* (*Gratius*, 7, 22, 88-89; Keussen, 513; Muther, 109, 392-93); he met there as well the famous Italian jurist Peter of Ravenna¹⁾, who advised him to study law (Keussen, 598; *Gratius*, 19-28; Muther, 104, sq, 392); further, the latter's student, William Harris Mela, of London (Keussen 621; *Gratius*, 22), and his friend John Dobneck, of Wendelstein²⁾, whose name he made into *Cochlæus*³⁾, and whose book *Musica*, 1507, he recommended by an hexasticon (*CochlHum.*, 9-11).

c By 1509 Remacle returned to Brabant, and successively served Charles of Austria's tutor Louis Vacca⁴⁾, and his physician Luigi Marliano (cp. *Epp.* 38 b-g); finally the Brabant councillor Alois Bont, whom he followed in February 1510 on his embassy to Scotland (Brewer, I, 924), at least as far as London where he taught in a school. On January 1, 1512 he dated the dedicatory letter⁵⁾ of his drama

¹⁾ Remacle wrote a Hendecasyllabon for the title-page of Ravenna's *Compendium in Vsus Feudorum* (Cologne, Quentell, 1508): Muther, 392.

²⁾ Keussen, 557: 'Joh. Doebner de Wendelsteyn, Eystedensis d.' matriculated in arts April 26, 1504; 'determinavit' June 3, 1505, promoted licentiate March 13, 1507, master, May 12, 1509, and was admitted to the Council of the Faculty and appointed examiner on May 18, 1509; in that same year he was professor at the *Bursa Montana*: *UniKöln*, 511. A licentiate 'Joh. Doebner' was the 56th on 81, and a note in the margin of the Dean's Register, points out that, notwithstanding that indifferent result, he afterwards became a famous divine: *CochlSpahn*, 5-6: it, possibly, was a mistake, as there was a namesake at Cologne (Keussen, 639): another 'Joh. Dobneck de Wyndelsteyn, Eistettensis d.' is recorded to have matriculated in arts on May 26, 1509 and to have started the *actus determinantiæ* on December 4, 1509. That detail, and the fact that John Cochlæus already in 1510 started teaching as master of St. Laurence's, Nuremberg, show that they were different persons although relatives, — uncle and nephew: *CochlHum.*, 5, sq; *CochlSpahn*, 5-6; Allen, VII, 1863, pr; cp. FG, 328-29; *CorpCath.*, III, xv, xvii, xviii; *BeitSchlecht.*, 179, 290-98, 302, 335, sq, 347.

³⁾ Cp. Cochlæus' letter to Erasmus, March 13, 1529: *Nomen hoc non amo... Inditum est mihi Colonia olim a Remaclo poeta, quem tibi notum esse arbitror. Harrisius autem Anglus vocabat me Wendelstinum quod gratius esset...*: Allen, VIII, 2120, 81, sq; *CochlHum.*, I-2, 7; *CochlSpahn*, 11; HutO, III, 74.

⁴⁾ Louis Cabeza de Vaca, Vacca, of Jaen, (c 1465-1550), was appointed bishop of the Canary Islands on October 14, 1523; he afterwards was removed to the see of Salamanca in 1530, and to that of Palencia in 1537: Allen, VII, 1847, 91; Moeller, 43, 53, 87; Walther, 213.

⁵⁾ *Palamedes*, a 1 v-a 2 r; it is dated 'ex musæo nostro exiguò London.' This Alois Bont may be identical with the Bonnet of the letters of R. Wingfield and Spinelly who was leaving for England in February 1510, and again in August 1514, and sent Margaret of Austria news from France in May 1513: Brewer, I, 924, 4091, 5327, 5341.

Palamedes to Peter Griphus, envoy, and, since 1506, vice-collector of the papal receipts in England ¹⁾ : the praise he bestowed on the latter's merits, family and generosity, was no doubt calculated to bring about for himself what he wrote in his play (*f c 2 v*) :

si fortuna spem poscis meliorem
Alpheum Griphum tibi quere per aera qui te
Vnguibus inuictis uehat : e pontoque receptum
Ad fati gremium transportet tybridis vrhem.

- d* Remacle, however, was not invited to Italy ; he saw his *Palamedes* with two books of poems on Our Lord's passion through the press in 1512 in Paris (Gilles de Gourmont : Paquot, XI, 44-45), where he may have gained the title of Licencié of Both Laws, mentioned on his epitaph, — unless it was granted him as a favour, perhaps by the Legate Aleander. In the following year he published there also his *Amorum Libri* (John Parvus & Jud. Badius : March 13, 1513) : that collection of erotic poems, — which probably were imitated, and, for certain, overshadowed, by Janus Secundus' *Basia*, — is dedicated to George of Halewyn, *Haloïnus*, Count of Comines ²⁾, by a letter dated from Paris, Febr. 28, 1513 ; it contains verses to friends, like Peter Griphus, and Philip-John de Friscobaldi, of Florence, — no doubt a relative of his former pupil, — and about some of his former mistresses, like Margaret Halesbone, as well as an earnest warning on the subject by Ortwin Gratius. He returned soon afterwards to Brabant, where, through his former employer Bont, he was appointed as one of Archduke Charles's secretaries (Gachard, II, 494 ; Walther, 213). A poem on Margaret of Austria, in which he alluded to the mystic meaning of her name, and which was published in *Palamedes*, secured the Archduchess's favour (Thibaut, 124), at whose Court he probably met Erasmus, who, on June 1, 1516, wrote to him from Antwerp on his arrival from Basle for the case they should not meet in Brussels, and requested to greet Luigi Marliano in his name : Allen, II, 411, IV, *p. xxv* ³⁾.

- e* On July 23, 1517, Remacle was appointed as secretary to the Privy Council, created to replace Charles during his visit to Spain : Alexandre, 18 ; in March 1518 he was suffering from a skin disease, making him *non admodum osculabilis*, as Erasmus remarked to Peter Barbirius : Allen, III, 803, 6-7. On July 1, 1519 and again on October 19, 1520, he is recorded as one of the secretaries of Margaret of Austria's council (Walther, 139, 213 ; Henne, II, 200-202, 322-24, III, 242-45) ; also as Charles V's historiographer ⁴⁾. When in September 1520, Jerome Aleander, papal legate, arrived in the Netherlands to repress Luther's

¹⁾ Peter Griphus, Gryphus, of Pisa was appointed bishop of Forlì in 1512, whilst he was still in England ; he left for Italy, where he became the Pope's referendary ; he died in Rome in 1516 : cp. preface of James Mazochius to the Latin translation of St. Basil's *Hexameron* : Rome, Dec. 21, 1515 ; Allen, I, 243, 60 ; 249, 19-20, 250, 21-22 ; Brewer, I, 1403, 1457, 3838, 4756.

²⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 56, *d*, &c. ; Allen, III, 641.

³⁾ Letter of March 26, 1518 : Allen, III, 803, 3-5 ; cp. CantE, 31.

⁴⁾ Remacle was appointed as 'indiciaire et historiographe' of Charles V, with six *solidi* per day as wages, by letter of September 28, 1520 : Henne, v, 46.

rebellion, and to meet the newly-elected Emperor, he found help and sympathy with Remacle, who accompanied him to the Diet of Worms, 1521 (CantE, 31). That readiness to second the unpopular Legate entailed a malevolent mention in the *Acta Academiæ Lovaniensis contra Lutherum*, written about 1520 by William Nesen, who remarks that this new apostle of the good cause was himself a 'notæ improbitatis ganeo' (*ActAcLov.*, 110-111; cp. *KkAlgLu.*, 20, sq; *KkMiltiz.*, 20), — which explains the note which a later hand added in Busleyden's manuscript to his name 'Remaclum poetam', 'bibaculum'. — In his letter to Aleander, Mechlin, April 10, 1521, Remacle refers to that slander of the *Acta Academiæ*, and complains that he has been 'procacissime laceratus'; he glorifies in having Luther's books burnt everywhere on the Emperor's order, and in writing an 'expeditio literaria' against the innovator's errors, which, judging from Erasmus' reference in his *Spongia* ¹⁾, was actually published. Still his letter to Aleander proves that Remacle did not at all accept disinterestedly what he described as 'graves... labores', exposing himself to 'maledicorum ventilationi atque exagitationi', and getting involved 'in hoc publicum incendium': he supposes that he is above all reproach because he does not request any money for himself: yet he wants to secure in return for his services, the abbey of Mont-St. Eloi to his nephew Jean de Feucy, whilst keeping that of Hennin-Lietard, which he had been enjoying since 1515 (*KkAlgLu.*, 21-23; *AleaE.*, 76-78). Nor did Remacle himself lose by his zealous endeavours, for he was paid and indemnified for the part he took in the measures against those who were accused or suspected of Lutheranism ²⁾, and owed to it his appointment as the Emperor's historian ³⁾.

f That new preoccupation soon supplanted his poetical aspirations; yet, many years before, his poems had gained him the friendship of Jerome de Busleyden who made a comment on one describing the Seven Dolours of Our Lady; later on, they probably secured him the protection of John Dantiscus ⁴⁾, to whom he wrote at least one letter ⁵⁾, and who mentioned him in one of his own, from Cracow, August 6, 1523, to the Bishop of Posen ⁶⁾. A few months later, on May 13, 1524, Remacle died at Mechlin, long before his time, being only forty-four; he was buried in the old church of SS. Peter and Paul under a tombstone, which mentioned his title of licencié in both

¹⁾ An hic commemorem quam multi scripserint in Lutherum?... Ex aula... Rimaclus Cæsaris a Secretis: EOO, x, 1652, c.

²⁾ Henne, iv, 329 (1520); *CorpInq.*, iv, 33, 135.

³⁾ J. J. Altmeier *Marguerite d'Autriche, sa Vie, sa Politique et sa Cour*: Liège 1840: 171.

⁴⁾ They no doubt met at Margaret of Austria's Court.

⁵⁾ Remacle writes a note at Mechlin, on June 11, 1521 or 1522, to excuse him for not calling on Dantiscus, being prevented by a violent and noisy quarrel for trifles between Prussians, Lubeck men and Danes, which he had to interpret to Margaret. He promises to come at any rate at once after dinner: *BBCzart.*, MS. 1599: 1173-74.

⁶⁾ Dantiscus writing from Cracow to Tomiczki, Bp of Posen, Chancellor of Poland, on August 8, 1523, relates that Remacle, the secretary, had given him Carondelet's reply before he left Mechlin and the Netherlands: *BBUpps.*, MS H 155: 191.

laws and the name of his wife, Catherine de Langhe Papegaey¹), who survived him until October 11, 1531 (*MalInscr.*, 395). Antoinette, one of their daughters, married to John Vranx, died probably in 1562, leaving several children; another, Margaret, became the wife, first of Antony Loose, advocate of Mechlin Great Council († December 27, 1540), and afterwards of captain Philip le Clercq, mayor of the town (February 17, 1565): she herself followed them on March 4, 1587²).

Cp. *BibBelg.*, 791; Paquot, XI, 42-49; *ConPriT.*, 178; *Cran.*, lvi, 56, d, 141, m, 154, b, 217, 43; Allen, II, 411, pr; *HisTriLov.*, chaps. I, XII, XXIII.

AD REMACLUM POETAM

Decasthycon

FLORENS atque fluens, emunctum, nobile, tersum,
 Nos recreat carmen, docte Remacle, tuum :
 Quando hoc, septenos quos pertulit Alma dolores
 Mentibus usque pijs, tu pius usque refers ;
 Quumque fide tanta referas, pietate, nitore
 Quos habuit uarios Virgo beata pathos.
 Non hoc Castalidum sacro de fonte Sororum,
 Innata potius de pietate fluit.
 Quod quum res pia sit, carmenque pium, et pius author,
 Nil mirum est, hominum si pia corda facit.

BuslMS, 81 (10 r)

IX. ON St. ADRIAN & NATALIA

These two distichs celebrate the Roman captain martyriized under Maximinian at Nicomedia on the 8th of September, as is related for that date in the Breviary, or for March 4 by Laurent Surius; his Christian wife Natalia is said to have urged him on to his death. — Busleyden possessed a painted picture of S. Adrian : *IBM*², 295, r.

1. Florens] no doubt a pun on Remacle's native town Florennes.

2. carmen] a poem on the Seven Dolours of our Lady.

7. Non hoc Castalidum &c.] cp.

Epp. 9, 36; Statius, *Theb.*, I, 565; Auson., 399, 3; *Elucid.*, 88.

9. pius author] the note added to his name in the *MS.* was perhaps a protest against that attribute : cp. *pr. e.*

¹) Catherine de Langhe had to prosecute an action before the Great Council against a Louis van den Dycke in 1525: *MalGrCons.*, n° 313.

²) *MalInscr.*, 68, 395, 405; *NobPB*, 450, 2053-54.

Diuo Hadriano et Nataliae dulci uxori

E^N Hadrianus ego. Mecum est Natalia coniunx :
Oppetij duram pro Christi nomine mortem.

Item

E^N Hadrianus ego : mecum est Natalia coniunx ;
Confessus Christum, uitam cum sanguine fudi.

BuslMS, 82, 41 (10 v and a r)

X. — HYMN TO THE VIRGIN MOTHER OF GOD

The form of this *Paeon* may have been inspired by a poem in praise of Hermes by Martial, *Epigramm.*, v, 24 : *De Hermete*, in which each of the fifteen lines of which it is composed begins with the invocation 'Hermes', followed by choice appositions. Similar repetitions are frequently found either at the beginning or the end of the lines of some of that poet's poems (cp. *Carm.* xiv, xv, d); the two lines of *Ad Cæsarem* (vi, 87) also begin with the almost identical words : Di tibi dent... Di mihi dent... The address *Ad Ponticum*, vii, 100, has five lines on ten, starting : Pontice,... A similar construction is found in *Qualem velit Amicam* (ix, 33, with four times 'Hanc volo' on six lines), *In Hedylum* (ix, 58, with eleven verses beginning with *Nil*, *Non* or *Nec*, on thirteen), *In Cæcilium* (xi, 31), &c.

PAEAN VIRGINI CHRISTIFERAE

DIUA parens salve, quam totus suspicit orbis.
Diua parens, nostræ porta salutis, Aue.
Diua parens salve, cunctis radiantior astris.
Diua parens salve, lucida stella freti.
5 Diua parens salve, rutilo fulgentior auro.
Diua parens salve, lux, uia, scala poli.
Diua parens salve, templum tu Pneumatis almi.
Diua parens salve, candida Sponsa Dei.
Diua parens salve, quæ casta concipis aluo.
10 Diua parens salve, quæ paris ipsa Deum.
Diua parens salve, quam gratia plena uenustat.
Diua parens salve, cui decor omnis inest.
Diua parens salve, specimen totius honesti.
Diua parens, niuei norma pudoris, Aue.

uxor]] *corr.* from uxore S

15 Diua parens salue, nostros miserata reatus.
 Diua parens salue, spes mea, uita, salus.
 Diua parens salue, profugis tu portus, Asylum.
 Diua parens, summæ fons pietatis, Aue.

20 **D**IUA parens, lætum tibi nunc pæana canentes,
 Dignare æthereis connumerare choris.

BuslMS, 42-46 (*a v-c v*)

XI. — TO HIS PATRON-SAINT St. JEROME

a This poem celebrates the life and works of the great Student of the Bible according to Marianus Victorius and other hagiographs, to which is added the story of the wounded lion, which is generally attributed to Androclus, or Androdes, as Aulus Gellius relates it (*Noctes Atticæ*, v, xiv), quoting Appion Polyhistor as authority; it is also found amongst AEsop's *Fabulæ* and as chapter *civ* in the *Gesta Romanorum*, without any name added. That story, also attributed to legendary heroes, was no doubt ascribed to St. Jerome on account of the lion with which he is represented; still the lion is only the symbol of the desert, in which the Holy Man spent a large part of his lifetime: cp. Joh. Molanus, *De Historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum L. IV*: III, 42 (Lyons, 1619: 439-41). — Busleyden possessed a statue, carved in wood, representing St. Jerome; it was acquired by van Vessem for 8 *Rfl.* 5 *s*: *IBM*2, 295, *r*.

b This poem is written in stanzas of four Asclepiads each: but instead of the regular two dactyls that form the second hemistich, there is here a dactyl and a trochee, so that the line consists of a spondee, a dactyl and a long syllable, a dactyl and a trochee:

— — | — ∞ | — || — ∞ | — ∞

From the seventh stanza on, there are several alterations in the verse-scheme adhered to up to then: in the first hemistich the dactyl often precedes the spondee (*ll* 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, &c.); on other lines the dactyl is replaced by a second spondee (*ll* 36, 39, 46, 48, 55, 59, 62); on three other lines there are two dactyls (*ll* 28, 52, 53) and on more than one verse, the last foot is a spondee instead of a trochee.

Incomparabili patrono Diuo Hieronymo
 Hymnus,
 ab addicto clientulo Buslidio pie cantatus

O QUAM mirifica luce refulges
 Doctor syderea sede triumphans,
 Coelum quem patria læta recepit
 Tandem corporea mole solutum.

17 Diua... profugis &c.] on p. 41

5 Multorum superas cœligenarum
 Coetus, multiplici dote refertus :
 Nil mirum, pretium sit meritum
 Decernente Dei lege repensum.

Quod si mens fuerit commemorare
 10 Iam quæ suspicimus, te celebrantes :
 Succumbens oneri lingua fatiscet
 Tantarum minime conscia rerum.

Adsit quare hominum balbutientum
 Linguas efficiens ipse disertas :
 15 Expellat tenebras mentis opacæ
 Fulgor clarificans Pneumatis almi.

Quo fulgente canam, gloria quur nam
 Expers tristitiæ, nescia finis,
 Isthic te recreat usque fruentem
 20 Cœlesti ambrosia, nectare diuum.

Legem quod Domini mente profunda
 Altius adgressus dogmate culto
 Pandisti nobis mystica multa
 Priscis codicibus eruta sacris.

25 Assertor fidei strenuus extans
 Prauæ destructor impietatis,
 Hæreseum uirus sæpe fugasti
 Matris ab Ecclesiæ finibus almæ.

Ne mala fallacis noxia sæcli
 30 Ambitus et luxus te macularent,
 Horrida uasta eremi lustra subisti,
 Serpentum sotius atque ferarum.

13 Adsit &c.] on p. 43 balbutientum] underl.
 28 Matris] between lines ab is added B 28 Ecclesiæ] underlined B
 29 Ne mala &c.] on p. 44 31 eremi] underlined B

20. ambrosia, nectare] one of
 Busleyden's favourite ornaments:
 cp. before, §§ 134 and 152.

28. *ecclēsīæ*] the second *e* is
 accounted as short, as is done
 by Fortunatus, 11, 3, 8, Ennodius,

Epig. 79, 9, and Christian poets.

31. *eremi*] Busleyden evidently
 makes a long syllable of the
 initial *e*-; so he does on *l.* 46.

32. *sotius*] the last syllable *-us*
 should be long.

Corporis effoeti languida membra
 Nuda fouet placido terra sopore :
 35 Hic epulas confert herba salubres,
 Atque sitim satiat lympidus amnis.

Alta confixum de Cruce Christum
 Contemplans oculis iugiter vdis,
 Duro contundis pectora saxo,
 40 Diram adeo mortem commiseratus.

Ad te confugiens sautius ipse
 Mansuetus subito trux leo factus,
 Spinas ungue ferens sanguine tinctas,
 Orat dimoueas, uulnera curans.

45 Exactis obiter quattuor annis
 Eremita linquens auia late,
 Et natale solum uisere Christi
 Adfectans, sanctam Bethlem adisti.

Ad præsepe sacrum dulcis Iesu
 50 Perdius ac pernox sistere gaudens :
 Obsequium præstas instar aselli
 Atque bouis, Dominum rite colendo.

Hic reliquum statuens degere uitæ,
 Indutus monachum numine plenus,
 55 Sacram fulsisti religionem,
 Scripto, opere, ore, fide, tum pietate.

His sanctis studijs deditus usque,
 Illud quod superest transigis æui,
 Terrena donec fæce piatum
 60 Empyreï caperet te plaga cœli.

45 Exactis &c.] on p. 45 48 Bethlem] *underlined*

56. Scripto', òpère', òrè, fidè,
 tūm piētātē] this seems quite
 corrupt or imperfect.

60. ĕmpyrēi] the second *e*
 seems superfluous : probably
 Busleyden took *ei* for *i*.

Te quo scandente, concio tota
Aulæ coelestis obuia surgit,
Exultans iubilat uoce sonora :
Expectatus ades glorificandus.

BuslMS, 48-50 (*d v-e v*)

⟨December 28, 1504⟩

XII. — THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

This poem, dedicated to Adrian of Utrecht, Dean of Louvain, by a letter most probably written at Yule-tide 1504 : cp. *Epp.* 21, *a*, was conceived and composed in all probability on December 28, 1504, or on any of the days following.

QVID non liuor edax ? quid non uesana cupido ?
Et misera ambitio, mortalia pectora cogant ?
Hoc hodie Herodis rabies truculenta nefandi
Impietate sua patefecit : flectere solus
5 Dum uult terreni nimium moderamina regni,
In Christum natum, coelum terras moderantem
(Proh scelus infandum) mortem molitur iniquam :
Ob natum hunc unum, natorum millia perdens,
Vbera adhuc tenerum lactantia dulcia matrum.

10 Quis furor immanis ? quænam dementia tanta
Ad tantum facinus potuit te ferre sceleste !
Auctorem ut uitæ tentares perdere morte,
Quo tibi uita data est, omnis collata potestas.

O scelus inuisum, cunctis damnabile sæclis !
15 Infans angustis quem stringit fascia cunis,
Inque sinu caræ requiescens pusio matris,
Tollitur e medio, uitam cum sanguine fundens.

O feritas funesta nimis, sitibunda cruoris !
Reddens tot matres carorum cladibus orbas,
20 A qua non potuit pietas lachrymosa parentum

61 Te quo &c.] on p. 46 63 iubilat] *exp.*, over it resonat S
63 sonora] so *exp.*, replaced by ca S (canora) 10 Quis furor &c.] on p. 49

61. scāndēntē] the final -e
should be long, and is probably
meant for -i.

3. Herodis] MATTH., II, 16-18.

Pignoribus caris uitam exorare cupitam,
 Quo minus innocuos in primo limine uitæ
 Arriperet, tenebras dans lucem intransibilibus istam.

O fortunati nimium, uereque beati,
 25 Qui nondum experti præsentis munia uitæ,
 Quorum pes nondum potuit bene figere gressum,
 Os tenerum nondum sermonis coeperat usum :
 Regem hodie natum confessi sanguine fuso,
 Occumbunt pulchram pro Christi nomine mortem !

30 Plaudite felices animæ : gaudete beatæ,
 Immaculatum Agnum passim sine fine sequendo,
 Virginitas quibus illibata est, flosque pudoris.

BuslMS, 50-51 (*e v-f r*)

XIII. — IN PRAISE OF VIRTUE

This poem is written in what is called *Asclepiadeum metrum tertium*, *δίκωλον τετράστροφον* ; it is used by Horace ; a more recent example is the Hymn for the Vespers of the Office of several Martyrs, *Sanctorum meritis* (Albin, 404-407). It is composed of three Asclepiads (one spondee and one dactyl, followed by one long syllable and two dactyls), and one Glyconic (one spondee and two dactyls). It is probably called *Coriambicum* in the title as the Asclepiads can be considered as two *choriambi* (— ∪ ∪ —) preceded by two long, and followed by two short, syllables :

— — | — ∪ ∪ — | — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ ∪

The Glyconic, too, may be taken as one choriamb preceded by two long, and followed by two short syllables

— — | — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ ∪

Buslidi Carmen Coriambicum,
*in*star hymni Sanctorum meritis

QVID iactas ueterum stemmata plurima ?
 Auri quid cumulas pondera millia ?
 Terræ quid numeras iugera plurima ?
 Et solus pecus omnium ?

26 Quorum &c.] on p. 50

31. Agnum... (32) pudoris] APOCAL., XIV, 4, 5.

5 Hæc flocci (sapiens uir) facit omnia,
 Nusquam suscipiens tam bona lubrica,
 Spes uanas hominum quum faciant ea,
 Luduntque uota inania.

Ergo si sapias, selige talia
 10 Solum quæ reputant pectora candida,
 Si tu perpetua uiuere gloria
 Semper post cineres uelis.

Iis dantur merito talia præmia
 Oblectat studium quos sapientiæ,
 15 Et uirtutis amor detinet, artibus
 Ornantes animum bonis.

BuslMS, 58-59 (*i v-k r*)

⟨March 23, 1505⟩

XIV. — HYMN ON EASTER DAY

This poem, accompanying the *Homilia in Die Resurrectionis*, *Orat. A*, was dedicated to the Aix patrician Judocus von Beyssel at Easter time of 1505 by a letter (*Epp.* 22, *a*) ; most likely it was composed on Easter Day, March 23, 1505. — In the manuscript there are after the Homily, and before the poem, a few lines which serve as introduction to the poem : they are reproduced at the end of the Homily : *Orat. A*, 52-59. — The construction of this poem was probably suggested by Martial's Epigrams : cp. *Carm.* x, *pr.*

CELEBRATISSIMÆ SOLENNITATIS SALUTIFERÆ RESURRECTIONIS DOMINICÆ VOTIVA GRATULATIO

EXPECTATA dies, sacris memorata prophetis,
 Expectata dies, priscis cantata Sibyllis :
 Expectata dies, inferna sede locatis,

9 Ergo si &c.] on p. 51 RESURRECTIONIS] in *MS* -RECTOIS

2. Sibyllis] it is strange to hear the name of the sibyl in a hymn for Easter, stranger even to hear hell indicated by terms like *Aver-nus* (*l* 5) and *Acheron* (*l* 8). Even the day is praised by the essentially classic superstition of antiquity : *dies meliore notanda lapillo*

(*l* 15) : cp. Erasmus, *Album calculum addere, Alba faba, Creta notare, Carbone notare* (*ErAdag.*, 202, *B*-203, *B* : in which is quoted : 'Hunc, Macrine diem, numera meliore lapillo', the first line of Persius Flaccus' second *Satira*.) Cp. § 157.

- Illuxit tandem magni quo Conditor orbis
 5 (Adsertis patribus de claustris tristis Auerni)
 Post triduum surgit, calcata Morte triumphans.

- Hæc est festa dies, summi uictoria Regis :
 Hæc est clara dies, tenebras superans Acherontis :
 Hæc est læta dies, generis reparatio lapsi :
 10 Hæc est fausta dies, humanæ abstersio culpæ :
 Hæcque dies fidei firma est adsertio sacræ,
 Qua Christus, dira superata morte, resurgens,
 Nos semel extinctos, rediuuios surgere suadet.

- Felix ergo dies, toto memorabilis æuo.
 15 Felix ergo dies, meliore notanda lapillo.
 Felix et populus tanta pietate redemptus.
 Felix culpa fuit, tam miti uindice lata.
 Felix mors nimium, Vitam quæ protulit orbi.
 Felix uita, cui Mors haud dominabitur ultra.

BuslMS, I-II (b I r-b 6 r)

XV. — DEBATE ABOUT WORTH & FORTUNE between Herbouts and Busleyden

- a* This debate consists of a series of eight poems, each of which is as a reply to the one that precedes. It is started by Adrian Herbouts, a friend of the Orleans days (*Epp.* 23, *b c*), who is active as teacher or as preceptor at Antwerp, but earns hardly enough to keep his growing family. He is looking out for a more remunerative position when Busleyden returns to Brabant and offers him the welcome help of his influence, which proves successful : *Epp.* 23, 1-8. As both friends are fond of literature and poetry, it is only natural that they send poems to one another, whereby Herbouts apologizes for the lack of refinement in his verses, pleading want of leisure, and expresses his admiration for his friend's metrical compositions.
- b* The movement of the debate may be summarized as follows :
- I. 1-8 : Herbouts regrets that his poetry is not what it should be on account of household cares and insufficient fees.
 - II. 9-22 : Busleyden praises Herbouts' poetry notwithstanding those household cares, and hopes for a more lucrative living for him.
 - III. 23-38 : Herbouts praises Busleyden's poetry, and says that he himself is vainly beating bushes for hares.
 - IV. 39-56 : Busleyden recommends patience as indispensable in every hunt and in every pursuit.

- v. 57-76 : Herbouts knows that hunting and pursuits are never free from untoward accidents ; he therefore does not despair.
- vi. 77-128 : Busleyden praises hope as rewarding all effort and suffering ; since Herbouts is known for his excellent work, he has every right to expect the best reward.
- vii. 129-144 : Herbouts remarks that the reward due to effort and suffering often goes to others than to those who strive or suffer.
- viii. 145-196 : Busleyden replies that, even then, those who strive and suffer, enjoy the happy conscience of their own goodness, and of their being beneficent to others ; virtue is a reward in itself.
- c The first parts of this debate were written soon after Busleyden's return to Brabant, 1503, as results from the fact that Herbouts did not know that his friend wrote poetry (*ll* 31-32), of which he certainly would have been aware after one or two interviews, — which seem to have been frequent. — After the last reply Herbouts was appointed pensionary, or juridical councillor, of Antwerp, 1505, for which Busleyden congratulated him by a letter : *Epp.* 23, a.
- d The spirit, and for certain the form, of Busleyden's first reply to his friend's despondent opinion of his poems, was most probably suggested by one of Martial's *Epigrammata* (II, 7), *In Attalum*, in which he states that, in his opinion, that man does everything nicely, *belle*, but not well, not *bene* ; the two first lines

Declamas belle ; causas agis, Attale, belle.

Historias bellas, carmina bella facis.

are certainly imitated in *ll* 9 and 10 :

Etsi mole graui curarum et pondere rerum

Assiduo opprimeris, carmina docta facis...

at least for the three last words : that closing assertion is repeated three more times in that second poem and three times in Herbouts' reply : *ll* 24-28. That device of using the same words to insist on an idea is often used by Martial : thus in his *De Charino* (I, 78) he closes each of the six verses with the words : 'et tamen pallet'. In the epigram *De Filo* (ascribed epigr., 4), he repeats three times on 16 lines : 'Et tamen est Filus paupere pauperior'. Similar iterations are found in *In Candidum* (III, 26), *In Blattaram* (XI, 47), *De Hermogene Fure* (XII, 29). Cp. *Carm.* x, XIV, *pr* ; and, for another epigram on writing poetry, Martial, *Epigr.* VI, 14.

I. HADRIANVS BVSLIDIO

CARMINA nostra, precor, ridenti perlege uultu,
Carmina quæ uena pauperiore fluunt.

Non bene tornatos potis est nunc cudere uersus,

Agmine curarum qui nimis opprimitur :

5 Hinc natæ, hinc infans, hinc cura domestica surgit,

Turbat et ingenium murmure paruus Hylas.

I. 5. Hinc natæ... (6) Hylas] daughters, a young son, the *Hylas*,
from these two lines it appears and an *infans*.
that Herbouts had at least two

At bona spes superest, et spe nos uiuimus omnes.
Sed bonus et iustus uir perit interea.

II. BVSLIDIVS HADRIANO

ETSI mole graui curarum et pondere rerum
Assiduo opprimeris, carmina docta facis.
Sit licet arcta domi res, sitque uxoria cura,
Prolis et ingenuæ, carmina docta facis :
Et caræ repetens puer ubera lactea matris
Nocte strepat tota, carmina docta facis.
15 Esto iuuentutem studijs modereris honestis,
Carmine tu dignus : carmina docta facis.
Ergo inter fluctusque, inter molimina rerum,
Diuite si uena carmina proueniunt :
Fallere, tornatos te non bene cudere uersus,
20 Qui tibi de uena pauperiore fluant.
Quare age, fac pergas, laturus fœnore multo
Quæ te pro meritis præmia certa manent.

III. HADRIANVS BVSLIDIO

FALLERE : nec uersu dignus, nec carmina laude
Digna ego compono : carmina docta facis.
25 Arida ieiuno mea Musa poemate torpens
Serpit humi : sed tu carmina docta facis.
Conuena Phœbæum non pulsas limen, ut hospes,
Nec Tyro Apollineus : carmina digna facis.

13 Et caræ &c.] on p. 2

7. spes] namely the hope on a good office to provide for his family, since he is only a teacher or tutor, as results from what Busleyden writes to him (l 15).

8. iustus uir perit interea] cp. the proverb : Whilst the grass grows, the horse dies.

II. 10. carmina... facis] cp. *pr, c.*

15. Esto] cp. further, l 181, and § 135.

15. iuuentutem... modereris] evidently the work at which Her-

bouts was just then employed at Antwerp.

19. tornatos te &c.] refers to Herbouts's own words, l 3.

20. de uena pauperiore] Herbouts had written of his poems : *Carmina quæ uena pauperiore fluunt* (l 2).

III. 23. nec uersu... (24) compono] reply to what Busleyden says on every other line 10, 12, 14, &c.

24. carmina... facis] cp. *pr, c.*

- Non tu Calliopen <imitas ludens sequerisque,>
 30 Viuida sed toto pectore Clio nitet.
 Attamen hæc si sint primi experimenta laboris,
 Tu mihi uel Flaccus uel Maro doctus eris.
 Grata, sed incerto promittis tempore nobis
 Præmia : protrahitur crastinus usque dies.
 35 Ipse ego squalentes ullo sine semine sentes
 Discussio : lepores unus et alter habet.
 Ast pergam : tandem mea carbasa spero secundos
 Ingressura sinus. Dulcis amice uale.

IV. BVSLIDIVS HADRIANO

- V**EPRIBVS incultis et densis sentibus, acri
 Est uenatori sæpe petita fera.
 Euentus quod si remoretur uota sequentis,
 Et penetret casses præda petita suos :
 Non subito exspes fila leuat, nec rhetia soluit,
 Nec sistunt alacres cornua rauca canes :
 45 Quin coeptis instans, procul abdita lustra ferarum
 Pressius explorat lumine, uoce, cane ;
 Acer equo uolitat, patiens algoris et æstus :
 Nec reuocat gressum quam fera prensa cadat.
 Hoc ubi contigerit, lætis successibus auctus,
 50 Ille domum repetit, spolia opima ferens.
 Sed tu quum prædæ cupidus, uenaris opacis
 Syluis, et mirum te alma Diana iuuat.

29 Calliopen] a space is left open
 30 Viuida &c.] on p. 3 42 petita] lined off; in right margin : reperta C
 48 reuocat gressum] inverted order in MS, corr. by marks S
 48 Nec reuocat &c.] on p. 4

29. Calliopen] this verse was not completed as possibly the scribe doubted about the text, and the gap was overlooked : it might be completed by : <imitas ludens sequerisque,> or by : <admirans unquam adulas,> or <tantum reducem retegisti,>.

31. si sint primi experimenta laboris] it seems as if the verses 9-22, were the first by Busleyden that Herbouts ever saw : which prompts a date as early as possi-

ble after B's return from Italy.

35. ullo sine semine] probably : without my sowing, without my doing anything to deserve it ; he namely thinks of the office he wants to secure through Busleyden's influence ; evidently an allusion to MATTH., xxv, 24, 26 : Domine, scio quia... metis ubi non seminasti, &c. ; cp. *pr.*

IV. 41. Euentus &c.] namely Herbouts' appointment, represented as an unsuccessful hunt.

Hæc quandoque tuum si fallat perfida uotum,
 Atque expers prædæ tu nihil hinc tuleris :
 55 Spes bona te foueat coeptis audentius instans :
 Succedet pluuijs una serena dies.

V. HADRIANVS BVSLIDIO

TVRGIDA contextis suspendit aranea tælis
 Rheticulum, muscas prenda ut arte suas :
 Sæpe tamen casses ancilla uenustula textos
 60 Dissecat, ut niteat fæce piata domus ;
 Sæpe etiam ignaui crabrones stamina rumpunt,
 Pendula palladium uespaque turbat opus :
 Non tamen illa sedet, repetitum at sedula gyrum
 Ampliat, et medio corpus in orbe gerit,
 65 Nexibus illaqueans uolitantem circa rapinam.
 Nostraque fulmineus tæla reflectit aper :
 Acrius instabo : cupidis retinacla molossis
 Dissoluam abrupto libera colla iugo,
 Atque pedes uel equo, aut mancus uel mutilus usque,
 70 Extremæ experiar mobile sortis iter.
 Malo equidem ambiguum quod me fortuna teneret,
 Quam sub instabili uolueret usque rota,
 Quam quod in aduersis misero tam tempore rebus
 Hæc foret optati meta suprema boni :
 75 Tota licet rueret Promethei pyxis et in me,
 Non linguebo tamen : spe meliore fruar.

VI. BVSLIDIVS HADRIANO

GAUDEO te monitus nunc admisisse salubres,
 Atque probasse meum denique consilium.
 Quando procellosis speret mercator in undis,
 80 Naufragus insanas (spe duce) uitat aquas ;
 Spes fouet infames tenebroso carcere clausos,
 Compedibus uinctos spes recreat miseros ;
 Miles et infestus, collatis undique signis,

65 Nexibus &c.] on p. 5
 83 Miles &c.] on p. 6 83 infestus] u corr. from i S

V. 75. Promethei pyxis] evidently the box of Pandora, devised as part of Prometheus' punishment.

- Spe multa fretus, strennuus arma capit ;
 85 Dimicat et media sperans gladiator harena ;
 Spe sine doctiloqui Rhetoris ora stupent :
 Recte non animos mulcet, neque temperat iras
 Orator celebris, ni bona spes fuerit.
 Horrida membra tegens ueteri centone misellus,
 90 Spes stypis et modicæ pauperiem tolerat.
 Marcidus, effoetus, morbisque grauatus et annis,
 Spe meliore fruens, fit senior iuuenis :
 Rebus in aduersis prudens speratque secundis.
 Spe moriens uiuit ; spem quoque sumit egens,
 95 Et ualidos potis est bona spes lenire dolores.
 Sæpe leuat lassum spes, stimulatque pigrum.
 Spes firmat trepidum, miserum solatur amantem.
 Spe charæ sobolis fit pater et genitrix.
 Almæ spes Cereris, flauæ spes optima messis
 100 Colla bouum grauido supposuere iugo.
 Solibus exustus, quod uinitor inserat ulmos
 Vitibus : hoc grati spesque liquoris agit.
 Cœræ spes liquidæ, ambrosij spes unica mellis
 Fecit apes pulchris fundere mella fauis.
 105 Infima despiciens solum cælestia sperans
 Contemptor mundi fit subito monachus.
 Sperans optatos gallina educere pullos,
 Candida sub tenero continet oua sinu.
 Spe stimulante suas orditur aranea tælas,
 110 Ignauis muscis ut struat insidias.
 Vnguibus accipiter, rostro et truculentus adunco
 Sperans, innocuas persequitur uolucres.
 Sperans carne famem lupo exatiare diurnam
 Cladibus innumeris afficit omne pecus.
 115 Sperans lætiferis dum percitus undique tælis
 Occidat ore ferox, dente cruentus aper.
 Et timidos dammas et ceruos cornibus altis
 Spes docuit rabida effugere ora canum.
 Quod noua sub ueteri coalescat plantula trunco,
 120 Spes facit ut citius dulcia mala ferat.
 Sperandum est uiuis : sua spes est atque sepultis.

90 modicæ] *underlined* ; in left margin exiguæ C

103 Cœræ &c.] on p. 7 105 sperans] *corrected from sperens* S

117 altis] *corr. from altos* S 118 whole line *underlined*

Spe lucri, facilis fit labor ante grauis.
 Perpetua fruitur spe mens sibi conscia recti,
 Nec cito spem ponit noxia culpa mali.
 125 Omnia quum sperent, et spe nos uiuimus omnes :
 Sitque datum nulli spe sine stare diu :
 Quid tu non speres ? quem iam pulcherrima uirtus
 Extulerit celebrem, docta per ora uirum ?

VII. HADRIANVS BVSLIDIO

STRENNUUS in medios miles qui se obijcit hostes
 Vulnera nunc mille, ac præmia nulla capit :
 Vix merita assequitur uario stipendia casu :
 Nil nisi bellator quam bene pugnat habet.
 Si quis Apollineo uates compunctus oestro
 Aspera sublimi carmine bella canat,
 135 Exagitetque suo feruentia prælia cantu :
 Nil tamen et præterquam bene dixit habet.
 Hystrio et impudens meriti nunc scurra poetæ,
 Aut palpo, aut sciolus præmia iniqua tenet :
 Claraque in obscuris uirtus occlusa tenebris
 140 Nunc latitat : causa est, nil datur ingenijs ;
 Doctori nihil est hac tempestate relictum,
 Pestifer indigna heu lucra susurro capit.
 Res non parua quidem, præclarum nomen habere,
 Sed clarum insigni munere nomen eget.

VIII. BUSLIDIVS HADRIANO

QUEM recreare solet tua dulcis epistola amicum,
 Illi nunc tristis ualde et acerba uenit :
 Quod uideat monitus nondum admisisse salubres,
 Et male te coepto pergere proposito.
 Tam mala ne rectam peruertat opinio mentem,
 150 Seducatque bonum noxia consilium,
 Hanc procul explodas, monitusque amplectere sanctos,
 Qui tibi Buslidia de pietate fluunt.
 Spe solida expectans, peperit quæ uiuida uirtus,
 Emeritumque diu te indubitata manent :
 155 Scilicet æternum uiuens per sæcula nomen,

- Inmortale decus, gloria, laus, et opes.
 Ii sunt uirtutis comites sotijque perennes,
 Præmia grata bonis, inuidiosa malis.
 Omnia uirtuti debentur, et omnia uirtus.
 160 Possidet, atque amplum est illa sibi pretium.
 Non opis externæ indiga. Vulgi ignobilis auram
 Miratur nusquam : conscia sola sibi,
 Sola bonis contenta suis, fruiturque beata :
 Sola sibi constans, et sibi sola placens ;
 165 Infima non curans, sublimis ad ardua tendit,
 Illecebras, luxus, delitiasque fugit.
 Viribus aucta suis, trepidantia pectora firmat :
 Degeneresque animos fortis ad arma uocat.
 Sæpe beatque suos studiosos inclyta uirtus,
 170 Fit subito Croesus qui modo Codrus erat ;
 Insididus, prudens ; inglorius, undique clarus ;
 Indoctus, doctus ; squalidus, et nitidus ;
 Lasciuus, castusque ; infamis, ubique probatus ;
 Nobilis, obscurus ; sedulus, ante piger.
 175 Nec sperare iubet nisi quod sperare decebit.
 Nec quodcunque lubet, sed decet, illa facit.
 Te fortuna ridens, medium tibi porrigit unguem :
 Tuta, tuas fraudes cauet et insidias.
 Militet usque licet miles uictricibus armis :
 180 Attamen haud semper spolia ab hoste refert.
 Zoilus esto ferat magnorum præmia uatum :
 Qualis et ante fuit, Zoilus usque manet.
 Hæc male si priscis respondent tempora sæclis,
 Orbis id assidua mobilitate uenit.
 185 Si latitet uirtus tenebris adoperta profundis,
 Iis tandem pulsus, clarior illa micat.
 Qualis mundi oculus, fax cæli, cæreus orbis,
 Sol, reparans alnum luce calore diem.
 Pallidulus subito radiantia lumina condit
 190 Imbribus immersus nube sepultus atra.

157 Ii sunt &c] on p. 10

177 Te fortuna &c.] on p. 11

177 ridens 178 cauet 180 spolia] *underlined and pointed out in lmg*
 190 atra] *underlined and pointed out in lmg*

VIII. 177. medium &c] cp. *Epp.* 544. 2, quoting Martial, *Epigr.* II, 70, 38 ; *EOO*, IV, 176, 4 ; *ErAdag.*, 28, and Juvenal, *Sat.* X, 53.

Iis ubi depulsis rediuius fulserit ille
 Clarius irradians : tunc redit alma dies.
 Ergo si quando fortuna uolubilis errat,
 Præmia uirtutum non meritis tribuens,
 195 Sustine, nec moueat te ludus sortis iniquæ :
 Tandem aderit Virtus, quæ meliora dabit.

BuslMS, 12-13 (b 6 v-b 7 r)

XVI. — VENICE AND HER FICKLE FORTUNE

This poem draws the attention on the tragic example of Venice's fortune : after having risen in power to the zenith of splendour by the middle of the xvth century, when she was mistress of the maritime empire of the Levant, and had extended her land power far into Italy, she was visited by reverses in her struggle against the Turks, and ruined by her victories over her neighbours on land, until the latter, brought together by Julius II, formed against her the *League of Cambrai*, December 10, 1508, assented to by the Pope on March 25, 1509 : it proved disastrous to the proud Republic : she soon ceased to rank as first-class power, especially when the trade with the East passed to Lisbon. — In the left margin, one of the first possessors of the Manuscript added near l 10 : 'Julius.2.papa./Maximilianus Imp./Ludovic⁹ Gall. Rex./ferdinād⁹ Hispa. rex'.

DE VICISSITUDINE RERUM ET MUTATIONE DEXTRÆ EXCELSÆ IN VENETOS

Buslidij carmen

QVAM sint res hominum fluxæ, uariæ, instabilesque !
 Quanta uel excelsæ possit mutatio dextræ
 Infima quæ summis, commutat tristia lætis !
 Res Veneta exemplo est, nongentos aucta per annos,
 5 Dives opum, Imperium terris sortita marique :
 Crescit in immensum spectans fastigia rerum :
 Ambitiosa suos dum uult protendere fines,

195 Sustine] *underl. pointed out lmg*
 7 uult] *I added later, in lighter ink*

7. protendere fines] Venice had gained Brescia and Bergamo, Crema and Treviglio and their territories in her wars with Milan; she had changed into ownership her guardianship of Ravenna, which was part of the States of the Church; Ferrara, Padua, Bologna and other places had

been occupied, which roused against her not only the Italian neighbours and the Pope, but also the Kings of France and Spain and the Emperor, on account of territories connected with Milan or Naples (Pastor, III, 628, sq).

Inque suam tentat ditionem cuncta uenire,
 Inuidiosa nimis, nimiumque inimica sacratis
 10 Regibus efficitur, iunctis qui uiribus illam
 Partiti, imperio, regnis, opibus spoliarent.

Auctor ad Lectorem

I NUNC, et rebus nimium ne crede secundis :
 Dispice quam uarios subeant mortalia casus,
 Quando superba, potens, pulchris ornata trophæis,
 15 Totque fluens opibus, celebris Respublica paulo
 Momento, ex alto præceps ad infima fertur.

BuslMS, 13-14 (b 7 r-v)

XVII. — THE STORM POINTS OUT THE GOOD HELMSMAN

This poem was probably treated as a poetical exercise : it enounces in prose the subject to be treated : cp. *Epp.* 70, 34.

Argumentum propositum in Carmen uertendum

QUILIBET nautarum in tranquillo mari gubernare potest;
 ubi autem sæua tempestas orta est, ac turbato mari
 uento rapitur naus : tum uiro ac gubernatore opus est. Nunc
 non tranquillo nauigamus, sed iam procellis aliquot pene sum-
 mersi sumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat, summa cura
 prouidendum est.

Buslidii Carmen

STAT quando placidum Zephyris spirantibus æquor,
 Exoriturque polo tota serena dies :
 Tunc cuiuis facile est fragiles seruare carinas,
 Fluxa per immensum pandere uela fretum.

14 quando &c.] on p. 13 16 præceps ad] underl.
 3 carinas] corr. from camœnas S 4 Fluxa &c.] on p. 14

9-10. sacratis Regibus] viz., the properly crowned Monarchs and the Popes, who claimed Ravenna and Bologna : Pastor, III, 629-639.

10. iunctis... uiribus] by the League of Cambrai.

11. spoliarent] Venice was defeated completely at the battle

of Agnadello on May 14, 1509 : Pastor, III, 639.

1. Stat &c.] the same idea is developed by Busleyden in his letter to Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal, in the summer of 1513 : *Epp.* 70, 34, sq.

- 5 At quum tempestas rapidis furibunda procellis
 Ingruit, et clarum nox tegit atra diem,
 Tum gnaro rectore opus est qui turgida flectens
 Vela, statim teneat littora tuta freti.
 Quod qui præstiterit, post hausta pericula recte
 10 Laudatur felix, omnia puncta ferens.
 Nos et adhuc sæuis errantes fluctibus alti,
 Qui modo præsentem scimus adesse necem,
 Ardua protensas tollamus ad æthera palmas,
 Testando uotis numina summa pijs.
 15 Nostra habeat talem Respublica naufraga nautam,
 Ferre salutiferam qui cito possit opem.

BuslMS, 15-16 (*b* 8 *r-v*)

XVIII. — DANGERS IN SEAFARING

RUN BY TRADERS

This poem with its "envoy" tries to discourage merchants from risking their lives and goods on the sea for the sake of some gain : it was written at a time when actual seafaring was only in its first stage on this side of Europe. — It is as an echo of two passages in Juvenal's *Satura* : in *Satura* XII, 17, *sq.*, the poet, alluding to Catullus' recent shipwreck, describes the danger of entrusting one's life and belongings to a ship ; in *Satura* XIV, 284-297, he compares an avaricious man, who imperils himself in a vessel for the sake of some gain, to the raving Orestes and the wild Aias in Euripides' and Sophocles' dramas ; he suggests that although such a man does not tear his clothes, he deserves to be placed under guardianship as devoid of all sense : *non unus mentes agitat furor*.

IN CUPIDOS NIMIS ET AVAROS NEGOTIATORES

Nota Buslidi

- P**ROH dolor, in quantos præceps ruit æquoris æstus
 Atque procellosas non bene uitat aquas,
 Diuitias solas sitienti pectore flagrans,
 Pauper, inops, querulus, semper auarus, egens.
 5 Quem non turbo furens, Boreas, Aquilo, Nothus, Euris,
 Turbidus at Auster, non glacialis hyems,

5 Nothus] *h* added over line S

10. omnia puncta ferens] Horace, *Ep. ad Pisones*, 343.

Non freta latrantis Scyllæ, non ora Charybdis,
 Non Syrtes, scopuli, non uada, saxa uetant
 Quo minus immenso pandat sua carbasa ponto,
 10 Et longo æquoreas remige sulcet aquas.
 At quum tempestas oritur, quum fulgurat ignes
 Terrificum fulmen, quum tonat usque polus,
 Tunc miser incassum testatur numina diuum,
 Illi ut presentem non refragentur opem.
 15 Sed sero moerens patrios liquisse penates,
 Insanis tandem fluctibus obruitur.

Auctor ad Lectorem

NVM fuit insanus, temerarius, improbus, audax,
 Ac nimium uitæ prodigus ipse suæ
 Qui prior est ausus tenui se credere ligno,
 20 Et uada cærulei lata secare freti ?
 Crede mihi, furor est, summa est uesania mentis,
 Natis posthabitis dulcibus atque focus,
 Caram uelle animam leuibus committere uentis,
 Et dubio cursu certa pericla sequi,
 25 Quum uitæ mortisque uias discriminat arcto
 Vix digyti spatio, fluctibus acta ratis.

BuslMS, 17-20 (b 9 r-10 v)XIX. — POEMS ON POLITICAL PERSONS AND
EVENTS

Under this heading are gathered smaller poems and chronograms on Emperor Maximilian (i), on Margaret of Austria (ii), on the longing for peace (iii, iv), and on the Treaty of Cambrai, December 10, 1508 (v, vi), with which all the foregoing poems of this section are connected. One monosticon-chronogram announces the coming into power of Charles of Austria, 1515 (vii).

10 sulcet] e corrected C (with small e over line)
 16/17 Auctor ad &c] on p. 16 21 (2nd) est] changed by C into et (over line)

21. furor est &c.] cp. Juvenal, *Satura* XIV, 284-297.

25-26. arcto Vix digyti &c.] Juvenal, *Satura* XIV, 289 : tabula distinguitur unda ; *Satura* XII, 57-59 ; i nunc et ventis animam committe dolato / confisus ligno,

digitis a morte remotus / quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima tæda ; Diogenes Laertes, I, viii, 5 (Anacharsis Apophthegmata) : μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πᾶχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλείοντας ἀπέχειν.

I. — *Ad diuum Cæsarem Maximilianum*

QVI sacri Imperij iustas moderatur habenas,
Cæsar adest, Martis gloria, Pacis honos.

II. — *Ad diuam Margaritam Augusti Filiam*

IINTER uernantes flores, gemmasque nitentes
Margaris Augusti, gloria prima manet.

Ad eandem

MARGARIS ecce nitens, sum Cæsaris inclyta proles,
Romanis Aquilis quæ candida Lilia iunxi.

III. — *Deprecatio calamitatum Belli*

ABSINT { Irrequies, discordia, bella, tumultus,
Impietas, incendia, præda, rapinæ,
Seditio, uiolentia, uincula, carcer,
Arma, furor, metus, iræ, et prælia, cædes,
Incursus, uastatio, damna, ruinæ,
Dira fames, lætalis pestis, egestas :
Ecce triumphanti Mars Paci porrrigit herbam.

IV. — *Gratulatio donorum almæ Pacis*

ADSINT { Læta quies, pax florida et otia longa,
Libertas, amor, unio, copia rerum,
Iustitia, et pietas, concordia, foedus,
Religio, probitas, pudor, aurea sæcla,
Spesque, fides, ius, phas, respectus honesti,
Virtutum cultus, Reuerentia legum :
Ecce triumphanti Mars Paci porrrigit herbam.

ii manet] *underl.* ; in right margin : vel / micat B
iii Deprecatio &c.] on p. 18 iii 6 pestis,] *added over line S*

i, 2. Cæsar adest] Maximilian of Austria was in the Netherlands in 1508 (cp. *Epp.* 54, *b*, *c* ; *Orat.* C, July 1508), although he did not take personally part in the making of the Treaty of Cambrai.

ii, 4. Romanis Aquilis... Lilia] It was Margaret of Austria in her desire to protect the Netherlands, who persuaded Louis XII through

his representative the Cardinal of Rouen to make a coalition with Maximilian, Roman King and Emperor-Elect, against Venice, in spite of her own quarrels and lifelong antipathy: *MargvOK*, 313, 322.

iii, 7. porrrigit herbam] also iv, 7, 14 ; cp. *Epp.* 6, 33, &c.

Alia Gratulatio

GAUDIA tristitiam tollant, solamina luctum,
 Lætitia gemitum, concordia bella, tumultum :
 Spes secure metum, requies tranquilla laborem :
 Vita necem, lamenta ioci, suspiria risus,
 Et curas somnus, lux nubila, copia rerum
 Pauperiem. Redeunt en otia, festa, triumphi,
 Quando triumphanti Paci Mars porrigit herbam.

v. — *In almæ Pacis Gratulationem**Disthyca*

Flamma, furor Martis ualeant, cruor, arma, rapinæ :
 Pacis læta quies, otia longa dabit.

Aliud

En redeunt requies, pax, otia, gaudia, festa,
 Tempora læta simul : Mars truculente uale.

Aliud

Mars truculente uale : pereant tua fulmina belli :
 En bona Pax nobis aurea sæcla feret.

VI. — *Disthycon complectens annum, locum et præcipuum Auctorem
 confectæ Pacis*

Florida pax oritur Cameraci : bella fugantur
 Gurcensis studio finibus ex patriæ.

Monosthycon in se continens annum, diem et locum initæ Pacis

Pacis perpetuæ Conceptio stat Cameraci.

Alia gratulatio &c.] on p. 19

v Disthyca] lined out vi Disthycon &c.] on p. 20

*vi & vii the letters which represent a figure are marked with a dot below ;
 they are italicized here : D is not used for a number : cp. MemAss., 226.*

v. *almæ Pacis gratulatio*] namely the Treaty of Cambrai.

vi, 1. Cameraci] the Treaty was signed there on December 10, 1508 : *MargvOK*, 321 333.

2. Gurcensis] Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurk, *Gurcensis*, was Maximilian's chief adviser ; he had led, on his master's behalf, most of the negotiations with the

Italian Republics, with Spain and France, with England and Hungary ; he was the great promotor of the League of Cambrai, at the proceedings of which he took a most active part : *Lang*, 4, sq ; *Pastor*, III, 629 ; *Bergh*, I, 126, 134, 158, 269, sq, 277, II, 63, 125 ; *MargvOK*, 254, 289, 310, 324-333.

VII. — *Monosthicon complectens Annum Auspicati Principatus Archiducis Caroli*

Carole clare veni tibi crædita iam foue scepra.

BuslMS, 22-27, 32-34 (c 2 v-c 7 r)

XX. — ON BUSLEYDEN'S MANSION

This group of small poems, mostly distichs, are connected with the fine house which the Provost of Aire had built at Mechlin : cp. before, §§ 38, sq. Cp. Martial, *Epigramm.*, XII, 50 : *In habentem Amoenas AEdes* ; the example of that master of epigrams, especially *Lib.* XIII and XIV, may have inspired the form of the distichs chosen for the description of the mansion, as well as that of the furniture, *Carm.* XXI.

IN ÆDES BVSLIDIANAS

I. — *In ædificantem*

Ædificas ? aderunt sumptus, dispendia, curæ.

Item

*Perdere uis nummos ? grauibus te subdere curis ?
Ac maiora pati ? continuo ædifica.*

Item

*Parcere uis nummis ? grauibus te soluere curis ?
Atque minora pati ? tu ædificare caue.*

II. — *Romulus in fastigio ædium*

*Martia progenies, Romani nominis auctor,
Hic mico conspicuus, culmina summa tenens.*

III. — *E regione ingressus bibliothecæ Buslidianæ*

Disthycon

*Me reuerenter adi : sedeo hic tutela bonorum,
Et uindex scelerum, legum imperiosa potestas.*

i & ii on p. 27 (c 7 r)
iii on p. 22 (c 4 v) iii 6 et] added over line C

vii, I. Carole] Charles of Austria was solemnly emancipated, and consequently became master of his estates in his own

right, on January 5, 1515 : Henne, II, 69-70 ; cp. before, §§ III, 116.
iii, 1-2. Me &c.] This seems to

In eandem, Tetrasthycon

HOSPES si certum est Sophiæ dare nomina claræ,
 Et iurare lubens in sua uerba uenis,
 Me pete : multiplices quos suppeto uolue libellos,
 Aggrediunda tibi qui et fugienda notant.

iv. — *Inscriptiones fabularum et hystoriarum quæ parietibus
 hypocausti Buslidiani depictæ sunt*

Tantalus

En æterna sitis profluis me torquet in undis :
 Et renouant diram subdita poma famem.

Phaeton

Ecce miser Phaeton qui magnis excidit ausis,
 Flectere dum patrios temere tentat equos.

Item

En ego dum coeli plagas temerarius intro,
 Stelligero præceps æthere ad ima ruo.

Scæuola

Quam mea cara mihi fuerit Respublica cordi,
 Sat probat igniuomis dextera adusta focis.

Demades Dionysio

Cædo scæptra tibi Dionysi, cædo et honores :
 Sat mihi sit curis libera uita. Vale.

iv Inscriptiones &c.] on p. 24 (c 5 v) 4. temere 5 plagas] underl, marked in lmg
 Scæuola &c.] on p. 25 (c 6 r)

apply, not to the Library, but to a statue or to a picture of *Themis*, *Justitia*, or possibly *Sophia*, which may have been placed, or hung, in front of the entrance to the Library.

iv, *hypocausti*] namely the room with a stove or fireplace, the 'drawing-room', not the dining-room. Of the first and the last scenes indicated here, Tantalus' history and Daniel's prophecy at the banquet of Balthasar, con-

siderable parts have been preserved ; the three other subjects referred to here, — to which has to be added, that of Judith killing Holophernes, — probably did not occupy a large space, and may have been used rather as side ornaments : or as separations : little seems to have been left of them.

Tantalus] cp. *Carm.* xxiv. iv, 9. *Demades*] cp. Plutarch, *Vita Demosthenis*, xi, xv, &c.

Conuiuia Balthasar : Daniel, c. v

Balthasarem sacris miscentem pocula uasis
Morte ferit celeri uindictis ira Dei.

Item

Quanta profanantes maneat res ultio sacras,
Præsagus tandem me Daniel docuit.

v. — *Argumenta rerum quæ in fenestris eiusdem loci depictæ sunt*

In primam hystoriam de <Dioscuris>

Ivnctus amor, fraterna fides, concordia rerum
Dant stabile, et tutum regibus Imperium.

Item

Vnanimes fratres, concors quos gratia firmat,
Impetus haud facile frangere, uisque potest.

In secundam hystoriam de Sertorio

5 Ingenium superat uires, industria robur,
Ardua sedulitas, armaque consilium.

Item

Quod labor, arma negant, uiresque, potentia, robur,
Vincitur ingenio, tempore et arte, dolo.

Item

Viribus haud semper, neque robore magna geruntur :
10 At magis ingenio, tempore, consilio.

v on p. 25 (c 6 r) *hystoriam de*] after it the name is lacking.
v (first) *Item* &c. on p. 26 (c 6 v)

v. *In primam hystoriam de*] possibly of the *Dioscuri*, *Castor* et *Pollux*, who jointly undertook and brought to a good end the rescuing of their sister Helen, by attacking Athens ; also the founding of *Dioscurias* during the expedition of the Argonauts ; and finally the battle against *Idas* and *Lynceus*, sons of *Aphareus*. Maybe reference is made to the well-known story of the dying father teaching his sons unity by a bundle of sticks.

4/5. *Sertorio*] *Quintus Sertorius*,

the sagacious politician and clever strategist, victoriously organized and defended Spain against *Sylla* and *Pompey*, until he fell by the treason of his officer *Perperna* in 72 B. C. His biography is amongst *Plutarch's Lives*, who compares him to *Eumenes*. Maybe the *hystoria* represented the fawn which had been given as a present by the natives, and which *Sertorius* tamed and made into a constant companion : it would be quite in keeping with *Lycurgus'* dogs.

Item

Quod nequeunt uires, labor improbus, arma, furorque,
Prouida sedulitas, et dies ipsa feret.

In tertiam hystoriam de Lycurgo

Intersit quantum teneris assuescier annis,
Hic geminos catulos offa lepusque docent.

VI. — *Disthyca per triclinij Buslidiani fenestras rebus pictis subscripta*

*Traductaque ex PETRARCHÆ TRIUMPHIS**Imago Cupidinis*

Blandulus emitto dulci lita tæla ueneno :
Sunt mihi præda homines, sunt mihi præda dei.

Pudicitia

Quem, nisi te foueat, superas, incœste Cupido ?
Vincere te didici sobrietate, fuga.

Mors

- 5 Quid iuuat aligeri uicisse Cupidinis arcum,
Quum te falce mea, Vita pudica, metam ?

Fama

Me bona uita parit ; per me post fata sepulti
Viuiunt : hinc merito, Mors fera, te supero.

Tempus

- 10 Gloria quid cineri ? quid phamæ uentulus umbris
Proderit ? esto iuuat, me tamen æsa perit.

Item Quod nequeunt &c.] *this distich was squashed in afterwards into the space left open*
vi : on p. 32 (c 2 v) 4/5 Mors &c.] on p. 33 (c 3 r)
9 phamæ] underl in *rmg* fame si placet B 10 æsa] under in *rmg* ille si placet B

12-13. *Lycurgo*] namely the way in which Lycurgus taught the love of work by two young dogs, one running to a plate with meat, the other to the hare : Erasmus, *Apophthegmata* : EOO, IV, 124, 2.
vi. *Petrarchæ Triumphis*] the first six distichs (*ll* 1-12) represent the main ideas of Petrarca's six *Trionfi* : Cupid, or Love, triumphs over the poet, over men and

gods ; Laura, or Chastity, overcomes him, but is vanquished by Death, over which, in its turn, Fame gets the victory ; the Sun, or Time, prevails over Celebrity, to be mastered in the final *trionfo* by Eternity, God. The seventh distich on God, and the ninth, on the poet, are also suggested by the *Trionfi*. Cp. before, § 41.

Aeternitas

Cæcus amor, niueusque pudor, mors, gloria, tempus
Præterit : ergo Deum quære perenne bonum.

Summum bonum

En ego uera salus, intermina uita beatis
Ciuibus : omnigenis affluo delitijs.

Diuus Hieronymus

- 15 Si sapires quam sit super omnia dulcis Iesus,
Mundi falsus amor, uerus amaror erit.

Franciscus Petrarcha

Ne tibi sola oculos pictura, lector, inani
Pasce : sed æternum mente capesse bonum.

BuslMS, 21-36 (c 1 r-c 8 v)

XXI — ON BUSLEYDEN'S FURNITURE

This group of short poems — mostly distichs, probably in imitation of Martial : cp. *Carm.* xx, *pr*, — illustrate some pieces of his furniture.

IN SVPELLECTILEM BVSLIDIANAM

I. — In horologium

disthyca Buslidi

Ne fugiant uolucris properantia curricula æui,
Assiduus monitor, tempora fluxa noto.

Aliud

Horas et numerum, momenta, et singula puncta
Adnoto : dispenses parcius ipse dies.

Aliud

Viue memor læti, duros tolerando labores :
Ocyor ecce uolat non reditura dies.

14/15 *Diuus &c.*] on p. 34 (c 3 v) 16 *amaror*] corrected from *amor* on right side of verse xxi, 1, In horologium &c.] on p. 29 (c 1 r)

16. *amor... amaror*] cp. Virgil, *Ecloga* III, 109-110 (*quisquis amor... experietur amarus*), *Georg.*, II, 247.

i, r. *horologium*] the lists of Busleyden's furniture mention a silver '*orologium*' placed on high pillars or feet (sold at 34 *Rfl* 15 s) ;

as well as a wooden '*orologie*' : *IBM*2, 292, r, 295, r. Amongst his valuables, entrusted to Josel on June 23, 1517, was '*vne petite orloge d'argent Aiant du sabelon dedens, serrée en vne boiste de bois*' : cp. *Rek.*, 47, r, 101, v ; § 93 ; *Epp.* 24, d.

Aliud

Tempora cara noto, celeri labentia cursu :
Artificis facit hoc ingeniosa manus.

Aliud

Ne cita te fugiant spatia irreuocabilis æui,
10 Nuntius horarum sedulus admoneo.

Aliud

Tempore quæque suo peragat sua munia prudens :
Horarum spatijs tempora dinumero.

Aliud

Ecce fugax ætas, mors proxima, uita caduca :
Viue hodie, moneo : crastina uita nihil.

Aliud

15 Omnia tempus habent. Apto sine tempore rectum
Nil fit. Quicquid agas, consule me, et sequere.

Aliud

Si brevis ætas, ars longa, experientia fallax :
Num pudet ad nostrum stertere, stulte, sonum ?

Aliud

Me frustra incusas si terque quaterque uocatus,
20 Intermissa diu non reuocas studia.

Aliud

Fare age. Quum opibus pelago terraque paratis
Parcis ? si caros prodigis usque dies.

Aliud

Cura hominum reperit me. Ars perficit, approbat usus.
Tu quoque si sapias, fac prober ipse tibi.

Aliud

25 Audieris modo me, fragilis cita tempora uitæ :
Protendes meritis tempus in omne tuis.

Aliud

Sit licet angusti breuior tibi terminus æui,
Te uixisse probet posteritas, moneo.

xxi, i, 11 Tempore &c.] on p. 30 (c 1 v) 13 ætas] added over line S
19 ter] changed into terque C 21 Fare &c.] on p. 31 (c 2 r)

i, 27-28. Sit... moneo] This warning for the good use of time so as to deserve the praise of posterity, is quite in harmony

with the spirit of humanism : it is also expressed in *Epp.* 17, 26, sq.

Aliud

Tempora dinumero, doceoque uolubilis æui
 30 Fluxos esse dies : te uigilare uelim.

Aliud

Quum perstent surdæ, longent data stamina Parcæ :
 Obserues si me, sat tibi longa dabo.

Aliud

Vita nihil quum sit, nisi commentatio mortis,
 Dum uacat atque licet, censeo : Disce mori.

II — Speculum Buslidiꝝ ad spectatorem

ex sententia Socratis

Ne uitijꝝ temeres, tibi sit si gratia formæ.
 Quæ si defuerit, uirtutibus excole pulchris.

Item

Forma placet ? caueas, ulla hanc infamia foedet.
 Displicet hæc ? studiꝝ damna repende bonis.

Item

5 Forma negata tibi ? ingenio et probitate repende ;
 Hæc data si fuerit, crimine non macules.

Item

Forma si placeas, uitijꝝ maculare caueto.
 Si minus hac placeas, moribus ipse place.

Aliud ex sententia Buslidiꝝ

En tibi sola hominum facies referentur et ora :
 10 Nosse animos cupies ? me latet, ipse uide.

Aliud

Nil agis, ex me animos hominum rescireque mores :
 Quando sola datum est ora referre tibi.

xxi, i, 31 Quum &c.] on p. 32 (c 2 v) 34 censeo] underl. — in rmg vel consulo B
 xxi, ii Speculum &c.] on p. 21 (c 4 r) xxi, ii, 8 Aliud &c.] on p. 22 (c 4 v)

ii, i, 1, sq. ex sententia Socratis]
 This refers to the maxim which
 Socrates gives when he advises
 'juvenes ad speculum se conti-
 nuerent subinde : si pulchri, ne
 quid indignum forma egregia
 committerent ; si non, ut anima
 sit pulchra, si non corpus :

EOO, iv, 160, B. In other apo-
 phthegmata quoted by Erasmus,
 Socrates constantly advises his
 fellow-men to take more care of
 the mind's beauty than of that
 of the body : EOO, iv, 91, B, 155,
 D, 160, B, 161, F, 162, C, D, 163, B,
 172, .

III. — Ad castum torum Buslidij

Disthycum

Blanda quies habito hic, placido comitata sopore,
Dulci quæ somno languida membra leuo.

Aliud

Anxia cura, uale : placido concede sopori,
Alto dum somno corpora fessa iuuat.

Aliud

- 5 Blanda quies, placidusque sopor, somnusque beatus,
Hoc reparant nitido corpora lassa toro.

Aliud

Sint procul hinc laceræ curæ, strepitusque molesti,
Artus defessos dum fouet alma quies.

Aliud

- Auree somne ueni. Repara sub nocte silenti
10 Artus, lassauit quos operosa dies.

Item

Lectule nostrorum requies tranquilla laborum,
Defesso domino iam rogo pande sinum.

IV. — Mensa Buslidiana

En ego pasco oculos, palatum iuuo, mulceo et aures
Pictura, dapibus, dulcibus atque sonis.

V. — Ad poculum Baccho sacrum

Disthycon

Adsum lætitiæ Bacchus dator : exue curas,
Indulge genio, lætus mea munera liba.

xxi, iii, ad castum &c.] on p. 23 (c 5 r) 2 leuo] *corr. from noto*
xxi, iii, 11 *Item* Lectule &c.] on p. 24 (c 5 v) xxi, iv, Mensa &c.] on p. 34 (c 3 v)
palatum] *underl.* ; in *rmg* linguam, gustum B
v ad poculum &c.] on p. 28 (c 7 v)

v. poculum Baccho sacrum] this is, no doubt, the ornamented cup which Busleyden had had made at Antwerp through the special care of dean Adrian Sandelicus, to whom several letters, *Epp.* 39 to 44, were written probably from the latter months of 1507

to the first of 1508, since the silversmith postponed the finishing of the eagerly desired piece of art. It is no doubt identical with the one which was bequeathed by Jerome de Busleyden to his brother Giles : it is described as a silver cup, gilded

Aliud

Cultores saluete mei. Mea munera læti
Carpite, libantes pocula plena mero.

Disthycon aliud

- 5 Abstemios odi, quibus est sat lympidus amnis,
Spernentes nostri dona beata meri.

Monosthycon

Pocula miscentes, uos Baccho incumbite læti.

Aliud

Vina coronantes, Baccho benedicite uestro.

In idem, Tetrasthycon

- Me { sine, { Musa { silet, { Charitesque iocique { facessunt,
 { prope, { { canit, { { triumphant,
10 Corda { algent, { Conuiua { jacet, { Conuiuia { languent.
 { calent, { { salit, { { feruent.

Qui uersus coniuncti, et in ordinem redacti, sic se habent :

Me sine, Musa silet, Charitesque iocique facessunt,
Corda algent, Conuiua iacet, Conuiuia languent.

Contra

- 15 Me prope, Musa canit, Charitesque iocique triumphant,
Corda calent, Conuiua salit, Conuiuia feruent.

Laus Vini

Exhylarant animum tria : Musica, Foemina,
Gaudia, spem, somnumque animos, dat nobile { VINVM.
Si te cura, metus, moeror macerant, bibe }

Damnatio Vini

- 20 Eneruant animos tria : Musica, Foemina,
Si placeant furor, arma, cruor, cædes, bibe { VINVM.
Subsequitur Venus, ebrietas, infamia }

8 In idem &c.] on p. 35 (c 8 r) 17 Laus &c.] on p. 36 (c 8 v)

inside and out, adorned with a ounces, — about 1.160 kg ; cp.
Bacchus — hence its name ; it § 83.
weighed four 'marks' and six

BuslMS, 36 (c 8 v)

XXII. — TO A MAECENAS

This poem — evidently a repeated request to a patron to obtain a certain advantage from Emperor Maximilian, — suggests the period following the leaving of Philip the Fair for Spain, when Maximilian took in hand the management of the country as tutor of Prince Charles. That patron was either Thomas de Plaine, the Great Chancellor of Burgundy, to whom Busleyden had offered a musical instrument by 1503, soon after his coming home from Padua (*Epp.* 11, *b, c*); — or the Councillor, John le Sauvage, who certainly was one of his well-wishers : cp. before, §§ 72, *sq.*

CUIDAM MOECENATI

IMPORTUNUS ego toties grauis atque molestus,
 Improbus en iterum te peto Hieronymus,
 Vt tandem faciles Inuicti Cæsaris aures
 Ad mea contendas flectere uota, preces :
 Quod si præstiteris Moecenas atque patronus,
 Omnia cui referam, tu mihi solus eris.

BuslMS, 37 (c 9 r)

<Last weeks of 1513>

XXIII. — HERCULES' CHOICE

These four distichs were inspired by Martin van Dorp's *Dialogus in quo Venus & Cupido omnes adhibent versutias ut Herculem animi ancipitem in suam Militiam inuita Virtute perpellant*, which he composed and had acted by his students in 1509, and which he published in the last months of 1513 : *Epp.* 72, *a-c*. Busleyden remarks upon it in his letter of the latter half of November 1513, as if it was the first time he had read it : *Epp.* 73, 1-27. This poem consequently belongs, for certain, to the last weeks of 1513.

*Herculem ambigentem qualem uiuendi uiam ingrederetur,
 Virtus et Voluptas ita compellant*

Virtus Herculem

Vis mea castra sequi ? Aerumnæ, labor, æstus, et alior
 Sunt obeunda tibi. Sic super astra uoles.

Voluptas Herculem

Delitiæ, illecebræ, risus, lasciuiæ, luxus
 Passim te recreent, signa sequendo mea.

Hercules ad Virtutem

Vt liceat pulchris uitam protendere factis,
Te sequor, o Virtus, qua duce clarus ero !

Hercules ad Voluptatem

Illecebras offerre tuas, male suada Voluptas,
Desine : Virtuti milito : dura iuuant !

BuslMS, 38-39 (c 9 v-c 10 r)

XXIV. — TANTALUS' WICKEDNESS AND PUNISHMENT

Busleyden describes in five four-line stanzas the subject of part of one of the large pictures on the walls of his *hypocaustum* ; he briefly sketched it by a distich, *Carm.* xx, iv, probably as this poem was already in existence. The metre of this *Carmen* is the *versus iambicus dimeter acatalectus* or *quaternarius*, in four similar verses ; although the second and the fourth foot have to be iambs, spondees frequently occur in those pair-numbered feet, as is seen in the first stanza : the 2nd foot of the first line and the last of the fourth are spondees.

TANTALUS

ex Bocatio de geneologia Deorum Libro duodeuigesimo

Carmen Iambicum

AVARUS hospes Tantalus
Diuos frequentes accipit.
Horum probans et numina
Coctum ministrat infantem.
5 Hoc horrido cibo dato
Deterriti dij, manus
Et ora continent, scelus
Ferentes ægre patratum.
Tam noxio piaculo
10 Et crimini nephario,
Poenam repensuri parem,
Hoc Tantalum mulctant malo,
Quod semper undis profluis
Mersum sitis coquat grauiss ;

5 Hercules ad Virtutem 7 ... ad Voluptatem] ad added over lines B
3 et] added over line B

Bocatio de geneologia Deorum l. xviii.] Cp. Polain, l. 712-14.

- 15 Quem dira torqueat fames,
 Pomis labrum fallentibus.
 Quisquis paratis abstinet
 Diues, neque audet ijs frui,
 Hic Tantalum recte refert :
 20 Dignus fame et siti mori.

BuslMS, 39 (c 10 r)

<Spring 1513>

XXV. — TO FERRY DE CARONDELET

This little poem was evidently meant as a welcome when his old friend was recalled from Italy in the month of May 1513 to become the author's colleague as member of the Great Council of Mechlin; he did not stay very long, though, and soon returned to beyond the Alps: cp. *Epp.* 7, b, c.

Ferrico, incomparabili Amico

INTER collegas salue, Ferrice, probatos,
 Et doctos inter gloria prima uiros.
 Sat mare, sat terras lustrasti, flumina et urbes;
 Sat mores hominum, sat quoque Iura tenes.
 Sat tibi prospectum, quem multa accessio ditat
 Rerum, littrarum, laudis, honoris, opum.
 Ergo stare domi, uti partis, uiuere liber :
 Hoc tibi si certum est, nonne beatus eris ?

BuslMS, 34 (c 3 v)

XXVI. — ON LEONARD PRICCARD

- a In this quatrain — evidently inserted in the collection at the very last ¹⁾ — Busleyden makes fun of one of his acquaintances attributing to him a habit as queer as that ascribed to the Emperor T. Flavius Domitianus.
- b That Leonard PRICCARD, or Prickert, probably a native of Aix ²⁾, studied in Paris, promoting B. A. in 1492, and M. A. in 1493. He

17 Quisquis &c.] on p. 39 6 littrarum]

¹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 111, 115, 116, 118.

²⁾ The 'Reyn. Prijcardus', who matriculated for the study of arts in Cologne University on April 13, 1495, but did not pay any dues on account of well testified poverty, was also 'Aquensis, dioc. Leodien-sis': Keussen, 369; he may have been Leonard's relative.

entered the Liège clergy, and secured a canonry in St. Adalbert's of Aix, as well as three chaplaincies gathered into one in the parish church of Körrenzig, within the collation of St. Adalbert's Chapter, where he — her Pryckert zu Aich — is recorded on June 28, 1533, for having as 'altarist' one Godart Kerff ¹⁾. He does not seem to have been very prosperous, for he borrowed money from Busleyden, — whom he may have met in France ; when after the latter's death, his executors gathered all outstanding debts, they did not succeed in realizing their claims on Priccard, who at the closing of their account, January 24, 1525, still owed over 14 Rhine florins ²⁾.

^c In September 1518, Erasmus, returning from Basle to Louvain, made Priccard's acquaintance at Aix ; on a following visit, in November 1520, coming back from Cologne, and bound for Louvain, he was heartily welcomed, and stayed several days at his house ³⁾ : the *dies Dominica* which could not keep him any more from starting the journey than the bad weather or the urging requests of his host and the friends he had gathered ⁴⁾, was not November 18 ⁵⁾, but, no doubt, the feast of St. Catherine, Sunday November 25, — which explains the festivity at Aix, as well as his absence from Louvain on that day on which a Dominican had slandered him in his sermon ⁶⁾. Erasmus greatly esteemed Priccard, describing him as : *homo hominum qui vivunt humanissimus* ⁷⁾, and praising him in the preface to his edition of the *Quæstiones Tusculanæ*, October 1523 ⁸⁾. He kept up a correspondence with him ⁹⁾, and sent him a copy of his *Vidua Christiana* in March 1529 through the dean of St. Mary's, at Aix, John Schoenrad : FG, II 7, 22 ; Allen, VIII, 2130, 115. Priccard was still in St. Adalbert's in 1535 : Allen, III, 972, *pr* ; O. R. Redlich, *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XLI : 1908 : 170, *n*.

IN LEONARDUM PRICARDUM

SAEPE stili mucrone leues ut figere muscas
Est solitus, solus Domitianus agens :
Sic solus pulchris spatians Leonardus in hortis,
Balista coruos conficit usque truces.

1-2. figere muscas... Domitianus] : Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, 3.

¹⁾ Redlich, II, i, 123-124 ; *Aachener Zeitschrift*, IV, 348, *sq*.

²⁾ 'Een obligacie van M. Lenaert piccaert Canonick van Aken van xiiij R. x st.' : *Rek.*, 100, *v*.

³⁾ Allen, III, 904, 8, IV, 1169, 6-12.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1169, 9-13.

⁵⁾ As is suggested in Allen, IV, 1155, *pr.*, 1169, 12.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1164, 58.

⁷⁾ Allen, IV, 1169, 8.

⁸⁾ Allen, V, 1390, 134-139 : *vir et eruditione varia et morum integritate, et multo rerum vsu consultissimus*.

⁹⁾ There is hardly any need to identify him with the *Leonardus*, who with *Ægidius* keeps up part of the *Domestica Confabulatio* (EOO, I, 636, 1-2), as is suggested in PreSmith, 7.

BuslMS, 39 (c 10 r)

XXVII. — VEGERIUS' ENVOY

These four lines were added by Conrad Vegerius (*Epp.* 63, *b-e*) to the manuscript copy of Busleyden's compositions¹⁾, which he had corrected, copied out and adorned; with great delicacy, he joins the gratitude of the '*alumnus*', the guest, to the smallness of the service rendered, which brings him to utter the wish that Busleyden's work in *his* handwriting may last for ever: cp. before, §§ 53, 111. —

To those lines one of the first owners of this collection added to the right of '*Librarius*': *Hic fuit Conradus Veccrius. primus prefectus Collegij / Attrebateñ. Louanij. postea a / Secretis pape Hadriani Sexti.*

Librarius

QVAS tibi conscripsit, mittitque dicatus alumnus,
Grato sume animo, Buslidiane, notas :
Contigerisque rudem quoties absentis opellam,
Perstet in æternum Veccria, posce, manus.

BuslMS, 62 (fly-leaf, v)

THOMAS MORE'S RECOMMENDATION

No less a person than Thomas More perused — one of the first — Busleyden's compositions as Vegerius had written them out, and on the last page of the fly-leaves, he wrote himself²⁾ the following four verses to praise his friend as well for his prose as for his 'poetry', as he had already done in one of his epigrams (cp. before, § 117); he turned it into a eulogy of Busleyden's devotion and erudition, calling him a fine glory of his native country. Cp. *p* 155.

THOME MORI TETRASTHICON

SEU numeris astricta probas, seu libera uerba,
Si pia scripta tibi, si tibi docta placent,
Hæc lege, quæ musis, quæ plenus Apolline scripsit
Buslidius, patrij gloria rara soli.

Title. Librarius] the word is used here, no doubt, in the sense of: copyist: cp. Martial, *Epigramm.* 11, 8: *Ad Lectorem*: Non

meus est error: nocuit librarius illis, / Dum properat versus annumerare tibi.

¹⁾ The hand is much larger than that of the documents copied in the beginning, and the ink is lighter and almost brown. Cp. *p* 159.

²⁾ The title and the four lines show the characteristic peculiarities of More's writing as they appear in his autograph letters, *Cran.*, 115, 156, 177 and 242. Cp. *p* 155.

2. ORATIONES

BuslMS, 54-58 (g v-i v)

⟨Mechlin, March 23, 1505⟩

A. — HOMILY ON EASTER DAY

This Homily, together with the poem on the same subject, *Carm.* XIV, was dedicated to the Aix Patrician Judocus v. Beyssel by *Epp.* 22 ; most likely it was composed for Easter Sunday, March 23, 1505 (cp. preface to the dedicatory letter). It is followed by a few lines, A, 52-59, an introduction to the Hymn on Easter Day, *Carm.* XIV, here joined to the text of this Homily.

HOMILIA IN DIE RESURRECTIONIS

SACRATISSIMÆ diei Resurrectionis Dominicæ altum
mysterium, gloriosum triumphum pie recolentes, quis-
nam est illius qui aut altitudinem aut excellentiam recte
queat uel lingua æquare, uel literis consequi ? Maxime quo
5 pientissimus Jesus Christus, dirissima morte exanclata, diruptis
Erebi obicibus, opimo hinc spolio relato, tandem post triduum
redux a mortuis rediuius, victoria clarus, adseclis suis incly-
te apparuit, corporea sua manifestatione, re ipsa ostendens,
quantæ esset uirtutis eius omnipotentia, quanti uigoris es-
10 sentia, quanta bonitatis suæ in humanum genus abundantia,
qua inprimis uoluit, nostræ carnis ergastulo adsumpto, ho-
minem agere humanum : cuius infirmitas nostra foret sanitas ;
cuius passio, nostra consolatio ; cuius gloriosa a morte respi-
ratio, certissimam fidem (ne dicam confessum argumentum)
15 universali resurrectioni futuræ adferret.

O ergo inscrutabilis diuinæ sapientiæ prouidentia ! O mira
potentia dexteræ uirtutis excelsæ ! O extantum brachium Dei
altissimi, fidelibus præsidium, terribile gentibus, Judæis
flagellum ; qui nimia peruicacia ducti, inuidia tabescentes,
20 odio perciti : maleuolentia summum bonum, calumnia uerita-
tem, rabie agnum innocuum persecuti sunt : quorum tamen
truculentam immanitatem Christus animo æquo sustinuit, ut
nobis patientiam commendaret ; temporariam mortem uolens

obiit, ut æternæ nos uitæ adsereret ; militarem sui corporis ad
 25 monumentum custodiam fefellit, vt hinc suam omnipoten-
 tiam argueret ; a mortuis demum surrexit, ut nobis hac uita
 functis resurgendi quoque fidem adstrueret.

Quod quum ita sit, nunquid iure merito nos creati, tantum
 creatorem ; plasmati, tantum plasmatorem ; redempti, tam
 30 pium redemptorem non laudabimus, glorificabimus, benedi-
 cemus ? præsertim hoc lætissimo, fulgentissimo paschali die,
 qui pijs ac bene institutis mentibus, dies summæ celebritatis,
 publicæ lætitiæ, insignis gratulationis haud iniuria esse debet,
 vtpote quem (si Scripturæ credimus) fecit Dominus ; quem
 35 pulcherrimo admirabilis hodiernæ Resurrectionis trophæo,
 uniuerso pene orbi memorabilem reddidit ; quem, præterea,
 maioribus nostris annua memoria olim celebrandum statuit
 ob incomparabile beneficium ipsis eo die impensum, jucundis-
 simæ scilicet liberationis a durissimo iugo Ægyptiacæ serui-
 40 tutis, quo annos quam plurimos, procul a penetibus et focus,
 dulci patria, uagi, palantes, extorres, grauissimam luebant
 seruitutem.

Jta et nos hodie præsentaneo remedio mirificæ resuscitatio-
 nis suæ liberauit, quos iamdudum noxialis ille reatus proto-
 45 parentis, diraque eius præuaricationis lues in posteros trans-
 fusa, tyrannidi diaboli (tenebrarum principis) subiecerat.
 Vnde laus, honor, gloria sit Christo gloriose resurgenti, nos
 qui perpetuæ seruituti mancipatos, morti sempiternæ ob-
 noxios, talento sui sanguinis pretiosissimo et intercedente tam
 50 mirificæ resurrectionis mysterio, sublata seruitute, liberta-
 tem, extincta morte, uitam repromisit æternam.

In cuius tanti (idque incomparabilis) beneficij gratulatio-
 nem, gratitudinemque subiectum (ut potuimus) cecinimus
 Carmen : quod qualecunque sit, velim tu, candide lector, le-
 55 gens boni consulas, nusquam in eo quærendo lenocinia uerbo-
 rum aut fucos rhetorum, aut aurium illecebras delicatarum
 (quibus minus studuimus), sed unam satius pietatem atque
 gratitudinem : cuius modo uestigium aliquod in eo appareat,
 sat nobis erit si uel cætera (quæ longe magis probares) desint.

25 custodiam &c.] on p. 56
 30 glorificabimus] bi added over line S 41 grauissimam &c.] on p. 57
 44 proto-] lined out, in lmg replaced by primi
 54 lector legens] in MS Legtor lined out, legens ruled through
 58 appareat &c.] on p. 58

BuslMS, 83-96 (d 1 r-d 7 v)

〈Rome, Winter of 1505-1506〉

B. — GRATULATORY ORATION TO POPE JULIUS II

OBEDIENCE EMBASSY

In the last weeks of 1505, Busleyden was sent as one of a party of delegates by Philip the Fair to Pope Julius II to congratulate him on his election and coronation, as well as to express his obedience (ll. 20, 62, 110, 200, 208) and his most reverend wishes to the new Pontiff. He was entrusted with the formal oration to be delivered to the Pope attended by the College of Cardinals, in which he also touched upon the circumstances that had caused the long delay. The embassy returned in the beginning of 1506. Cp. Nève*Busl.*, 11, 41, *sq.*

〈ORATIO HABITA〉

APVD IVLIVM II. PONT. MAX.

SI Philosophi illi sagacissimi rerum indagatores, atque inter eos Aristoteles, acerrimo uir ingenio, optimam putauere administrandæ uniuersitati Monarchiam, id est unius principatum ; si præterea in ueteri lege (quum omnia essent figuris
5 quibusdam adumbrata) Dei populo unus fuit Dux, unus Rex, unus Sacerdos summus, cui nephas erat et grande piaculum non in omnibus paruisse : quanto iustius ac æquius credas, Beatissime Pater, a Christo institutum, ut Ecclesia hæc militans, instar triumphantis in cœlis Ecclesiæ ordinata, uni
10 subsit Pontifici, uno regatur Moderatore, cui relligiosissime obtemperent quicunque Christiano nomine censentur.

Vnde non sine ratione et cœlesti quadam prouidentia multa iam sæcula inoleuit, quoties ex humanis sublato Romano Pontifici (qui nimirum Summus habetur) alius est surrogatus,
15 prouinciatim ac opidatim mittantur Oratores nouo Pontifici gratulatum, qui Cardinalium uota comprobent, et quasi publica uoce Principum populique gaudia una cum obedientiæ

12 Vnde &c.] on p. 84

IVLIVM II] Jules II was elected as successor to Pius III in the conclave of October 31, 1503 after a few hours' deliberation ; he was proclaimed as Pope on the next morning : Pastor, III, 563-65.

2. Aristoteles] In his *Politics* Aristotle does not propose any special form of government but he condemns whatever forgoes the general welfare for private or particular advantage.

- delatione testentur. A quo tam antiquo ac iamdiu recepto
 instituto ne discedere censeatur Catholicus Castellæ Rex,
 20 Sanctitatis Tuæ obsequentissimus filius, nos ad Te misit Ora-
 tores. Venimus itaque Regio iussu, sincæram deuotionem ac
 perpetuam eius in Te fidem, pietatem, obseruantiam deferen-
 tes. Venimus, inquam, Te indubitatum Christi Vicarium, in
 hoc augustissimo throno sedentem de more ueneraturi.
- 25 Quod si id serius ac decuit, non inde profectum esse Tibi
 persuadeas, quod hac in re aut negligentior cæteris Christianis
 Principibus, aut huic Sacræ Sedi minus deuotus fuerit Rex
 noster Serenissimus, quo nescio an æque quisquam, certe
 nemo magis est ei addictus ; sed, contra, quod negotijs non
 30 tam arduis quam uel prorsus necessarijs interea distractus
 extiterit, quæ in aliud tempus non sine et suo et suorum peri-
 culo differri poterant. Quippe ubi primum istius diuinæ uoca-
 tionis Tuæ iucundissimum nuntium increbruit, nondum bien-
 nalem illam triumphalemque Hyspaniarum, Galliarum et Ger-
 35 mania peragrationem absoluerat, in qua Gallos Hispanis
 sæuo bello dissidentes, pacis legibus confoederauit. Inde autem
 uixdum reuersum atque in Gallijs adhuc agentem ualetudo
 aduersa, et ea fere lætalis excepit. Mox (ut sunt mala, quibus-
 dam quasi ansulis sese continentia) sequuta est immatura illa
 40 et inopinata mors parentis suæ Clarissimæ Hyspaniarum Re-
 ginæ. Post hæc Sicambrorum oborta defectio alio Regium

26 aut] *over line* 28 quo nescio &c.] *on p. 85* 39 quasi] *over line S*

25. serius] although delegations or missions of obedience generally follow shortly on the accession or the nomination of a new pope, a delay of more than two years had passed before Philip of Austria's homage reached Julius II.

33-35. biennalem... peregrinationem] Philip the Fair left Brussels on November 4, 1501, with his wife Juana of Castile, passing through France ; after having been very well received in Castile, he returned by himself on December 22, 1502, and negotiated a treaty with Louis XII ; he met his father at Innsbruck, and left him on October 6 ; he was back in this country in the first days of November (8 in Louvain, 9 at

Mechlin) 1503 (Henne, I, 37-48) : Erasmus pronounced the speech of welcome on Jan. 6, 1504.

36. pacis legibus] the treaty elaborated at the meeting of Lyons, on March 22, 1503, was signed there on April 5 (Henne, I, 42-43).

37. ualetudo aduersa] Philip had fallen ill in the Spring of 1503, and spent some time at Bourges in his convalescence (Henne, I, 47).

40. mors parentis] Isabella of Castile died on November 24, 1504 (Altamira, II, 397).

41. Sicambrorum... defectio] Charles of Egmont started hostilities in the autumn of 1504 (Henne, I, 58-61).

animum abduxit, pacificasque eius manus armauit ad bellum, cui gerendo hactenus fuit occupatissimus. Hæc, inquam, Beatissime Pater, aliaque urgentissima negotia hucusque sunt
 45 remorata aduentum : cui credas, quæso, tantum additum affectus et deuotionis, quantum præter opinionem accesserit temporis.

Quam tamen deuotionem nolim Tua Sanctitas sterili oratione mea explicandam expectet, quin satius existimet (id
 50 quod est) tam meo animo uerba deesse, quam uel animus ipsi rei deest. Dicam tamen de ea non nihil : inde laudibus aliquot Tuis summatim decursis (ut commisso Legationis munere defungamur) Sanctitatem Tuam ultronea obedientia uenerabimur : quæ obsecro Tu, Beatissime Pater, uosque fir-
 55 missimi Rei Christianæ Cardines, ut soletis, benignis accipiat auribus, atque ut semper alijs, ita nunc mihi hoc in celeberrimo coetu uerba facturo estote faciles, quandoquidem hoc orandi munus non mihi desumpsi (quod quidem fuisset arrogantissimum), uerum reluctans omnino, ne dicam inuitus
 60 suscepi : minus malum esse ratus adire periculum phamæ quam tam iustis et sanctis Regijs mandatis non paruiss.

Hunc igitur Regem nostrum Sacrosanctæ huic Sedi iampridem deuotum esse, citra alia argumenta, liquido testatur hæc Legatio, quæ uel hoc aspero et difficilimo itinere, hyeme
 65 tam inclæmenti, ut primum per negotia licuit, ad Te uenit. Quam autem firma sit et rata futura, coniectabit facile quisquis maiorum eius in eandem merita, quisquis studia pressius, penitiusque perspexerit. Siquidem in genere paterno, id est augustissima et nobilissima Austriæ domo, clarissimus ille
 70 Rodolphus Imperator Bononiam amplissimam Italiæ ciuitatem, ac totam Flamineam Romanæ Ecclesiæ addidit. Albertus Hussitas, ferocissimos Bohemiæ populos, non minus Ecclesiæ

44 urgentissima &c.] on p. 86
 62 Regem &c.] on p. 87 71 Flamineam] 1 added afterwards C

64. aspero... itinere] As the journey was undertaken at the very end of the year, bad weather increased the difficulties of the long road : *ChronMét.*, 115.

70. Rodolphus] viz., Rudolph II (1273-1294) : *IconImp.*, 314-20.

70. Bononiam... ac Flamineam] in 1285 Rudolph II returned to

the Church the territory of Romandiola and the Exarchate of Ravenna, as the Italian wars had been disastrous to Germany : *IconImp.*, 320.

72. Hussitas] Albert II, emperor from 1438 to 1439, waged war against the Hussites, before his election : *IconImp.*, 354-357.

huic quam uel Religioni infestos, horrenda bella mouentes pro-
 fligauit. Et Foedericushuius nostri Regis auus, uir ipso Imperio
 75 præstantior, plurima præclara (quanquam non satis fauenti-
 bus astris) pro Ecclesia molitus est, quum sæpe alias, tum in
 conuentu illo quem magna celebritate, summa fide Ratispo-
 nam conuocauerat. Accedit ijs Maximilianus pater, rex
 uictoriosus prout inuictissimus ex omnibus iampridem et ab
 80 omnibus lectus Imperator : cui nihil est magis in uotis quam
 suis in Romanam Ecclesiam meritis, aliquid gerere Impera-
 torio nomine dignum, quo et maiorum laudem suis uirtutibus
 reddat illustriorem, simulque filio ac nepotulis semet exem-
 plar uirtutum exhibeat absolutissimum, optima illa relicta
 85 hæritate, gloria rerum præclare gestarum. Quem quidem
 speramus propediem Tuam, Pontifex Maxime, Sanctitatem
 aditurum, a qua Imperiali diademate donatus, perfidis Ma-
 humetæ sectatoribus, concoeptum iamdudum bellum summis
 uiribus moueat.

90 In materno quoque Burgundionum genere Principes flo-
 ruere quam plurimi de fide Catholica et Ecclesia Romana
 optime meriti. E quibus Philippus, nostri proauus, in schis-
 mate illo quod sub Eugenio Quarto perniciosissime serpsit,
 adeo Apostolicæ Sedis partes tutatus est, ut Eugenio fauerit
 95 potius Pontifici quam Felici, sibi sanguinis necessitudine
 coniuncto. Reliquit et apud Rhodios ualidissimam arcem,

78 Maximilianus &c.] on p. 88
 96 Reliquit &c.] on p. 89

75. non satis fauentibus astris] Frederic IV, elected emperor in 1440, had to contend with several difficulties and revolts during his reign, which lasted till his death in 1493 : *IconImp.*, 358-361.

77. Ratisponam] the meeting of Ratisbon, convened for April 23, 1454, was to deliberate about the resistance against the Turks : very few princes attended it; even Frederic himself was represented by delegates : *Pastor*, I, 480-81 ; other meetings convened by Frederic IV were not more successful : *IconImp.*, 360.

87. Imperiali diademate] it was not given yet in 1507, when Pope Julius II dissuaded Maximilian from coming to Italy to be

crowned : *Epp.* 54, c ; *MargvOK*, 285, sq.

95. Felici] Amedee of Savoy, proclaimed (anti)pope on November 5, 1439 by a ridiculously small group of prelates at the Synod of Basle, took the name of Felix V ; Philip the Good was one of the staunchest supporters of Eugene IV : *Pastor*, I, 254, 257.

96. Rhodios] Philip the Good was one of the most ardent promoters of the Crusade ; in 1451 he sent a mission to Rome to organize an expedition and was one of the few who attended the Ratisbon meeting convened for that purpose ; on December 1455, after the fall of Constantinople, he took the cross with great solemnity ;

quam orthodoxæ fidei munitissimum propugnaculum contra immanissimorum Turcarum impetus, suo maximo sumptu opposuit. Cuius paulo ante pater Ioannes Dux, belli et pacis
 100artibus iuxta præstantissimus, quum semet murum obijceret pro domo Israhel, fortissime quidem, sed parum prospere dimicans, truculentis et Christianum sanguinem sitientibus Turcis, contigit in prædam. Adde præterea quod is Rex noster tribus Hyspaniæ Regnis nuper initiatus atque inaugu-
 105ratus est, cuius Reges tam singulari significatione pietatis et religionis, unam semper Catholicam sunt amplexi Ecclesiam, ut hoc argumento Catholicorum nuncupationem sibi peculiariter uendicauerint. Hæc, inquam, qui lynceis (quod aiunt) oculis peruiderit, coniectabit facile maximam semper hanc et
 110propensissimam Catholici Regis nostri deuotionem, accrescente ætate pariter incrementa facturam.

yet Pope Calixtus complained by December 1457 that the money which he had collected, and that which he had promised to contribute himself, was still expected and claimed in vain (Pastor, I, 521, 523, 540, 580, 585, 685). He actually accepted to take part in the crusade prepared by Pius II, and rigged out a big ship at St. Bernard's, near Antwerp; still in February 1464, he let himself be influenced by King Louis XI, and he apologized to the Pope for not coming in person. He sent his natural son Antony with 3000 men: the latter resented the cold reception at Venice; at the death of Pius II at Ancona, August 14, 1464, they disbanded without having done anything worth commemorating: Pastor, II, 50, sq, 187, 221-244, 257; *AntvAnn.*, II, 65; G. Doutrepoint, *La Croisade projetée par Philippe le Bon contre les Turcs* (in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Nation.*: MS. franç. 11.594: xli, 1923): 1-28; Burckhardt, 358, 524.; *AltRel.*, 40, sq.

99. [Ioannes Dux] as a youth Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy was sent at the head of a French army to help Siegmund of

Hungary in 1396 against Bajazet I, who crushed them at Nicopolis on September 28: with a few companions John was ransomed, as is related in James de Meyere's *Commentarii, sive Annales Rerum Flandricarum* (Antwerp 1561): 213, b - 215, a.

101. Fortissime &c] the arrogant French knights attacked before their army was ready, and sent back their horses to fight the Turks with equal arms: taken as a sign of defeat, it caused a general rout: *FlandAnn.*, 213, b.

104. tribus Hyspaniæ Regnis] the realms of Castile, Leon and Granada, of which Philip was proclaimed King after the funeral service of Isabella of Castile, at St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, or January 14, 1505: Henne, I, 62; Altamira, II, 397.

107. Catholicorum] the title first granted to King Recaredo in a Council of Toledo of about 588, was given to Ferdinand and Isabella by Alexander VI, it seems, for their struggle against the Moors: Altamira, I, 177, sq, II, 378, sq.

108. lynceis... oculis] Erasmus: *Lynceo perspicacior*: *ErAdag.*, 427, E.

Verum ne suscepti muneris oblitus, Regi quasi panegyricum uidear decantare, missa hæc faciam, et de tuis diuinis laudibus (quod me secundo facturum receperam) dicam non
 115nihil, Pontifex Maxime. Quam prouinciam uideo me coepisse durissimam, cui nedum mea (quæ admodum tenuis est) oratio, cæterum uix aut Demosthenis aut Ciceronis ora doctiloqua satisfacerent. Deterret quoque non tam Tua maiestas augustissima, quam admirabilis modestia, qui æquiore animo
 120alienas laudes audis quam Tuas; nec eas quidem in Te agnoscis quæ sunt omnibus perspectissimæ. Sed da, oro, ueniam, si more eorum qui obedientiam afferunt, ex immenso agmine paucissima quædam quum huius almæ Sedis, tum Tuæ Sanctitatis preconia obiter delibauero. Tradit euangelica
 125ueritas Christum, humani generis adsertorem, ascensurum ad Patrem, Petro Apostolorum vertici (cui ab hac re Cephæ cognomentum fuit) suas oues pascendas credidisse, immensa illa tradita potestate, quicquid in terris solueret, solutum in cœlis, quicquid hic alligaret, illic foret alligatum. Quam po-
 130testatem Petrus, Hierosolymis et Antiochia posthabitis, huc attulit, hic exercuit, posteris suis reliquit exercendam. Quare haud dubie Sedes hæc Petri primaria semper et summa fuit, a summo maximo Deo instituta, summa potestate prædita, hoc celeberrimo orbis terrarum loco collocata, cui submittunt sua
 135colla, incuruant genua Principes terræ, utpote coram qua procidunt Æthiopes et inimici terram lingunt; super quam fundata est Domini Ecclesia, tot Sanctorum Martyrum sacra sanguine, tot sanctissimis administrata Pontificibus; unde tam multæ sanctiones, tam salutaria decreta in anima-
 140rum salutem prodire; quæ schismatibus, hæresibus, sectis reprobis et infinitis ferme tyrannorum insultibus oppugnata non succubuit; sed instar palmæ arboris quo uehementius est pressa, eo surrexit ualidior, substitit infractor, effloruit lætior.

112 Regi &c.] on p. 90 119 augustissima] - ssi - over line S
 129 quicquid &c.] on p. 91 142 uehementius] first e not clear

136. procidunt... lingunt]
 PSALM. LXXI, 9 : Coram illo pro-
 cidet Æthiopes : et inimici ejus
 terram lingent.

142. instar palmæ &c] Aulus
 Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, III, vi.

145 Quorsum hæc de Sede tam multa, nisi quod omnia ad tuam
 laudem faciunt, Iulie Secunde Pontifex Maxime, quæcunque
 huic solio tribui possunt laude digna: quæ sicuti omnem curam,
 ita ei comitem gloriam in Te unum transfert. Quem Saona
 illa, non ignobilis Genuensium ciuitas, auspicato progeniuit,
 150 antiqua et clarissima Ruuerensium familia auspicatius edu-
 cavit: duo certe non contemnenda ad uirtutem et gloriam in-
 citamenta, quæ tam multos sæpenumero uiros quum ingenio,
 tum doctrina præstantes edidere; quæ non paucos Cardinales,
 ac nuper duos produxere Pontifices Maximos, ambos sapien-
 155 tissimos simul et sanctissimos. Qui puellus adhuc disciplinis
 liberalibus indefesso labore incumbens, dextrum illud uirtu-
 tum iter peruasisti, quod difficilem aditum primum spectan-
 tibus offert, sed requiem præbet fessis in uertice summo. At-
 que inde ubi primum per ætatem licuit, res maximas et præ-
 160 clarissimas obeundo, et multas regiones peragrando, Vlys-
 seam quandam, id est uiuam sapientiam tibi parasti, sicque

145 nisi &c.] on p. 92
 146 Iulie... Maxime] in MS Iuli. II Pont. Max.

148. Saona] Julius II, Giuliano della Rovere, was born at Albizola, near Savona, in Liguria, on December 5, 1443; he greatly appreciated his native country (Pastor, II, 428, III, 565).

150. Ruuerensium familia] cp. Pastor, III, 282, sq.

153. non paucos Cardinales] under the pontificate of Sixtus IV were created Cardinals, on December 16, 1471, Giuliano della Rovere and his cousin Pietro Riario; on December 10, 1477, three other cousins: Cristoforo della Rovere, Girolamo Basso della Rovere and Raffaello Sansoni Riario; at Alexander VI's election there was another Cardinal-cousin, Domenico della Rovere: Pastor, II, 424-28, 550-51, 582, III, 292, 295, 358, &c.

154. nuper duos produxere Pontifices Maximos] Francesco della Rovere, a native of Savona, became Pope Sixtus IV on August 9, 1471, and died on August 12, 1484: he was the first pope of that family; Julius II

was the second. No doubt Busleyden recalls here their predecessor Nicolas V, Tommaso Parentucelli, of Sarzana, Liguria, (1447-1455), their countryman, who offered great similitude for the earnestness of character, and for the protection bestowed on arts and erudition: it was he who started the collection of classical manuscripts in the Vatican Library, which Sixtus IV and Julius II greatly enriched; Nicolas also began adorning Rome and the Vatican, to which the della Rovere's contributed the wonders of the Sistine Chapel, and the magnificent works of Raphael and Michael Angelo: Pastor II, 412-563, 564, sq; Sandys, II, 65, &c.

160. multas regiones peragrando] Giuliano della Rovere fulfilled many missions under the pontificate of his uncle, not only in Italy, but in France in 1476, and in France and the Netherlands as Papal Legate from 1480 to 1482: Pastor, II, 445, sq, 488-89, 496-99, 501-08, 572.

cunctarum uirtutum (quod dicitur) circulum omni ex parte absoluisti, in tantum, ut illum Apollinem (quem Lacedæmonij quaternis manibus ac totidem auribus fingeant) nobis expri-
 165mas quam uerissime, scilicet qui non modo præclara multa audieris, quin etiam gesseris ipse præclariora, quod ijs quaternis Apollinis auribus manibusque Lacedæmonij innuebant.

Inde nimirum in hoc felici rerum successu tanta modestia,
 170in tam augusto principatus fastigio ea comitate temperata maiestas ut neque comitas minuatur reuerentiam, nec maiestas officiat gratiæ; quin satius quemadmodum hic terrarum orbis nihil habet te uno maius, nihil augustius, ita nihil facilius, nihil clémentius, submissiusque. Hæc uidelicet sunt peculia-
 175res illæ dotes Tuæ, Pater Sanctissime, quæ Te inprimis cœlitibus charum reddunt; istud tibi summum peperere sacerdotium, triplici te corona insigniuere. Gaudeat igitur Saona huius decoris parens felicissima. Lætetur grex dominicus tam peruigili pastore a luporum insidijs facile tutus. Exultet
 180Christiana Respublica cui talis contigit Pontifex, sub quo posthac in utramuis (quod aiunt) aurem dormire licebit. O faustum illum felicemque diem quo tu, auspice Spiritu Sancto, authore Sacro Cardinalium Senatu, gratulantibus Principibus, applaudente plæbe, summo isti Pontificatui ini-
 185tutus es, et ab uniuersis in tua uota iuratum. O fortunatum ac uere aureum hoc sæculum nostrum, quo, moderatore Te, fides, pietas, simplicitas, pudor, breuiter omnis illa aurei sæcli seges uirtutum repullulascit; quo, inquam, per te, Iu-

162 omni &c.] on p. 93 166 præclariora]-cla- indistinct 179 Exultet &c.] on p. 94
 180 Respublica] e indistinct 188 and 202 Iulie II] in MS Iuli. II.

162. circulum &c.] cp. *ErAdag.*, 609, 2.

163. Apollinem... Lacedæmonij fingeant] cp. J. Pierio Valeriano, Bolzanus, of Belluno, *Hieroglyphica* (ed. Cælius Augustinus Curio): Basle, 1567: 237: Quatuor uero aures, manusque totidem, quibus Lacedæmonij simulacrum Apollinis præditum esse uoluerunt... nihil aliud significabant, nisi sapientiam, cuius Deus ille symbolum esset.

181. in utramuis... aurem dor-

mire] *ErAdag.*, 307, 2; Terence, *Hauton Timorumenos*, 342.

182. auspice Spiritu Sancto] of course Busleyden would not have mentioned this detail if he had known what the records now reveal: Pastor, III, 564.

185-86. fortunatum... sæculum] few popes had bitterer enemies, and their hatred poured out venomous libels at his decease: such as the grim dialogue at Heaven's gate, *Libellus de Obitu Iulii P. M.*: Pastor, III, 731, sq; HutO, IV, 427; &c.

lie II, sydus illud Iulium, prosperum et secundum, fluctuanti
 190 Petri nauiculæ prælucebit, quo duce uela dabit, portus habi-
 tura secundos.

Sed quid pergo laudum tuarum cathalogum texere, qua in
 re prius me dies hic, quam argumentum deficeret? Video
 quoque quod quum pro re nimis pauca, certe pro tua mo-
 195 destia nimis multa dixerim. Tædet enim iam te quantum
 coniectare possum laudis huius, qui sola benefactorum con-
 scientia fretus, ne id quidem agnoscis quod nemo non prædi-
 cat. Quare tandem receptui canens, finem faciam orationi, si
 modo (qua potissimum causa huc uenimus) demandatam no-
 200 bis obedientiam Regio nomine præstiterimus. Catholicus ita-
 que Castellæ Rex Philippus, una cum coniuge serenissima, li-
 berisque dulcissimis, Te, Iulie II, unicum coelestis Regni
 clauigerum, Te certum sanctorum Euangeliorum interpretem
 agnoscit, Te legitimum Petri successorem profitetur, Iesu
 205 Christi in terris uices gerentem. Quam ob rem non modo
 omnes fortunas, opes, uiresque suas (quæ iampridem tua
 sunt), uerum semet totum offert atque dicat, et denique quic-
 quid id est quo obedientia Romano Pontifici debita cumula-
 tissime præstari potest. Quod si serius id quam decuit, non
 210 eius uoluntati (alioquin obsequentissimæ), sed temporum
 adscribatur conditioni, quam, precatur, tandem benignus
 haud ægre admittas. Nosque eius hic personam gerentes iden-
 titem precamur Tuis ijs sanctissimis pedibus suppliciter ad-
 uoluti. Reliquum est Deum Optimum Maximum communibus
 215 uotis obtestemur Pontificatum istum ✠ Tibi faustum, Rei
 Christianæ utilem, et sibi gratum administres.

Dixi.

192 cathalogum] h exp 198 Quare &c.] on p. 95
 214 Deum &c.] on p. 96

189. sydus illud Iulium] Ho-
 race, *Carm.* I, xii, 47 :
 micat inter omnes
 Iulium sidus, velut inter ignes
 Luna minores.
 193. prius me dies hic quam
 argumentum deficeret] an allusion

to JOSHUA, x, 12-14; Cicero also
 uses the expression : dies deficiat,
 si... : IV *Verr.*, 21, 52; *Rosc. Am.*,
 32, 89; cp. *Epp.* 75, 18.
 198. receptui canens] cp. *Epp.*
 59, 19.

C. — ORATION TO MAXIMILIAN I

EMPEROR-ELECT

on his arrival in BRUSSELS

This oration of obedience and welcome was pronounced in the Palace of Brussels to the King of the Romans Maximilian of Austria, Emperor-elect, on his arrival into our provinces in the last half of July 1508, when he reached the Netherlands, as he wanted to ward off the war with Louis XII of France, and conduct an effective opposition against Charles, duke of Gelderland, who threatened his grandson's estates : Moeller, 41 ; Henne, I, 185, *sq* ; *MargvOK*, 314. He therefore urgently required financial and military assistance from the 'States' or province Councils, and spent several weeks in the endangered regions organizing and inspecting the defence and planning an assault on Gelderland. As the Councils of the various provinces did not evince much eagerness in offering help in warriors and contributions, he allowed his daughter Margaret to try and arrange an understanding with Louis XII. On his return to Brabant in the first days of September, that solution seemed very precarious, notwithstanding the encouragement of Cardinal de Carvajal, the Papal Legate, who proposed forming a League against Venice (*Epp.* 54, *c, l-n*). On his way back to Holland, the Emperor was informed of Louis XII's readiness to come to terms, by a letter that reached him at Turnhout; he consequently gave Margaret, on October 8, full power to meet the King or his delegates, as it was first arranged, and to treat with him of what became the *League of Cambrai*, of December 10, 1508 (Henne, I, 191, *sq* ; *MargvOK*, 313-17).

<ORATIO>

MAXIMILIANO CAESARI

DICTA JN REGIA BRUXELLENSI

REGIA illa, immo satius Cæsarea, idque augustissima,
Maiestas tua, Rex inuicte prout uictoriosissime, quæ

REGIA BRUXELLENSI] no doubt, the palace of the Dukes of Brabant on Coudenberg (*AlbHist.*, 101 ; *BruxHist.*, I, 26, 96, 247, III, 318, *sq*), — where Erasmus, on January 6, 1504, had pronounced the welcome to Philip the Fair, on his return from Spain (cp. *Epp.* 17, *d*). When a few years earlier Maximilian was invited to preside at the baptism of princess Eleonore, on November 30, 1498, being near at hand, also on ac-

count of the war with Gelderland, he did not come, probably still bearing a grudge for the dismal mutiny and pillage of the Flemish and Brabant towns in the first years of his marriage with Mary of Burgundy. It is recorded that in 1508 the people of Brussels, feeling his discontent, requested him to come and besought him to have 'mercy, en offrant grands deniers' : Moeller, 7.

inter cæteras illas heroicas suas ac prope diuinas animi dotes,
 alios quousuis Reges, non secus tum facilitate, tum clæmentia
 5 ac mansuetudine quam uel aut fortitudine aut magnamitate
 præcellit, non minorem illius nunc conueniendæ, coramque
 alloquendæ potestatem facit, quam et uisendæ et salutandæ
 Serenitatis Suæ olim desyderium ingesserit : proinde id omne
 auferens a me et pudoris et uerecundiæ, quod tenui alias
 10 homontioni sortisque satis infimæ, sacer ille tuus augustissi-
 mus conspectus incutere hinc mihi non tam poterat quam
 uel merito debebat. Quo fit, serenissime Rex, pietatis tuæque
 incomparabilis clæmentiae erit, quem non ulla uel temeritas
 sua uel eminentissimæ Maiestatis tuæ despicientia, sed contra
 15 magis innata illa bonitas, candorque genuinus, spe tanta
 simul et libertate fretum, excelsa iam coram sublimitate tua,
 exhibet, tandem in optatam suam, idque desyderatissimam
 admittat gratiam : qua semel admissum catalogo eorum siue
 diario teneat collocatum, qui prout aut libentius nihil effi-
 20 ciunt aut alacrius, ita etiam nil magis ducant in uotis quam
 aliquo uel maximo et merito suo et beneficio, tuam demereri
 clæmentiam. Pro qua sic tandem propensius demerenda,
 quicquid nunc est, eritque posthac in me animi deuotionis,
 fidei, quicquid ingenij, industriæ, consilij ; quicquid uirium,
 25 fortunarum, substantiæ et denique memetipsum (quo nil carius
 possideo aut maius) tuæ sacratissimæ Maiestati trado, uoueo,
 dedo : interea eorum nihil aut prætermittendo unquam aut
 negligendo in quo aliquando incuriam (quod absit) meam
 non tam accusare quam uel fidem erga te integerrimam desy-
 30 derare posset, aspirante inprimis Deo Optimo Maximo : Im-
 perio qui tuo tam olim feliciter auspicato, adeo præsens
 adsit et fauens, hoc quotidie maius maiusque incrementum
 accipiat : Teque apud posteros et nepotes, una cum gloria et
 nominis splendore æternum uiuere faciat, pulcherrimis scilicet
 35 tum factis tuis, tumque gestis clarissimis semper reuiuiscenti-
 bus, morituris nusquam.

Dixi.

5 magnamitate] r magnanimitate
 14 sed &c.] on p. 101 19 diario] before it dialogo is lined out
 32 incrementum &c.] on p. 102

7-8. uisendæ...olim desyderium]
 apparently Busleyden, on a visit
 at his brother's at Court, had met
 Maximilian, who was then neither

King yet, nor Emperor, and was
 still to start being *invictus* and
victoriosus.

BuslMS, 97-99 (d 8 r-d 9 r)

<Mechlin, beginning of August 1508>

D. WELCOME TO CARD. LEG. BERNARDINO DE CARVAJAL
IN THE NAME OF PRINCE CHARLES OF AUSTRIA

This speech was delivered in the name of Prince Charles to the Papal Legate Cardinal Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal on his reaching Mechlin in the first days of August 1508; he was met most solemnly by the town authorities, and led under a canopy in procession to the Church of St. Rombaut, whilst all the bells were ringing; he there officiated pontifically. A few weeks later, probably on the feast of the Nativity or of the following Sunday, dedicated to the Name of Our Lady, he pontificated and preached there, in presence of the Emperor Maximilian, of Prince Charles, of Margaret of Austria and of the Court. The Legate, who resided at Busleyden's house, stayed till, October; before he left, he administered Confirmation to Charles and his two sisters: cp. *Epp.* 54, *k-m*, 27, *n*.

<ORATIO>

BERNARDINO CARDINALI SANCTÆ CRUCIS
LEGATO APOSTOLICO

ETSI felix iste, auspicatissimusque aduentus tuus, omnium iam pridem uotis expectatus, hic sit omnibus non solum maximo ornamento quam uel incredibili gaudio futurus, tamen inter cæteros quosuis hinc gaudentes ac maxime gratulantes, nemo (mihi crede) tam ardentem, tam enixe huic adplaudit gratulaturque quam unus Princeps noster serenissimus, huius eminentissimæ dignitatis tuæ intimus necessarius atque affinis pientissimus. Qui quum primum audito illo læto et festiuissimo tui ad se aduentus nuntio, totus gestiens lætitia, in gaudium effusus, de more ueneraturus te, atque (ut alterum parentem) dulciter amplexurus, hucusque processisset, modo hoc ita illi, tum per ætatem, adhuc satis (ut probe nosti) teneriusculam, tum rerum discrimina, temporumque

3 futurus] added in *Img C*

6. Princeps] Charles of Austria; the fact that Busleyden said the solemn welcome to Carvajal in the Prince's name, suggests that Adrian of Utrecht had not started his preceptorate yet, as he would have been the proper man to deliver the speech on behalf of his pupil: cp. *Epp.* 21, *f*.

7. intimus necessarius &c.] as Legate of the Pope.

8. affinis pientissimus] probably Carvajal was related to the royal family of Castile or Aragon.

12. ætatem] Charles was then only eight years, six months and a few days old.

13. rerum discrimine] no doubt,

præsentium conditionem licuisset. Quod quum ille iuxta af-
 15 fectum in te suum atque animi propensionem haud sic po-
 tuit præstare, nos suos hac in parte nuntios, huic tuæ amplis-
 simæ dignitati obuios misit, jlli nomine suo propensius coram
 relatu-ros, adplicationis huiusmodi ad se tue, incredibilem ani-
 mi lætiti- am simul ac uni- uersæ patriæ gratulationem incom-
 20 parabilem.

Cuius quidem tam sanctis mandatis nos, ut par est, morem
 gerentes, uenimus huc ad te, Pater Amplissime. Venimus, in-
 quam, deuotis animis salutantes te, ac eo quo decet nosque
 possumus, honoris genere, cultu pietatis excepturi; obiter
 25 hoc unum tibi asserentes Principi nostro Serenissimo totique
 eius ditioni nihil hac tempestate aut antiquius aut honorificen-
 tius aduenire potuisse: te uno tum literarum claritate, tum
 generis nobilitate, et uitæ sanctimonia uiro integerrimo, cla-
 rissimo, eminentissimo: maxime quem Princeps noster, non
 30 modo pro tua spectata in se fide atque arctissima illa (qua sibi
 iunctus es) necessitudine, multo quidem amore, maiore pie-
 tate, maxima animi gratitudine prosequitur: uerum etiam,
 quod longe maius est, te ut Sacrosanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ Le-
 gatum Cardinalem merentissimum mirifice colit, suspicit, ue-
 35 neratur. Quod quidem ita fore reipsa tum maxime probabis
 intelligesque, ubi primum datum fuerit intueri illum, audire,
 et summam eius erga te fidem, pietatem, obseruantiam cu-
 mulati- us coram experiri. Quorum sic omnium tu aliquando
 (idque ocyus ac poteris) periculum facias, nos hic eius perso-
 40 nam (licet immeriti) agentes, tam uehementer optamus quam
 uel ardentibus animis abs te contendimus.

Interea finem facientes orationi, quam, partim pro nostri

15 animi &c.] on p. 98
 32 animi] over line 33 Legatum &c.] on p. 99

Maximilian was staying at Lierre, and Prince Charles was residing with his grandfather when Card. Carvajal reached Mechlin (Moeller, 42), as seems implied by the fact that further in the speech (ll 36: *ubi primum datum fuerit intueri illum &c.*), Busleyden did not refer to the meeting of the Prince and the Legate as something that was going to happen in a few hours or, at the utmost, in

half a day, as would have been the case, had he resided at Mechlin. Probably that meeting took place on or soon after September 4, when Maximilian returned to Brabant; for certain he and Charles were present at the Pontifical Mass and the sermon in St. Rombaut's in the first half of September: cp. *Epp.* 54, 27, n; *MargvOK*, 205, 314-5.

magnitudine gaudij, partimque pro iusta et debita ueneratione amplissimæ auctoritatis tuæ, iam latius progredi haud
45 sinunt præsens locus, angustia temporis, et tu quoque haud
secus (ut uereor) nunc audiendo fessus, quia uel multo
itinere emenso lassus totus ac plane fatigatus.

Dixi.

BuslMS, 270-273 (6 v-8 r)

⟨Mechlin, February 4, 1515⟩

E. — ORATION TO ARCHDUKE CHARLES

IN THE NAME OF MECHLIN CLERGY

This oration was delivered to Archduke Charles when, after his emancipation, he made his solemn entrance in various towns, and took the oath of fidelity to the privileges in the capitals of the various dominions. Mechlin formed a lordship, and after having been received in Brussels, he entered Mechlin on February 4, 1515. The speech was delivered most probably at one of the gates of the town, where the Prince was greeted by the various town authorities; the clergy met him in surplice, singing psalms (*ll 11, sq*), and in their name, Busleyden expressed obedience and congratulation to the new Ruler, as well as the wish to have religion promoted and privileges protected: Henne, II, 92-93.

ORATIO

CAROLO CASTELLÆ PRINCIPI

ADUENTANTI DICTA PRO CLERO MECCHLINIENSI

ADUENIS tandem toties desyderatus, toties omnium uotis
(idque urgentissimis) iamdudum expetitus, Iucundissime

45 angustia] i over line S — T MECCHLINIENSI]

45. præsens locus] probably the street or town gate of Mechlin.

1. Aduenis tandem] Archduke Charles had left Mechlin on May 23, 1514, and after staying till May 30 in Louvain, he had gone to reside in Brussels from June 1, 1514 to January 12, 1515. As by his grandfather's desire he had been declared of age on January 5, 1515 at the meeting of the States-General (Henne, II, 69-70), the young Prince had to take his oath in the capitals of his various provinces, beginning with Louvain. He was in that town, or at least at Heverlé, from

January 13; on January 23 he took the oath for Brabant at the Priory of Terbank, and made his solemn entry into the old capital (Gachard, II, 14, 519-523); on January 28, he made his entrance into Brussels, and repeated the oath on the following day. On February 3, he was at Vilvorde, and on February 4 he made his solemn entry into Mechlin (Gachard, II, 13-14), where he was most enthusiastically received with feasts and presents by the authorities and the people (Henne, II, 92-93).

Princeps, tuorum hodie desyderia, spes, uota, expectationes
abunde leuaturus. Aduenis, inquam, ab ipso immortali Deo
5 missus : nobis non solum datus, cæterum (quod longe beatius,
fortunatius est) tot tantis (quæ te ardentissime manent) flo-
rentissimis regnis, prouincijs, nationibus, gentibus, terra,
mari imperaturus : quæ quidem omnes huius obeundi princi-
patus tui felicissimis auspicijs, eo enixius gratulantur quanto
10 te olim propensiori et pietate colunt et antiquiori iam fide
excipiunt. In quorum albo, aduentanti tibi nunc obuius oc-
currit lætabundus hic psallentium chorus, candidatus clerus,
uniuersus ordo ecclesiasticus, destinatum te suum Principem,
patriæ parentem, delitias generis humani, libertatis suæ vin-
15 dicem, lætis animis, festiuissimis gratulationibus (ut par est)
excepturus. Sub cuius iustitiæ asylo atque rectissimi Imperij
moderamine æquissimo agens, possit olim profligatis rerum
turbinitibus, securo pace, Deo ac religioni alacrius, expeditius,
tranquillius uacare. Quod tandem te sic præstiturum procul
20 dubio pollicentur ingenita pietas, innata bonitas, auita illa
(quæ es a teneris imbutus) religio tua, illa scilicet, cuius pecu-
liari in rem Christianam significatione diui illi heroes, inclyti
Maiores tui, pulcherrimam illam singularemque Catholicorum
Principum nomenclaturam sunt haud iniuria iampridem sor-
25 titi. Quam incomparabilem religionem ita a maioribus usque
in te unum cumulatissime transfusam, deuotus hic clerus
sperat te imperante, tecum quoque ex æquo imperaturam.
Quo fit, hinc sibi facile persuadeat sua omnia (quibus donatus
est) jura, priuilegia te adsertore, te rerum gubernacula tenen-
30 te, ei salua et incolumia fore. Quod te ita ex sententia præ-
stante, profecto faustus fortunatus, auspicatissimus is tuus
principatus tibi cedit auspicatius, florebit lætius, perstabit
diutius, largiente id quidem Regum Rege, Principum Prin-
cipe, Dominantium Domino, Optimo Maximo Deo, in cuius
35 manu cor regis, salus est principis, maxime per quem reges
regnant, principes imperant, potentes decernunt iustitiam...

Dixi.

6 tot tantis &c.] on p. 271
20 auita &c.] on p. 272 35 principis &c.] on p. 273

11. In quorum albo] cp. *Epp.* in Mechlin until February 6,
46, 11, &c. when he left for Berchem and
16. excepturus] Charles stayed Antwerp (Gachard, II, 14).

3. EPISTOLAE

BuslMS, 219-220 (A 1 r, v)

⟨Padua, before September 1502⟩

I. — TO RAINALDUS OF TONGRES

This letter to an apparently unknown countryman, who, after studying at Padua, had left for Rome, no doubt belongs to 1502, as no mention is made of Francis de Busleyden's decease of which news reached Italy in the first days of September. In the collection it is entitled '*Raynaldo Tungrensi*,'.

POST tuam ad Urbem profectionem unas solum abs te
accepi : quibus illico acceptis, respondendum operæ
pretium duxi, prout inprimis tua sibi flagitabant uota,
nostraque facere solita sit diligentia. Cæterum non satis
5 apud me constat qua ratione id potissimum abs te effectum
fuerit, ut indiligentiam .N. , contribulis nostri, dili-
gentiæ prætuleris meæ; quippe cuius melior ac potior ta-
cendo prorsus conditio quam nostra fuit scribendo. Mira pro-
fecto res, te rescribere non rescribentibus, et ad te scribere
10 paratis, non esse paratum rescribere! Vtinam igitur huius-
modi insignis conditio tua prius nobis comperta fuisset: non
equidem iam carerem tuis luculentissimis literis; vtpote
quas non uerbis aut literis, uerum magis silentio et incuria
me oportuit impetrare. Cæterum, quicquid sit, tanto desyde-
15 rio tuarum hucusque frustratus, cauebo in posterum ne
nostra nobis diligentia obsit, quæ alias prodesse, plurimum-
que conferre solebat: adeo ut si quandoque me tuis cordatis
literis conueneris, experieris procul dubio illum prorsus mu-
tum et elinguem fore, nimium qui antea fuit uocalis. Vale.

BuslMS, 220-222 (A 1 v-A 2 v)

⟨Padua, before September 1502⟩

2. — TO FREDERIC, A NOBLE GERMAN ERUDITE

a This letter, entitled '*Friderico Germano, | Nobili uiro...*', was addressed to a nobleman who had been a tutor to Christopher Fraunberger, Busleyden's fellow-student in laws at Padua, and who enjoyed the fame of literature and erudition. It probably belongs to the summer of 1502, like *Epp.* 1.

11 conditio tua] *cr.*, repl. by mos tuus in *rmg* C. comperta] *chd.* into -tus C
15 in posterum &c.] on p. 220

b Christopher Fraunberger may have been identical with Christopher von SUCHTEN, a canon of Frauenburg, the Cathedral Chapter of Ermeland, for the students of which diocese Padua was a familiar haunt, — amongst them, from 1501 to 1503, the great Copernicus : Prowe, I, 295, *sq.* When the latter entered that Chapter in 1512, von Suchten was in Rome with the Dean and a third canon : with them he protested from there against the prejudice caused to their body by the iniquitous agreement made at Petrikau between King Sigismund of Poland and the weak-minded Bishop of Ermeland Fabian Tettinger von Lossianen : Prowe, I, 210, II, 25, 38-39. Two letters from von Suchten to Bishop Fabian, 1515-1516, are preserved at Cracow : *BbCzart.*, 1615 : 167 ; 1624 : 17 ; *CatCzart.*, II, 268, 274. Christopher von Suchten, of Dantzic, is further recorded as an alchemist : he was of the *Curia* under Leo X, and became afterwards professor in Leipzig : Fr. Güldner, *Jacob Questenberg* : Wernigerode, 1905 : 6 ; HutO, III, 276.

CHRISTOPHORUS Fraunberger, tuus olim discipulus,
iamque noster ijsdem (quibus nostrum desudat ingenium) studijs comes assiduus, tuarum aliquot ad se literarum nobis quandoque copiam fecit ; quarum tersus, nitidus,
5 beneque emunctus stilus, mira quadam facilitate præditus, sententijs grauissimis et antiquitate quadam conspicuis, facile quidem nobis persuasit, id quod iamdiu de incomparabili eruditione, tuaque multifaria doctrina, constans sibi fama passim uulgauit. Quod quum ita esset et confessum apud nos
10 foret, ego itaque rudis adhuc et inglorius tyrunculus, celebratissimæ opinionis nominisque tui laudatissimi splendore captus atque genuina humanitate tua fretus, non potui non aliquid ad te literarum dare ; quibus hoc unum inprimis rescires, me tuum quantuluscunque sim esse, maxime qui ad
15 uirtutes literasque (ut reor) natus, ijsque alitus et educatus, illarum non tam professoribus quam studiosis me meaque omnia iampridem deuouerim. Vnde nequicquam mireris si id tantopere demum efficere cupiam : porro ad quod ita faciundum, non tam obuia uoluntas ducit, quam uel uotum uel
20 professio nos nostra trahit, stimulat, impellit.

Patienter igitur minusque ægre interea feres si, priusquam tibi aut satis cogniti, aut quicquam de te bene meriti simus, tuam affectantes amicitiam, contendamus adscribi diario illo tuorum studiosorum. Quod ut sic abs te liberius efflagitare-
25 mus, nulla mihi crede temeritas, uerum potius propensio amoris nostri in te ardentissimi effecit. Quare, mi cordatissime

uir, fac demum intelligam an huiusmodi præsumptione doctissimas tuas aures offenderim : quod si forte ita esset (quod tamen dii auertant) accuratius in posterum cauebo ne ueluti
 30 raucus inconcinnusque anser coram sonoro et uocalissimo olore posthac ridiculum quid obstrepam. Vale.

BuslMS, 232-233 (A 7 v-A 8 r)

⟨Padua, before September 1502⟩

3. — TO ANDREAS LUSITANUS

To the title of this letter : '*Andrææ Lusitano, / Commilitoni suo*,' a later hand added most preposterously after *Andrææ* : '*Resendio*', since Andrew de Resende was born only about 1500, and this letter evidently belongs to Busleyden's Padua days, the summer of 1502 at latest. Cp. before, § 125.

ANDREA MI SUAUISSIME

BELLARIA illa tua, una cum epistolio luculentissimo accepi : gratissimum profecto nobis, te quoque donante dignissimum utrumque munus : vtpote quorum unum non minus animum paut quam alterum nostrum ad palatum
 5 fecit. Quare quum iam non habeam unde paria tecum agendo uicissim in officio respondeam, saltem hunc nostrum (quo nil maius possideo) animum in pignus tam pulcherrimi muneris accipe. Quem ut interea uel plæbeio aliquo munusculo magis apud te testatum facerem, hac te Lucernula dono, quæ
 10 adiuuare aliquando possit tetrica illa ac seuera legum studia, a quibus quum nonnunquam feriari uisum fuerit, te Martiali, poetarum omnium lepidissimo, uolui donatum, vt penes te esset qui cum recreari, cuiusque urbana dicteria, sales, scomata gustare posses : tuum obiter (ni fallar) tantum delectura
 15 ingenium, tua quantum ambrosia nectareaque bellaria nostrum demulserunt palatum. Vale.

28 offenderim &c.] on p. 222 7)animum] MS —) 13 scomata]
 14 delectura &c.] on p. 233 15 nectareaque] second a over line

30. ueluti... anser &c.] Virgil, *Egloga*, ix, 36 : sed argutos inter strepere anser olores ; also *Georgica*, i, 119 : improbus anser. Cp. *Epp.* 41, 1, 50, 97.

2-3. gratissimum nobis &c.] the contrast of the giver and the pleasure produced by his gift is treated in similar, yet variant,

terms on *Epp.* 46, 18, 54, 52, 2-3, 62, 1-2, 72, 37-39, 76, 8-9, 17-18, 77, 15-18.

11. Martiali] possibly a copy of the first Aldine edition of the works of that poet printed *Venetis in ædibus Aldi, mense Decembri, 1501*, a small octavo.

BuslMS, 233-234 (A 8 r, v)

〈Padua, before September 1502〉

4. — TO NICASIUS HACKENAY

- a* This letter entitled only: '*Nicasio suo*,...' was most likely addressed to the Nicasius (de) Hackenay, provost of the household of the Prince of Castile, to whom *Epp.* 28 is directed. From its place in the collection, as well as from the wording, it appears to belong to the Padua period, which is also suggested by the absence of any reference to his brother's decease, a fact which weighed for a long time on Busleyden's mind, and which would have been mentioned quite naturally in this stoical piece of advice to a friend visited by disease: cp. *Epp.* 7, 21, sq.
- b* Nicasius HACKENAY, or HACKENEY (from the place *Hacheney*, near Hörde and Dortmund), was a native of Cologne, where he attended the University lectures: he matriculated on September 21, 1479, passed the proof of the *determinatio* on November 20, 1480, and started the test for the mastership on March 26, 1482 under Magister Ego de Driel (*UniKöln*, 494), promoting Master of Arts between 1483 and 1485; until as late as August 8, 1498, he was considered as *Clericus Coloniensis*: Keussen, 67. He had meanwhile been accepted to serve at the Court of Maximilian of Austria and his son Philip, where he made the acquaintance of Francis de Busleyden and of his brother Jerome. He rose in favour and eventually became chief master of the household of Philip and of his son Charles, no doubt through his great ability and his devotion. It procured him the honour of being dubbed a knight. He was one of the select few, whom the Emperor Maximilian appointed on December 14, 1514, to invest his grandson with the administration of the countries he had inherited from his father, — which was done on January 5, 1515: Henne, II, 68-70. In December of that year, he was sent with William of Chievres and John le Sauvage, to go and hear what proposals Francis I's envoys had brought to Brussels: Henne, II, 152. In the following year, on November 3, 1516, Charles, on leaving for Spain, appointed Hackenay as a member of the Privy Council, instituted to manage the affairs and to govern the estates during his absence; he finally was created Master of the Finances and died in 1518. He was succeeded as 'Maistre d'Ostel' by his brother George whose name occurs in that capacity on the lists of 1517 and 1521, after having been, at least since January 27, 1502, army paymaster: 'penninck maistre et commis pour le payement des gens de guerre' Cp. *ConPri.*, I, 18; *ConPriT.*, 60; Alexandre, 18; Henne, II, 200-202; Gachard, 503, 512; Keussen, 67; J.J. Merlo, *Die Familie Hackeney*: Cologne: 21-59.
- c* Nicasius Hackenay naturally had kept in connection with his native town Cologne, to which he paid a visit in 1506 whilst his Prince had left for Spain; on that occasion Busleyden had secured his help for the purchase and conveyance of an up-to-date organ from a Nuremberg builder, Hans Suys: *Epp.* 28. — He left a natural son in Cologne, and his grandson, Jasper, losing his father and soon after him his mother, entered the household of Hermann Weinsberg as servant boy on Sept. 18, 1563, notwithstanding his youth and weak health, but left it on August 18, 1567 to turn 'schröder', tailor: he afterwards

became Austin friar, taking the cowl on July 15, 1574: *Weinsberg*, II, 126, 283, v, 56, 64. — Possibly in order to make up for a false step, and certainly in gratitude towards his native town, Nicasius had paid the toll of his prosperity to the Church of Our Lady in *Capitolio*, adorning its organ loft by the *Lettner*, a railing in carved stone, the work of a Mechlin artist, which was finished in 1523-24. He also generously endowed the Charterhouse of St. Barbara, near the Ulre Gate. Still the most famous of the monuments he left was a fine mansion on the New Market, at the corner of Richmod-Street. The site and the old house on it had been given to him by the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles V had contributed to the rebuilding with some of the money gathered for the indulgences: that gave it a name, '*Kaiser Hof*' besides '*Herr Nicasius Hof*'. Until recently (1928-29) it showed its antique splendour, and, especially, the two horse's heads, said to recall the legend of Richmodi von der Aducht, — which may well be a memorial of the rebuilders, the two Hackenay brothers, who had a white hackney in their crest. — As Nicasius died without legal offspring, his brother George inherited the house and left it to his three daughters and their families, the Lyskirchens and the Klepincks, with all its treasures, amongst which was shown as late as 1588 a golden rose, which was said to have been a pope's present. It was honoured by the Emperor Charles V and by Ferdinand his brother, who resided there when they passed through Cologne. Cp. H. Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I*: Stuttgart, 1884-91: I, 821, 822; Kölner Stadtarchiv: Heft 11; *Weinsberg*, I, 126, III, 353, 373-74, IV, 22-23; J. Greven, *Die Kölner Kartause*: Munster, 1935: 11-12.

ISTA hæc ualetudo qua manus Domini tetigit te, ingens
certe uulnus; idque plenum acerbissimi doloris nobis in-
fligeret, nisi iampridem tam fortem et constantem te nouis-
sem uirum, qui huiusmodi aduersa haud secus leniter per-
5 ferres quam modeste semper secunda et prospera tuleris.
Quod ita iam facturum te ardentem speramus et procul
dubio confidimus, maxime quum immobile et inconcussum
robur uirilis et bene instituti animi, præsertim duris in rebus
et extremis probetur: unde te uelim æquo animo admittere,
10 tibi si quid præter opinionem acciderit, meque adhuc eum
erga te esse, atque, dijs bene iuuantibus, fore, antea qui sem-
per fuerim: scilicet quem neque, ut scribis, ubertas rerum,
neque feliciores (si qui sint) successus a iucunda et suauiissima
recordatione tui aliquando poterunt diuellere. Vale, et ut
15 recte ualere possis, spera, abstine, patere.

11 iuuantibus &c.] on p. 234

4. leniter] cp. Ovid, *Heroid.*, 5, 7: leniter ferre.

BuslMS, 102-104 (d 10 v-e 1 v) <Padua, first days of September 1502>

5. — TO PHILIP OF AUSTRIA, PRINCE OF CASTILE

This letter, entitled 'PHILIPPO CASTEL/LAE PRINCIPI/ARCHIDVCI/AVSTRIAE', is the first of a series referring to the unexpected death of Francis de Busleyden, Archbishop of Besançon, at Toledo, on August 22, 1502, — which deprived Jerome of a second father and of a most powerful protector. Different to the preceding letters, which do not mention the ominous event, and therefore must have been written before the end of August 1502, this, and several of the following (*Epp.* 6 to 10), were written from September to December : this one probably soon followed up the news that reached Jerome about Francis's death — the first days of September.

NON puto te latere, Inclyte ac Magnanime Princeps,
 quam acerbo dolore affectus incomparabilem iacturam
 fecerim, insperata uidelicet nimiumque matura morte Reue-
 rendissimj Domini Bisontini, fratris nostri pientissimi : quippe
 5 qui a teneris (ut aiunt) unguiculis utroque me parente orba-
 tum, atque annos iam aliquot procul a patria rei literariæ
 operam nauantem, non modo fratris loco duxerit, uerum
 unico pro filiolo semper habuit, tractauit, fouit : adeo qui-
 dem ut secundum te unum Principem, dominumque benefi-
 10 centissimum, ille nobis in posterum alterum asyllum, firmum-
 que præsidium futurus esset, vt cuius salute ac incolumitate
 tota et spes salusque nostra penderet. Qui quum iam (heuheu)
 malignantibus fatiis, pauperculo mihi adeo præmature huma-
 nis ademptus sit, profecto iam totus huic profundissimo dolori
 15 prorsus succumbens, me miserum omnium desolatissimumque
 perpetuo luctu conficerem, nisi ab eo proposito experta prius
 quam cognita (qua afflictos fermeque consternatos releuare
 soles) pietas nos tua deterreret.

Quam ob rem, indulgentissime ac clæmentissime Princeps,
 20 quum tu Superis bene fauentibus unus nobis supersis, qui
 non tam auctoritate possis quam uel innata clæmentia de-
 beas, nostris tam plane fessis ac prope labentibus rebus suc-

5 parente &c.] on p. 103 12 et] over line 22 fessis] e ind

4. Dni. Bisontini] Francis de Busleyden died at St. Bernard's, near Toledo on August 22, 1502 : cp. before, §§ 4-6.

5. a teneris... unguiculis] *Er-Adag.*, 283, 1. Cp. § 7.

6. procul a patria] Jerome had

been sent to Louvain already about 1485; he afterwards studied for some time in France, especially at Orleans, before he left for Italy in the summer of 1501 : cp. before §§ 23-26.

currere : fac precor, oro, obtestor, vt pleno (quod aiunt) cornu
 cumulatissime assequar id quod de peculiari pietate ac exu-
 25 beranti tua gratia fauoreque præsentaneo nostra sibi spes
 iamdudum pollicetur. Ad quod ita efficiendum, si accepta
 huiusmodi grauissima calamitas nostra te forsan haud mo-
 ueat, illud saltem ad hoc accedat : recordatio uidelicet ac
 memoria fratris nostri, qui (ut cætera eius in te merita obiter
 30 præteream) pro augendo, confirmando, tuendoque Imperio
 tuo, nec laboribus ullis pepercisset, nec mori si qua res ur-
 geret, recusasset. Vale interea, Princeps Illustrissime.

BuslMS, 237-240 (A 10 r-B 1 v)

<Padua, September 1502>

6. — TO WILLIAM OF ENCKENVOIRT

a This letter entitled '*Vuilhelmo Enckenuort*,' was evidently a reply to an epistle of condolence sent from Rome soon after the news of the decease of Francis de Busleyden became known : it consequently belongs to September 1502 ; Enckenvoirt, as procurator residing near the *Curia*, had certainly been in connection with the deceased ; he therefore expressed his condolence to Jerome, who was likely to step into his brother's traces.

b William of ENCKENVOIRT, ENCKEVOORT, born in 1464 at Mierlo, near Eindhoven, studied at the Porc in Louvain, and promoted licentiate of laws : Vern, 133. He went to Rome, and was already at work as procurator before 1489 : Fruin, 395. By 1497 he was 'familiaris' of Alexander VI, and under the reign of his successors Jules II and Leo X, he became chamberlain, apostolic secretary, and protonotary : *AdriBurm.*, 96, 149 ; *MélMoell.*, II, 102, 112 ; Fruin, 458 ; *KkAnfNied.*, I, 92 ; *KkAlgLu.*, 22, 69, 81 ; *MatthAnal.*, 179 ; AleaE, 82 ; *MarckChartr.*, 71, 124 ; &c. He secured many preferments, but used the emoluments to promote general welfare : he became the manager and great benefactor of the hospice and confraternity founded in Rome by, and for, his countrymen, and largely contributed to the rebuilding and adorning of its church, the *Santa Maria dell' Anima* : *Anima*, 210-16, 264-272, &c. When Adrian of Utrecht, whose procurator he had been for some time (Sanuto, xxxiii, 79 ; Pastor, IV, ii, 35, 56, 723), became pope, he found a most welcome helper in his wise, prudent and earnestly pious countryman, whom he appointed Datary and his successor as bishop of Tortosa, and whom he created Cardinal just before his untimely death. Enckenvoirt executed the foundation

24 de peculiari &c.] on p. 104

23. pleno... cornu] cp. *Epp.* 18,
 16, 67, 5; Horace, *Carmen Sæculare*
 60 : appareatque beata pleno Copia

cornu ; also *Carmina*, I, xvii, 15-
 16, *Epistolae*, I, xii, 29.

28. recordatio &c.] cp. §§ 5, 6.

of Adrian VI's College in Louvain, to which he transferred one of his own preferments, the '*personatus*' of Assche : *Cran.*, 141, *k* ; *FUL*, 2713-27. On October 1, 1529, he was elected bishop of Utrecht, although he stayed in Italy, where he had helped to bring about the understanding between Clement VII and Charles V, at whose coronation at Bologna, on February 24, 1530, he assisted. He died in Rome on July 19, 1534, leaving the larger part of his possessions to the *Anima* ; he also founded almshouses at Mierlo, and endowed churches, amongst them St. Rombaut's of Mechlin, of which he was provost, and where his portrait still adorns the Chapter Room. Cp. *Cran.*, 141, *k-o*, and references quoted ; Bergh, I, 227 ; *HEpU*, 31 ; *AntvEpisc.*, 107 ; Albergato, 11-12 ; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. VIII.

PRIDIE tuas accepi literas nos plane certiorantes te assiduo deflere pientissimum fratrem nostrum uita functum, quem ita mihi mature nimium ereptum, ego maxime lacrymis testari et uellem et deberem, modo ijs inuida fata quando-
 5 que ad nostra flecti et cogi uota possent. Verum enimuero quum ea omnis pietatis expertia, inexorabilia, surda ac plus quam implacabilia perstent, adeo ut ullis neque mouenda affectibus, nec mitiganda fletibus, res omnis humanas ex libidine temperent, suoque moderentur et regant arbitrio, restat
 10 infracto fortique simus animo ad ea quidem omnia tum strenue obeunda, tumque constanter perferunda, ad quæ illorum perpetua atque irrefragabilis lex quicquid humanum est non tam admonet quam uel urget, stimulat, impellit.

Quod quum ita plusquam confessum sit, iam iam absque
 15 mora assumendus ualidus est clypeus inuictæ durisque gaudentis patientiæ. Accingendus præterea impenetrabilis thorax fortitudinis inconcussæ, objiciendus fatorum tælis turbinibusque fortunæ uniuersis, ne eorum me aduersus flatum iam profundius iactando deprimat, quem aliquando dum adhuc placide spiraret (plus quam par foret) supra se tollere non poterat. Quod ita a me factum Deo inprimis Optimo Maximo, deinde et bonis literis acceptum fero quæ me plane hoc quidem a teneris docuere quam ærumnarum plena hic forent omnia ; quam fallax, lubricus, instabilis esset mortalium status ; quam minime credendum et fidendum illi, utpote quem
 25 tot et tantæ subito idque inopinatæ rerum uicissitudines undique premerent et ueluti coacto agmine quotidie adorirentur.

7 ut ullis &c.] on p. 238 8 omnis] 20 par] over line 24 omnia &c.] on p. 239

15-16. clypeus... thorax] SAPIENTIA, v, 19-20.

Quod quidem quam uerum sit, iam satis superque agnosco
 præsenti uulnere meo, quod hac tempestate effera illa et dira
 30 fatorum necessitas infixit, in nobisque altius egit, sic obiter
 occasionem præstans nunc experiendi proprijs calamitatibus
 quod olim dumtaxat coniectabar ex alienis. Quare ne tandem
 tam profundo uulnere cedam, turpiterque (ut aiunt) herbam
 porrigam, iam hoc in durissimo casu uersans, re ipsa eos
 35 strenue imitabor quorum constantiam immotæ mentis, ro-
 burque uirilil et bene instituti animi iam antea summopere
 fuerim admiratus. Quos si itaque ad unguem consequi non da-
 bitur, attamen hoc sic tentasse pulchrum erit, laudeque sua
 non carebit, quando sat sit in summis arduisque uoluisse, etsi
 40 eo haud usque attigeris. Vale.

BuslMS, 222-224 (A 2 v-A 3 v) <Padua, September-October 1502>

7. — TO FERRY DE CARONDELET

- a* This letter, entitled '*Ferrico Carondeleto*,' probably dates from September or October 1502, as it is an answer to a complaint of his intimate friend Ferry de Carondelet, then at study in Bologna, about having been informed with great delay of the death of Francis de Busleyden.
- b* Ferry de CARONDELET was the fifth son of John de Charonde, or de Carondelet, Chancellor of Burgundy, Lord of Champvans († 1501), and of Margaret de Chassey; he was born at Mechlin about 1473, and studied at Dôle, where he matriculated on September 21, 1498. He entered the service of the Emperor Maximilian, and married Digna de Baux about March 1501. Still he continued studying and applied himself to laws at Bologna, where he was in the beginning of 1502 when John de Pins, of Toulouse, addressed to him, on March 31, an epigram about Urceus Codrus, a professor, who died in 1500, and whose *Orationes* were edited in 1502 by Philip Beroaldo the younger, with contributions by Bartholomew Bianchini and John de Pins: *Dolet*, 62-63; Allen, III, 928, 36. Judging from this letter, Ferry was still at Bologna in the last months of that year, and no doubt paid occasional visits to Padua to call on his good friend Jerome de Busleyden: *Epp.* 8, 1. His wife died on October 18, 1503, leaving him a son Paul (1501-1581); he therefore resumed his studies, and promoted doctor of laws, after which he went to Rome where he met Erasmus in 1509,

39 uoluisse &c.] on p. 240

33. herbam porrigam] Erasmus:
 Herbam dare: *ErAdag.*, 360, 2,
sq; cp. *Epp.* 15, 31, 70, 38-39, 81,
 15, *Carm.* XIX, iii, 8, iv, 7, 14.

39. sat... in summis... uoluis-
 se] cp. Erasmus: In magnis & vo-
 luisse sat est: *ErAdag.*, 652, 1,
 and *Epp.* 58, 78, 82, 5-6; cp. § 165.

and conceived for him a great admiration and a deep affection as, by 1523, he declared to Herman Lethmaet, then secretary of his brother John : Allen, v, 1350, 16-26, 1359, 12-14, III, 803, 12.

- c Meanwhile he had secured preferments and appointments : having entered the Church, he became Archdeacon of Besançon in 1504 ; and at the appointment of his brother John to the Privy Council (Alexandre, 24, sq), he was nominated as his successor to an ecclesiastical seat in the Great Council of Mechlin by letters patent of Margaret of Austria, dated from Grave, July 27, 1508. In that capacity he was addressed as colleague by his friend Busleyden : *Carm.* xxv. Still he resided in Rome as procurator at the Papal Court for Maximilian and Prince Charles : *MélMoell.*, II, 114. On <April> 20, 1512 he wrote to Margaret of Austria about an agreement of her father with the Pope, and the interdict on Charles of Egmont (Bergh, II, 63-65 ; Pastor, III, 713). He had been appointed abbot of Mont-St. Benoit in July 1511, and provost of St. Walburgis, Furnes, on November 16, 1514. In May 1513, he was recalled to Brabant, but he soon returned to Italy, where he lived at Viterbo until, by May 1520, he went to reside in his Abbey, which he restored most liberally. Erasmus visited him in 1524 at Besançon, and dedicated to him, in 1528, his edition of Faustus Regius' *De Gratia Dei* (Basle, Joh. Faber Emmeus). Ferry died in that same year, on June 27, 1528. Raphael painted his portrait, and Fra Bartolomeo della Porta introduced his effigy in 'The Virgin of the Carondelets', which, in 1517 or 1518, was given to the Cathedral of St. Stephen, Besançon, in which Ferry had built a magnificent chapel ; his brother John raised there to him a fine mausoleum. — Ferry showed a great similitude with his friend Jerome de Busleyden, generously patronizing art and literature : Allen, v, 1350, 21 ; *Mal-ConM.*, 55 ; *MélMoell.*, II, 114 ; *GallChrist.*, xv, 233 ; L. de la Brière, in *Bull. Hist. et Philol. du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* : Paris, 1895 : 97-134, with 21 missives to Margaret of Austria, 1510-12, about the events in Italy : one is printed in Bergh, II, 63-65 (<April> 20, 1512) ; *ErAllen*, 15, 195-98.

FERRICE, AMOR ET DELITIÆ NOSTRÆ, ANIMITUS
SALUE.

- QUOD tibi mortem Domini Bisontini Fratris Nostri
serius significarim, jn causa fuit ratio ancipitis ac non-
dum (ut rebar) stabilitæ ualetudinis tuæ, vtpote quam adeo
tristi et insperato nuntio male afficere nolui, quando satis su-
5 perque sciebam te præsentī calamitate nostra non secus angī,
torqueri, turbari quam olim nobis afflante aura sereniori
mirifice gaudebas, gratulararisque. Neque id mirum, porro
quum amicorum sit, omne id sibi commune putare quicquid

1 Domini... Nostri] in MS D. B. F. N.

8. amicorum... omne... commu- (the first of the *Adagia*). Cp. be-
ne] Erasmus : *Amicorum commu-* fore, § 166.
nia omnia : *ErAdag.*, 6, E, 13, F

alteri eorum contingat, et data occasione uel lætari uel
 10 tristari tantum quantum se mutuo amauerint. Inter quos
 quum te unum habeam, quem etsi amore nemini præferam,
 nolim tamen te accepta hac grauissima iactura nostra tan-
 tum dolere, quantum nos semper amasti, ne si forte iuxta
 magnitudinem tui erga me amoris dolorem metiri tentares,
 15 dolor meus tuo ita coniunctus, duplicatus fieret, qui prius
 mihi singularis fuisset.

Quod si demum faceres, moerorem dolori, doloremque me-
 rori accumulares, potius quam eum aliqua ex parte tolleres,
 aut saltem leuares. Cæterum illud unum nobis sat erit, te
 20 constanter in amore pergere, atque eo nos arctius iam et
 diligere et amplecti, quanto magis secundus nos successus
 deserit, et rerum uicissitudo una cum malignante fortuna
 acrius premit : hoc equidem ita efficiundo, præstabis legiti-
 mum amicum ; quem in posterum propterea non solum colere
 25 uelim, uerum apud me pro summo decore et singulari speci-
 mine incomparabilis amicitiae semper habere. Vale.

BuslMS, 154-162 (g 6 v-10 v) <Padua, November-December 1502>

8. — TO FERRY DE CARONDELET

This letter, entitled '*Ferrico suo, Archidiacon. Bisontino...*', as it still refers to the sadness caused by the news of Francis de Busleyden's death, seems to belong to November or December 1502, — for the title of Archdeacon of Besançon which Ferry only received in 1504, was added when it was copied in this collection. It certainly precedes the death of Ferry's wife — October 18, 1503. It was no doubt suggested by a remark of his made on a visit of condolence at Padua, where he occasionally called on his friend ; the latter thus found a fit occasion for a formal memoir in favour of the mourning for a departed relative or dear friend.

QVUM nuper me domi (ut quandoque soles) inuisens,
 moestissimo luctu desyderati fratris confectum offen-
 deres, proinde nos multis, quæ tua humanitas est, consolando :
 inter alia multa ad rem facientia, hoc unum adieceris : Omnes
 5 quidem, tua sententia, stultos esse qui morte suorum con-
 tristarentur, eos maxime quos post actam recte uitam, nequa-
 quam aut casus aut supplicium, cæterum uis ipsa ineuitabi-

10 tristari &c.] on p. 223 26 -bilis &c.] on p. 224
 4 adieceris &c.] on p. 155

lis morbi e medio sustulisset. Quam quidem tuam sententiam tametsi non omnino improbem, utpote uiri quum grauissimi, 10 tum doctissimi, cuius inprimis iudicium, auctoritas, fides apud me summa est atque semper fuit; tamen huiusmodi sententiam tuam, mihi penitus dispicienti, ea non usquequaque (quod pace tua dixerim) placuit, quod illam haud parum alienam fore putaram a pietate et humanitate ipsa, a qua 15 præ cæteris animantibus, humanos et censeri et esse uolumus. Qua enim ratione (amabo) duxeris te posse aliquando humanum præstare, aut alium talem erga te expertum ire, si humanos ipsos a mera indolentia sapientes arguis? Contra stultos, a cultu luctus et commiserationis officio? Quod sane 20 ita uelle adserere, quidnam aliud foret quam ab humanorum commercio atque congressu materiam omnem seu occasionem condolentiæ (qua maxime probamur humani) prorsus explodere? Qua sic demum (quod absit) explosa, necessitas humanis ipsis incumberet, insitos sibi illos affectus (quos Græci 25 pathos nominant), gaudium scilicet, dolorem, spem, metum, omnino exuere, præsertim si illis aut singulis eorum prout res caderet, uti ex arbitrio minus liceret. Quibus ita exutis, mortales rectius tunc sibi (ut uidetur) immanitatis quam humanitatis nomenclaturam usurparent. Præterea qua ratione 30 stultum existimas quempiam carorum suorum desyderium flere, lugere, quando id ita potissimum fiat lege naturæ non tam permittente quam uel imperante et urgente? Quod si ita sit, uide et dispice an iure stultum dicas quem amor fraternus, quem insita charitas, quem pietas incredibilis, uel renitentem 35 ad officium lugendi excitat? Præterea dic, quæso, quis tam barbarus, efferus, inflexibilis inueniatur, cuius pectus quantumuis saxeum atque cor ferreum casus incomparabilis amici non emolliat, commoueatque?

Quod si nihilo secius, ijs quæ in medium adduximus non 40 obstantibus, in tua perstes sententia, nunquid frustra Vas

22 -lentia &c.] on p. 156 39 Quod si &c.] on p. 157

9. uiri quum grauissimi, tum doctissimi] Ferry de Carondelet was two or three years younger than his friend, but he may have been more proficient at his studies and applied himself more zealously, so as to promote and

attain a more spectacular result, whilst the earnest and slow-going Busleyden felt diffident, being probably conscious of his continuous endeavours, and looked up admiringly at his brilliant companion.

ipse electionis, Paulus, suos ad charitatem inuitans, admone-
ret, cum gaudentibus gaudendum esse, flendum cum flenti-
bus ? Quod si (te quidem censore) nihilominus stultum foret,
respondeas uelim, ad quid ipsa lugens Rachel (quæ consolari
45 noluit) filios deperditos plorasset ? Ad quid Samuel Saul
ipsum ? ad quid Dauid suum Absalon, Amonque luxissent ?
Nunquid hi omnes, subinde alij (quos refert Scriptura) per-
multi, tali ut sic dicam compassionis propensione, stulti
ueniant recte censendi ? Profecto minime ! Alioqui et ipsa
50 intemerata, in æternum benedicta uirgo Deipara (in qua
summi Patris sapientia, altitudo diuitiarum et scientiæ Dei
resedit) stultitiæ notam non euaderet, luctu suo incomparabili
quo unicum pignus dulcissimum desyderatum acerbissime
prosequuta est, adeo ut præ magnitudine inæstimabilis
55 luctus doloris gladius eius uirgineum pectus sulcauerit, esto
præsciret illum spontanea morte uitam omnium uindicare,
deinde post triduum superata morte reducem cum gloria sibi
et toti orbi appariturum.

Verumenimvero ne hac in re tam clara ac prope confessa
60 laborantes, diutius per mendicam (ut aiunt) suffragia diuage-
mur, vnus ad firmandam tuendamque sententiam nostram
sat sit, rerum omnium author Christus, vtpote cuius omnis
actio nostra fuerit institutio : qui sacra perhibente Scriptura
risisse nunquam, flesse uero luxissequē nonnunquam tradi-
65 tur : uidelicet uaticinando miserandum quod tunc præuide-
bat, vrbis Hierosolymarum excidium ; deinde reuocando ad
uitam ipsum Lazarum, quadriduo iam humanis exemptum,
sarcophago conditum ; ob quam commiserationem et fusas pie
lachrymas, nonne foret impium, arguere stultum Deum
70 Christum, apud quem quæuis mundana sapientia, summa sit
stultitia ?

Cæterum si hæc obiter a me adducta, tuam non mutant

46 Amonque] r Amnonque 55 esto &c.] on p. 158 59 confessa] e corr over o

42. cum gaudentibus &c.] ROM., XII, 15.

44. lugens Rachel &c.] MATTH., II, 18.

45. Samuel Saul] I REG., XV, 35.

46. David suum Absalon, Am-
<n>onque] II REG., XIII, 31, 37,
XVIII, 33, XIX, 1-4.

50. uirgo Deipara &c.] LUC., II, 35 ; JOANN., XIX, 25-27.

65. uaticinando &c.] MATTH., XXIII, 37, sq ; LUC., XIII, 34, sq,
(especially) XIX, 41-44.

66. reuocando ad uitam... La-
zarum] JOANN., XI, 33-38.

sententiam, age, an stultum sit ferre luctum, quum illud inter
 ritus suos et cerimonias ipsa Catholica militans Ecclesia iam-
 75 pridem receperit, annuo scilicet luctu lugendo caput suum,
 mortuum Christum ? quem quidem ita de more colendum
 seruandumque Ius tam Diuinum ac Pontificium statuit ?
 Præterea nonne etiam Iure Ciuili cautum est agere luctum ?
 adeo ut foeminæ intra præscriptum tempus secundo nubentes
 80 infamia percellantur, vtpote primo toro, ac ipsis primis uita
 functis maritis, insignem inferentes iniuriam, quorum um-
 bræ apud Manes agentes haud mediocriter hinc tristari tra-
 duntur. Adde quod iam passim usu uenit, estque moribus re-
 ceptum, ubi casus obtigerit, unumquemque agere, conti-
 85 nuare luctum iuxta lugendi et ipsius lugentis dignitatem,
 necessitudinem, conditionem. Vnde tandem apud plærasque
 nationes mos inoleuit quod lugentes, pullati, promissa barba,
 squalido sub persona uultu, tristique supercilio, lachrymabun-
 di incedentes, funus ipsum deplorati Cari efferunt. Alij uero
 90 domi occlusi, queruli, intra moestos parietes sese continentes,
 oratorem insignem aliquem ære multo conducunt, qui e con-
 cione proseguendo actam lugendorum uitam, ipsos auditores
 ad luctum, fletus, singultus, suspiriaque prouocent. Postremo
 sunt et alij qui ad deplorandos lugendosque demortuos, ad-
 95 dicta mercede inuitant turbas aliquot foeminarum, quas La-
 tini 'præficas' uocant, suas uenales habentes lachrymas; quæ
 quidem cadauere probe a pollinctoribus curato, inter efferen-
 dum humique condendum, cadauer ipsum gemebundæ, lugu-
 bres, querulæ astantes, misere pectora sua tundunt, passos
 100 crines lacerant, nœnias eiulant, ac demum luctu suo, fletu,
 planctu, ululatu, gemitu, coelum (ut ita dicam) terramque
 miscentes omnia complent.

Postremo si adhuc inflexibilis in ea tua maneat hæresi,
 uidelicet hominis insani atque stulti esse luctum agere : quod
 105 si ita ut sentis foret, nequicquam tantopere clarissimis suis

74 ipsa &c.] on p. 159 92 lugendorum &c.] on p. 160

75. annuo... luctu] viz., the
 liturgy of Good Friday.

77. Ius... Pontificum &c.] prob.
 by the celebrating of Good Fri-
 day as chief feast day.

95. turbas... foeminarum &c.]

R. Ménard and C. Sauvageot, *La
 Famille dans l'Antiquité* 1 : Paris,
 w. d. : 225, sq.

101. coelum... terramque miscen-
 tes] Erasmus : *Mare cælo miscere* :
ErAdag., 142, 1.

nusquam intermorituris monimentis hystorici prædicarent suspicerentque Q<uinti> Metelli felicitatem : quam quidem ut raram et admirabilem posteritati hinc esse notam uoluerunt, quia idem Metellus e uita migrans, a tribus liberis
 110superstitibus, grauissimis ordinis Senatorij uiris lugentibus ad rogum usque solenni funeris pompa elatus fuerit. Quod si stultum existimassent luctum agere, occasionem tantæ tamque prædicandæ felicitatis nequaquam inde sumpsissent.

Postremo, ut interea epistolam, cuius iam modum excesserim, claudam : quo id sic præstem, occurrit ad hoc oportune
 115sententia aurea Diui Aurelii Augustini, astypulantis, scilicet, quandam nobis innatam esse tristitiam qua necesse est tristes simus quando nos moriendo deserunt quos enixe amamus : quia etsi nouimus eos non in æternum nobiscum mansuros,
 120sed aliquantulum præcedere sequuturos, tamen mors ipsa quam natura refugit, ubi occupat dilectum, contristat in nobis ipsius dilectionis affectum.

Vale. Hæc tandem qualiacunque sint, ad te scribenda duxi, non tamen eo consilio quod putarem ijsce ineptijs tuam
 125quæ nostra probabilior est sententiam detrectare, uel, quod absit, explodere ; sed contra magis, quod hoc meo nescio an satis probato studio, ijs actis ferijs aut otium (quod sine litteris mortem tradunt) effugerem, aut aliquantulum no-

111 -neris pompa &c.] on p. 161

107. Q. Metelli felicitatem &c.] reference is made to Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus, who is described as an example of a *homo felix* by C. Plinius Secundus, in his *Naturalis Historia*, vii, 44, 142, and by Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum Factorum Memorabilium Libri IX* : vii, i (*De Felicitate*), 1 ; he is also mentioned as such, e. g., by Cicero, *Tuscul.*, i, 85, *De Finibus*, v, 27, 28 : Velleius, i, 11, 6-7 ; St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, ii, 23 : AugO, vii, 71.

109. tribus liberis superstitibus] the number of surviving children differs : Pliny mentions four sons who took their father's body to the pyre ; so does Valerius Maximus, who adds that there were also three married daughters left ; St. Augustine refers to five sons, — which number Vives changed

to four in his edition of 1522 (and 1529 : Basle, Froben).

116. sententia... Diui... Augustini] Busleyden quotes verbatim some lines from the first chapter of the *Sermo CLXXII* (1 THESS., iv, 12) of the *Sermones de Scripturis* : necesse... affectum, II 117-122 : AugO, v, 936.

127. ijs actis ferijs] possibly the letter was written after the feast of All Saints and All Souls' Day.

127-28. otium... sine litteris mortem] cp. Seneca, *Epistulæ Morales*, xi, iii (Ep. 82), 3 : 'otium sine literis morset et hominis vivi sepultura' ; it has no doubt given rise to the remark which Busleyden often makes : Nusquam minus otiosi quam cum otiosi : cp. *Epp.* 27, 22-23.

strum quo angor, luctum leuarem ; aut, si minus, te saltem
 130ad rescribendum meliora lacesserem. Quod si ita te gratifi-
 cante assequutus fuero, ut te procul dubio facturum spero,
 talem hoc commercio permutationem fecero, qualem, ut est
 apud Homerum, Glaucus et Diomedes inter se faciunt, dissimilia permutantes : scis satis quid uelim. Rursum uale.

BuslMS, 63-65 (1 r-2 r)

⟨Padua, end of 1502⟩

9. — TO THE READER

This letter is entitled 'AD LECTOREM.', in black ink capitals, over which there is in red ink the general title of the collection of Busleyden's poetry *HIERO. BVSLIDII/ARIEN. PRAEPO LVSVS* : cp. before § 107. This letter is conceived as a preface addressed to the reader of the poem written in memory of his brother, which Busleyden thought of publishing, — and may have published along with other epitaphs and poems. In the manuscript it precedes the poem *Incomparabilis fraternæ Pietatis... Monumentum* (*Carm.* 1), which evidently belongs to the first months after Francis de Busleyden's death, and was intended to be at the head of the collection : cp. §§ 107, 108 ; *Carm.* 1, *pr.* — The title and ll 1-11 are reproduced on p. 147.

Qvam fuerim in fratrem gratus, pius, officiosus,
 Candide te, Lector, pagina nostra docet.

EN, Uir Ornatissime, pium nostrum in desyderatum benefi-
 centissimum fratrem Monumentum, non multa, ut
 5 uides, aut elegancia, aut inani uerborum phuco phaleratum,
 sed magis, quod opto, insigni pietate et gratitudine refertum.
 Quod modo in hoc probetur, minus laboramus si uel in altero
 damnetur, quando non ornatui, sed uni magis studuimus
 pietati, quæ amore inprimis, caritate et gratitudine concomi-
 10 tata, haud usquam morata est lenocinia uerborum, senten-
 tias coloresque rhetorum : quin satius, uiribus confisa suis, id
 quod uoluit et potuit fratri demortuo impendit. Hoc in officio
 anxia magis et sollicita quomodo re ipsa pia esset quam quod
 eleganter aut diserte diceret : plus sibi laudis statuens et me-

129 leuarem &c.] on p. 162
 3 Uir Ornatissime] cr. 3 in] written twice 3 desyderatum] chd into desid-
 5 phuco] chd. into fuco 11 uiribus &c.] on p. 64

133. apud Homerum &c.] viz., *medis & Glauci permutatio* : cp. *Ilias*, vi, 234-36 ; Erasmus : *Dio-* *ErAdag.*, 68, B, sq.

15 riti hac liberali et obuia præstatione officij quam in plausibili
 ostentatione affectatæ eloquentiæ. Quæ sane (etsi alias sem-
 per) tum maxime explodenda uenit quando pietas ipsa sur-
 gens, causam suam dicit, amor perorat, gratitudo adstypula-
 tur, illam solum adornans opere et fide, non accito sermone
 20 aut eloquij dulcedine : mentes hominumque affectus longe
 malens pie, syncære mouere, quam huiusmodi aurium delini-
 mentis immorari diutius : solum candore, puritate et simpli-
 citate sua contenta, nihil elata, nulli iniuria, nemini odiosa,
 omnibus amabilis ac æque chara, vtpote de Deo, patria, pa-
 25 rentibus, amicis, necessarijs iandudum optime et præclare
 merita : vnde iure meritoque omnium sibi tulit puncta et suf-
 fragia meruit. Quod quum ita sit, hoc te unum, Candide
 Lector, inprimis obtestatum uelim, hæc qualiacunque sint,
 eo perlegas candore qua exarata sunt pietate. Quibus si quid
 30 aut desit (ut uereor) quod desyderes, aut occurrat quod
 minus probes, id totum qualecunque fuerit ipsi condones
 pietati, quando longe maluerit hoc unum subire discrimen
 quam in defunctum fratrem de se bene meritum haud fuisse
 pium. Interea bellissime vale : hæc nostra, qualiacunque sint,
 35 boni consule...

Disthycon

Non hæc Castalidum sacro de fonte Sororum :
 Fraterna potius de pietate fluunt.

Disthycum Aliud

40 Non uos, Eloquium, curo, dulcesque Camcenas :
 Jn fratrem modo sim gratus et usque pius.

BuslMS, 104-107 (e 1 v-e 3 r)

<Padua, end of 1502>

10. — TO THE CHAPTER OF ST. GUDULA'S, BRUSSELS

This letter, addressed in the manuscript '*Ad Collegium diuæ Gudilæ/Bruxelleñ.*', thanks the Chapter of Brussels for having appointed the writer in the place of his deceased brother as treasurer. Since that appointment was made as soon as the news of the Archbishop's decease reached Brabant (cp. ll 15-20), this letter was evidently

20 -que affectus] added in rmg B 25 et præclare] over line B 26 et suffragia &c] on p 65 36 Disthycon] chd. into Dystichon 39 Disthycum] cr.

26. tulit puncta &c.] cp. Hor-
 ace, *Ep. ad Pisones*, 343.

36. Non... fluunt (37)] cp.
Carm. VIII, 7, 8.

written in the last months of 1502, allowing for the arrival of the message from Spain to Brussels, and of a letter from Brussels to Padua. Cp. before, §§ 30, 59.

SI unquam ad pias lachrymas moestissimumque luctum uehemens suorum desyderium quempiam mouerit, ego iam totus in flebiles gemitus luctusque perpetuos ruere inprimis ac procumbere debeo : maxime quum hoc identidem
 5 me facere pietas non tam suadeat humana quam uel necessitudo imperet fraterna. Ereptum equidem mihi inuida iam morte, proh dolor, uideo sacerrimum illum ac nunquam obliterandæ memoriæ Bisontinum Archipræsulem, fratrem pientissimum, a quo ego (modo illi per crudelia fata licuisset)
 10 ultra ea quæ fratri a fratre debentur officia, etiam studiorum nostrorum uberrima assequutus essem præmia. Quæ quidem iam nobis prorsus sublata pariterque cum eo erepta omnino forent, nisi insignis illa in me beneficentia, uestraque in defunctum fratrem gratitudo, nostræ tam grandi occurrisset
 15 calamitati : quippe ubi primum pientissimi fratris tristissimum mortis accepistis nuntium, congregati omnes ex industria consulturi quemnam potissimum in illius subrogaretis locum, subito omnes incredibili animorum consensu, manibus, ut aiunt, pedibusque in eandem euntes sententiam,
 20 uestra in me absentem tulistis uota, emisistis suffragia : dignum me obiter ac idoneum censentes qui hoc incomparabili beneficio, studium in me propensissimum uestrum non tam sentirem quam re ipsa cumulatissime experirer. Quo uno beneficio quid, per deos immortales, uel iucundius nobis uel
 25 nostris accedere uotis optabilius poterat quam nunc hoc in honestissimo consortio, uestroque sacrosancto connumeratum iri Collegio, tot scilicet eruditissimis uiris integerrimisque patribus undique referto. Quod quum ita sit, totus profecto mutus, elinguis, stupidusque hæreo quoties pro tam immortali
 30 beneficio uestro gratias agere cogito : gratias, inquam, quæ et dignitati huius ornatissimi Collegij responderent, simulque nostram in se deuotionem magis ac magis arguerent. In qua re etsi neque expectationi de me uestræ, neque meæ erga uos

5 suadeat &c.] on p. 105 23 re ipsa &c.] on p. 106 24 quid] corr. from quod

gratitudini iam facile satisfacere possim, obrutus inprimis
 35 uestri in me meriti magnitudine, deinde et uiribus opibusque
 destitutus eloquentiæ. Attamen ne omnino hominem ingra-
 tum agam, eas uobis omnibus et singulis gratias ago quas aut
 mens complecti, ingenium suppetere, linguaque iam potest
 depromere; præterea pares post hac relaturus siquando for-
 40 tuna melior, luxque serenior nostris alluxerit successibus;
 quæ quidem ubi primum apparuerit, me talem procul dubio
 præstare conabor qualem uos maxime fore cupitis, egoque
 aliquando esse desydero: uidelicet qui nihil eorum unquam
 sim prætermisurus quæcunque non solum uestram in rem
 45 ac priuatum cuiusque commodum, uerum etiam ad decorem,
 ornamentum, immunitatem, emolumentumque huius cele-
 bratissimæ (cuius et pars sumus) Ecclesiæ spectare cognouero.

BuslMS, 240 (B 1 v)

<Mechlin, 1503>

II. — TO THOMAS DE PLAINE

CHANCELLOR OF BURGUNDY

- a* This letter, which in the collection is inscribed as '*Cancellario Burgundicæ*,' was probably written at Mechlin where Jerome de Busleyden was looking for an appointment, and trying to secure the favour of the influent officials at Court. Knowing of the Chancellor's interest in music, he made him a present, accompanying this letter, in 1503, or at any rate soon after, his arrival from Italy. Probably to him Busleyden also addressed his poem *Cuidam Mæcenati: Carm. xxii*, insisting on a request, made before, to recommend him for a fit office.
- b* Thomas de PLAINE (Pleine, or Plaines), Lord of Maigny, belonged to a family of Franche-Comté, in which the bent for jurisprudence was hereditary: Moeller, 167. After having been a member of the Great Council of Mechlin under Charles the Bold (Walther, 29), he became Great Chancellor of Burgundy in 1496 under Philip the Fair (Walther, 21, 23-25, 85-6, 150), and was one of the six members of the council presided by Engelbert II, Count of Nassau, entrusted, on September 4, 1501, with the management of affairs during the Archduke's journey to Spain: Henne, I, 35. By the order of October 31, 1501, he was chosen with the Lady of Ravenstein to help the Duchess-Dowager of Burgundy Margaret of York to take care of Princess Eleonore and her brother Charles in her mansion of Mechlin, where she died on November 23, 1503: Moeller, 14, 39; Henne, I, 36, *Mal-God.*, 246, *sq.*, 256, *sq.* When, on September 26, 1501, was celebrated the marriage between Margaret of Austria and Duke Philibert II of Savoy, he was one of those who signed the deed: Henne, I, 36.

- ^c At the meeting of the States General at Mechlin after the death of Philip the Fair (Burgos, Sept. 25, 1506), the Great Chancellor made, on October 18, a report about the journey of their deceased Prince to Spain; he requested protection for his children and for the arrangement of the affairs; he then proceeded to the opening and the reading of Philip's will of January 2, 1506, and suggested the measures appropriate to the circumstances: Henne, I, 126, *sq.* He did not survive very long: he died on March 20, 1507 (Walther, 92), leaving a widow, Jane de Gros, who, in 1517, bought the jurisdiction and rights of dominion of Querbs from William 't Serclaes: Henne, I, 65. They had several children: their son Gerard, Lord of la Roche, who was already Master of Requests at his father's death, became chancellor of Brabant and member of the Privy Council on March 18, 1509: *Cran.*, 114, *a*, &c.; Walther, 23, &c.; Henne, I, 219; another son was the Hubert de Plaine, Lord of Maigny, whose daughter Catherine, Lady of Norderwyck and Gestel, was the second wife of the Mechlin councillor Francis de Cranevelt: cp. *Cran.*, *lxvij*, and references; Allen, I, 76, 43; Dunod, *Histoire du Comté de Bourgogne*: 1740: 163; *La Maison de Plaine, ses Alliances, Pierres Sépulchrales et autres mémoires la regardant*: MS of Mechlin Town Archives, DD, SI, xx; *NobPB*, II, 1559-61.

QVONIAM intellexi rebus te musicis mirifice oblectari,
 iisque propterea operam quandoque dare uelle, vt
 earum harmonia captus laborem non tam falleres quam ani-
 mum assiduis tot curis et meditationibus obrutum, leuare non-
 5 nunquam atque excitare posses: quod tuum consilium
 quum sic maxime approbem, simulque in eo te constanter
 pergere uelim: musico hoc te donatum uolui instrumento,
 tuorum quod laborum dulce non solum lenimen foret, verum
 et meæ in te obseruantiae pignus et amoris clarissimum argu-
 10 mentum. Vale.

BuslMS, 198-199 (i 8 v-i 9 r)

⟨Mechlin, 1503⟩

12. — TO HENRY ZEIGLER

Luxemburg Senator

- ^a The letter, indicated in the collection as addressed to '*Henrico Zeigler I.V.Doct./Senatori Luceburgen.*', no doubt belongs to 1503, namely, the first months after Jerome de Busleyden's return to the Netherlands, as results from the reference to the decease of his brother which is still grieving him.
- ^b Henry ZEIGLER, Doctor Utriusque Juris and Luxemburg Senator, was at least for a time in the service of a nobleman, protector of Jerome de Busleyden — to whom, as a lover of music he had promised a set of flutes or flageolets, *fistulæ*, which evidently were late in being

delivered. — Most probably Zeigler, or Zeygler had been one of Busleyden's fellow-students in Louvain, where he did not get his degree, though, as his name is not on the lists. Nor was he a senator when this letter was written: he was provisionally appointed councillor for Luxemburg at the salary of 50 florins. by patent letters dated Mechlin, February 6, 1506, and he took the oath before the Lord of Maigny, Thomas de Plaine, Great Chancellor (*Epp.* 11, *b*). He was confirmed in his office on February 5, 1509 and on October 1, 1515; he became ordinary councillor by letters patent dated Brussels, August 24, 1519. He died in April 1530. Cp. N. van Werveke, in *Recueil de Mémoires... du 3me Centenaire de... l'Athénée*: Luxemburg, 1904: 231.

FISTULAS illas ab Illustri Domino tuo, patrono meo, toties ut nosti repromissas, impetraturum quandoque me prorsus desperassem, nisi summa fiducia nostra in tua erga nos fide et candore olim reposita, me adhuc spe bona durare
 5 iuberet. Qua subinde fretus, etsi longior illarum expectatio toties fefellit expectantem, ceptam tamen inde spem nondum posui: interea nobis persuadens receptarum fistularum elegantiam tarditatem præstationis illarum aliquando facile compensaturam. Quod ut iuxta uotum meum et nostram de
 10 te expectationem ocys fiat, probe curabis: rem profecto facturum tam fidei tuæ respondentem quam nobis iucundam: qua inprimis altum doloris uulnus, quod pientissimi fratris immatura mors fecit, si non omnino curare, saltem quandoque lenire queam. Vale.

BuslMS, 136-137 (f 7 v-f 8 r)

⟨Mechlin, 1503-1504⟩

13. — TO JOHN DERVILLE, Dean of Aire

a This letter, which has as title '*Decano Arien.*', is evidently a reply to a message, expressing dutiful respect and affection, of the Dean of Aire to his Provost. It was the more welcome as it gave evident proof of literary taste and ability (*ll* 14-16), as well as of a genuine kindness (*ll* 4-5). Busleyden had been elected provost on February 17, 1500 whilst he was in France, and on account of his subsequent stay in Italy he had been prevented from taking possession personally of that dignity: no doubt the Dean availed himself of an opportunity to enter into connection with him soon after his return from the Transalpine University where he promoted Doctor of Laws: it thus appears that this letter was written in 1503 or 1504.

b The name of the dignitary referred to here, was John DERVILLE. He had only been appointed recently, since at the close of the xvth

century James Braquepot was dean of St. Peter's of Aire, and he is recorded to have attended all the capitular meetings up to those of 1502, after which year the Acts of the Chapter are missing : Aire Town Archives : 813, 13. Most probably he was succeeded in 1503 by Derville, who had known very well Busleyden's brother Francis, the Archbishop of Besançon, in whose memory he wrote some verses ; he also was acquainted with Nicolas Ruterius, Bishop of Arras, with whom Busleyden was on most intimate footing : *Epp.* 17. It is quite natural that the Dean of Aire wanted to make friendly advances to the Provost whom he had to replace during his absence, which, after January 22, 1504, his office at the Prince's Court fully justified : *AireSP.*, 86-87. He thus had to celebrate solemn masses at certain festivities, and to confer the last Sacraments to the members of the Chapter, whereas the nomination of new canons did not require personal presence : *AireSP.*, 82, *sq.*

- c Scanty information subsists about Aire Chapter in the first decads of the xvth century : the register of the *Acta Capitularia* for the period extending from 1502 to 1566 had already disappeared before the French Revolution — possibly on account of some touchy points referred to ; the recent wars made further havoc amongst the records. During Derville's management a breviary for the use of the Chapter was printed about 1514 : *AireSP.*, 219-223 ; the reconstruction of the decaying church, started in 1492, was actively continued, so that the choir was finished about 1531 : *AireSP.*, 256-257. In order to collect money for the building, several of the relics of the church were entrusted by 1515 to four *clerici*, to be exposed in the parishes throughout the diocese : *AireSP.*, 229, 374-375 : amongst those *clerici* there was one 'John Derviller', who, judging from the nearly similar name, may have been of the Dean's family. — Nothing seems to indicate how long Busleyden's friend was head of the Chapter : Peter Fremault or Fresnault, parish priest of Our Lady's, is mentioned in 1512 as *Decanus Christianitatis* of Aire, but that office is different from that of *Decanus Capitularis* : Aire Town Records, MS. 11312. Derville was succeeded, possibly mediately, by dean James de Crocq, who, in 1531 obtained from Clement VII the power to unite the two portions of the parish-priest of St. Peter's to the *fabrica ecclesiæ* in order to help to defray the cost of building ; he died before March 1541 : *AireSP.*, 257 ; Aire Town Records, MS. 11312 : f 62 ; Arras Records : Baillage d'Aire, *Contrats de* 1541 : f 1.

MIRUM est quantum me docta et cordata recreauit
epistola tua, quæ quidem mihi tuam (qua in omnes
afficeris) repræsentauit humanitatem, præsertim quæ nulla
nostri notione ducta, neque aliquo (quod sciam) merito
5 nostro aut beneficio prouocata, tam eleganti et suauis est me
dignata scriptione, adeo mihi iucunda atque grata, ut magis
magisque placeat, nosque oblectat decies repetita quam
semel tantum lecta. Proinde locaturus illam posthac et habi-

turus inter summa rerum mearum ornamenta, loco perpetui
 10 pignoris auspicandæ mutuæ inter nos amicitia: ad quam ita
 te facile admittendum, etsi plæræque rationes maxime me ur-
 geant, tamen ex tam multis ea una (idque præcipua) ad hoc sic
 præstandum nos mouet: candor scilicet morum tuorum et
 assidua cultura bonarum literarum, quibus te inprimis ua-
 15 lere tum constanti phama multorum, tum proxima lectione
 doctissimarum literarum tuarum cognoui. Quod quum ita
 sit, admodum gaudeo atque mihi ipsi gratulor talem ac tan-
 tum me nactum amicum, maxime in quo mirifice consentiat
 tam pulchra consonantia et morum et literarum. Vale.

BuslMS, 230-231 (A 6 v-A 7 r)

〈Mechlin, 1503-1504〉

14. — TO PETER JACOBI OF ARLON, Provost of Backnang

a This letter, addressed in the collection: '*Petro Aralunensi, I. V. D[omi]ni Præposito Backnangen,*', evidently belongs to one of the first months after Busleyden's return to our Provinces, when he sent a few lines, *paucula*, to this old friend who had loved him as a father, and whom he thus gently compelled to write to him, so as to alleviate and linder the sadness that was still weighing on him on account of his brother's death.

b Peter JACOBI, born in 1459 at Arlon, ARLUNENSIS, went in 1474 to study in France, possibly in Italy, and entered by 1480 the service of the clever patron of learning Count Eberhard with the Beard, of Württemberg, as preceptor of his natural son Louis of Württemberg. In February 1482 he went with the Count on his journey to Italy; amongst those who accompanied were Gabriel Biel, the last, yet one of the most important, of the Scholastic erudites, professor at Tübingen; his colleague, the historian John Vergenhans, *Nauklerus*; as well as the famous student of languages John *Capnio*, Reuchlin. They visited Florence and Rome, and had returned by 1484: Chr. F.v. Stälin, *Württembergische Geschichte*: Stuttgart, 1856: III, 591, sq; *Reuchlin*, 22, 23, sq. Still Jacobi returned to, or maybe remained in, Italy, probably with his pupil, and studied at Pavia, from where he sent a letter to Reuchlin on January 1, 1488 about Pliny, Strabo and Livius, whose works he had promised to provide. On March 1, 1488 he regretted that he could not add any item to Reuchlin's list of Greek books, which George Merula pronounced most complete. On the first of September following he complained about Reuchlin's

10 -candæ &c.] on p. 137

15. phama] Derville was no doubt known as poet: cp. *Epp.* 17, 3, sq.

silence, and once more promised to look for whatever books he should like : ReuchlE, 13, 21. During that period — if not before — he promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris*, and afterwards remained in close touch with some Italian erudites, such as Gabriel Bossus of Mantua, who in the spring of 1491 sent through him some translations from Homer to Reuchlin : ReuchlE, 28 ; in the summer of 1498, Jacobi congratulated his friend, the famous Hebraist, for his oration to Alexander VI on August 7 of that year : ReuchlE, 57 ; Trit., 375, 383, 470.

- c Meanwhile Jacobi had become a priest and had been made a canon at St. Simon's, Treves, also at Stuttgart, as well as provost of Backnang, near Heilbronn, and parish priest of Waiblingen. When his preceptorship ended, he was appointed councillor of Count Eberhard, who availed himself of his ability as jurist, theologian and linguist for several missions and embassies. Thus his master took him in 1495 to the Diet of Worms, where from Count, he was promoted to Duke of Württemberg by Maximilian I. At his death in 1497, he was succeeded by a nephew, Eberhard the Young, who, after a year, was deposed, and replaced by another nephew, Ulrich I. As this prince was only eleven, he was entrusted to the care of Peter Jacobi as preceptor : L. F. Heyd, *Ulrich Herzog zu Württemberg* : Tübingen, 1841-44 : I, 44-90.
- d Notwithstanding that new charge, Jacobi continued his work as ducal councillor, senator and ambassador, and was even ennobled by Maximilian I in 1505 for services rendered. He also kept in close touch with studies and erudites whom he patronized ; amongst them, the Tübingen Professor Henry Bebel, 1472-1518 (HutOS, II, 306 ; Trit., 459), who inscribed to him his *Apologia pro suis Commentariis de Abusione Linguae Latinae*¹). On May 10, 1506 Bebel dedicated a first book of *Facetiae* to his highly esteemed friend and patron, who was then restoring his health by the *Thermæ Ferinæ sive Hercynianæ*, at Wildbad, and made the book into the present which it was then the custom with the 'Suevi' to offer to convalescents at the baths²). A second series of *Facetiae* was dedicated on September 8, 1508 (G. Bebermeyer, *Heinrich Bebel's Facetien* : Leipzig, 1931 : 3, 4, 45-47, 103, 175) to the kind and erudite protector, to whom Bebel applied as an umpire in a controversy which, seconded by Michael Köchlin, *Coccinius*, and his brother Wolfgang Bebel, he was sustaining against Conrad Celtis, who had taken as a personal insult his assertion that the Italians surpassed the Germans in the purity of their Latin and in their eloquence : J. Fr. Schröder, *Das Wiederaufblühen der Klassischen Studien in Deutschland* : Halle, 1864 : 237-241. Jacobi did not see the end of that polemic : he died as an imperial delegate at the Diet of Worms on May 13, 1509, leaving a grateful memory which did not

¹) Ad clarissimum virum atque disertissimum Petrum Iacobum Arlunensem præpositum Backnangensem Canonicum Stuttgardianum, oratorem atque iurisconsultum ducalemque senatorem : printed in the *Commentaria Epistolarum Conficiendarum Henrici Bebelii* : Pforzheim, 1510 : cxxx1, sq; W.H.D. Suringar, *Heinrich Bebel's Proverbia Germanica* : Leyden, 1879 : xviii.

²) The book begins with eight verses 'ad dominum Petrum Iacobi Arlunensem balneantem'.

want the epitaph he had composed for himself : *Bene vixi, nil debui, pauca reliqui, amicis benefeci, Hic iaceo tectus. Deum quicumque hæc legis pro me ora.* — His magnificent collection of books went to his nephew Matthias Held (Hoyneck, I, i, 96, sq; FG, 369; &c.), at Arlon, where Bartholomew Latomus, Held's nephew, saw it when a boy, before it was taken into Germany when his uncle became Imperial Vice-Chancellor, as he mentions in his dedicatory letter to Matthias Held, Paris, May 1, 1539, of his *Oratio Cicronis pro Aulo Cecinna cum Enarrationibus* : Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1539. — Judging from this letter, Jerome de Busleyden had made Jacobi's acquaintance during the lifetime of his brother Francis, most probably at the Court where their elder townsman had been sent on a mission. Cp. A. Wesselski, *Heinrich Bebel's Schuänke* : Tübingen, 1907 : I, 117; J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen* : Tübingen, 1927-29 : I, 228, 247; J. P. Walzing : *Petrus Jacobi Arlunensis 1459-1509* : Liège, 1908; Alfr. Bertrang, *Histoire d'Arlon* : Arlon, 1940 : 206, sq.; J. Goffinet, *Géographie Littéraire du Luxembourg* : Liège, 1942 : 96-97.

SALVE, ITERUMQUE SALVE, AMOR
AMOENITAS ET DELITIÆ NOSTRÆ

INTER cæteras nostras (si quæ mihi hoc turbulentissimo tempore sint uel esse possint) uoluptates, nulla equidem aut cumulatior aut iucundior nostro occurrerit animo quam suauiissima illa ac nusquam intermissa recordatio propensis
5 simi affectus erga me tui, quo me semper ut filium complexus, totum me tibi iamdudum uendicans asseruisti. Quod quum ita sit, hæc paucula ad te dare operæ pretium duxi, quibus obnoxij nostri in te animi deuotionem, fidem, pietatem agnosceres, simulque ad officium rescribendi (ubi aliquan-
10 do adesset otium) te inuitarem : quod iuxta nostrum desyderium aliquando præstes, hortatum te ac, si pateris, uehementissime oratum uelim.

Quod ita præstando, iustum illum dolorem quo ob mortem pientissimi fratris angimur et prope conficimur multum
15 leuabis, teque obiter eum præstabis qui iam deserto, destituto, fortunæque talis ferme obruto, tuo Hieronymo non minus studere uelis quam olim feceris : scilicet quum adhuc nequaquam nouercante fortuna, sed arridente, in uado esset, secundis (ut aiunt) uelis portum tenens : quo nunc, proh dolor,

14 angimur &c.] on p. 231

18. secundis... uelis] Ovid. *vela secunda*; *Pont.*, I, 8, 71; also *Thes.*, s. v. *velum*) : Des ingenio *Æneis*, III, 683, VII, 23.

20 amisso, per tot undique casus et rerum discrimina iactatus,
 tandem miser nimis naufragium factururus, nisi sedatis interim
 tempestatibus, sereniori me sydere aspexerit ille solus qui
 rebus succurrit afflictis, Optimus Maximus Deus : jñ duris
 qui mihi patientiam, extremisque fortitudinem, tibi uero in
 25 prosperis diuturnitatem ac tandem illam ad quam mortali-
 um tendunt uota, condonet felicitatem. Vale.

BuslMS, 127-130 (f 3 r-f 4 v) <Mechlin, February-April 1504>

15. — TO JOHN-LOUIS DE MOSCHERON

Archdeacon of Cambrai

- a* This letter, entitled '*To. Moschoroneo Archid. Cañ.*', seems to belong to the earliest months of Jerome de Busleyden's career as councillor since he pointedly mentions as a reason of his delay in answering a letter, *munus hic meum (cui addictus sum) publicum* : which sounds as a fact to which he is not yet accustomed, and of which his friend may not be aware.
- b* John Louis de MOSCHERON (Mo[u]scron) belonged to a powerful family of traders established both in Bruges and in Rome : *Cran.*, 243, *a*, &c. ; Allen, VI, 1594, 48, 1650, 35-46 ; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 153, 158, 167, &c. ; *BrugSDon.*, 124 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 388. John Louis studied law at Padua, attending the same lectures as Busleyden, and knit up there with him a lifelong friendship, which, although occasionally clouded by discontent and lack of patience, as that shown in this letter, was still vivid and beneficent in the Spring of 1515 : *Epp.* 77, 1, *sq.* 21, *sq.* He became Doctor of Laws, and attended the function of Busleyden's promotion as a witness on February 8, 1503 : from his mention on the deed it appears that by that time he had already secured the office of archdeacon of Cambrai : cp. before, §§ 28, 98 ; to it was joined, in 1507, that of canon of the seventh prebend of St. Donatian's, Bruges (*BrugSDon.*, 126). He did not fulfil its duties at once, for he resided in Rome until, at least, the middle of 1509, as results from a letter of June 30 of that year, in which the Hungarian ambassador James Borsody Piso appeals to his testimony and to that of another close friend of theirs, Thomas, — probably Inghirami, the librarian of the Vatican, — when asserting that he had been so busy that he could not have written before (Allen, I, 216, 19-21 ; Nolhac, 71).
- c* Two years later, Moscheron was appointed ecclesiastical councillor of the Great Council of Mechlin by letters patent signed at Hertogenbosch, October 16, 1511, replacing Richard de la Chapelle, deceased. Still he did not stay long in that office, as John Gonnet, or Jonnet, was nominated his successor by letters patent of March 20, 1513 : *MalConM*, 59, 62 ; *MalConR*, 15 ; *MalConC*, 17. He went to live at Bruges, as is implied by a note added to the address of *Epp.* 59, mentioning that he enjoyed the fame of holiness : *Hic fuit tibi* <the

possessor of this MS> *Collega apud S. Donatianum totus Sanctulus* (*Epp.* 59, a). There he met Erasmus in the spring of 1515, and lived on most familiar terms with him : *Epp.* 77, 32-41. He died in 1535, and was succeeded as *Archidiaconus major Cameracensis* and as canon of St. Donatian's by his nephew Antony-Mark de Moscron, who, for some time, had been his co-adjutor in the latter office : *BrugSDon.*, 126. — Another John de Moscron, *Mosscheroen*, 'pastor plumbeæ portionis' of Our Lady's, Bruges, was canon in St. Donatian's from 1520 to 1526, when he became parish priest of St. Giles's, Bruges : *BrugSDon.*, 124.

QVOD serius ac uelles tuis respondeo, duo me uel inuitum remorata sunt : munus hic meum (cui addictus sum) publicum ; deinde summa perplexitas tuarum quæ me uarie adfecerunt literarum : in quibus nunc amaror dulcori, nunc
 5 intyba successit Ambrosiæ, quando pungendo iocaris, iocando-que pungas, miscendo scommata leporibus, et dentem salibus : adeo ut nondum uix licuit animum in ijs deprendere tuum, haud secus ac anguillam (ut ita dicam) desultoriam sua lubricitate captantum manus fallentem : quo fit non sat mihi
 10 constet qualem nunc responsurus personam induam, deprecantisne, an (quod magis uelim) fatentis inustam abs te mihi notam. Quod si nuper licentiosa nostra quæ frontem perfricuit epistola te forte (quod admodum uereor) offenderit, quid tam frigide hinc nobis succenses, et non satius in tantum nephas,
 15 totus indignabundus insurgas, intonas, fulminas ? Sin uero minus offenderit, quid est quur tantopere te læsum adsimulas, scilicet dolendo prius ac uapules ? Dic, amabo, quid cum amico antiquo (qui cum iam salis modium consumpseris) tam simulanter et indulgenter agis ? Miror profecto et plane de-
 20 miror ! An te fugit amicorum pectora fenestrata, illustria et undecunque perspicua esse debere, in quorum uel penitissimis

6 leporibus &c.] on p. 128 9 captantum] 11 quod] corr. from quid

2. munus] Busleyden evidently had just been appointed as counsellor : cp. § 29.

5. intyba] Virgil, *Georg.*, I, 120 : amaris intyba fibris / Officiunt ; IV, 120, and *Moretum*, 85 : Quæque trahunt acri vultus nasturcia morsu / Intibaque & venerem, reuocans eruca morantem.

8. anguillam] Erasmus : *Cauda tenes anguillam* : *ErAdag.*, 179, r.

18. salis modium] Erasmus :

Salem & mensam ne prætereas. — *Sal & mensa* : *ErAdag.*, 225, b, 1160, b ; *ESDRAS*, I, iv, 14.

20. amicorum pectora fenestrata] Erasmus : *Aperto pectore* : *Al-lusum est...* ad Momi dictum, qui fenestras in hominum pectore desiderasse fingitur, quo liceret inspicere, quidnam in specubus illis reconditum esset : *ErAdag.*, 836, b.

recessibus scelus sit quippiam simulati aut ambigui latere ?
 Præterea si legitimam amicitiam, maxime inter cætera multa,
 libertas ornet et deceat (prout certe decet), liberius tibi et pla-
 25 nius sentiendum erat quod tunc de amico senseras, nusquam
 sic committendo ut conceptam indignationem tot dulcibus
 inescatam hamis tuo Buslidio ostenderes : maxime in præ-
 senti causa tam bona, iusta, recta, quæ sibi sat constans ac
 uiribus confisa suis, haud morabatur tot uarios quibus usus
 30 es colores, tropos, sententias, phucos, phaleras : quandoqui-
 dem qui causæ cedam ac ultro herbam porrigam, fatendo
 ingenue admissam culpam, non tamen a me, tui semper obser-
 uantissimo : sed magis (si penitius perspexeris) ab amore in te
 meo impatienti atque imperioso : cuius nedum mandato, sed
 35 urgenti imperio, officiosa manus temere obediens epistolam
 licentius ac par erat exarauit. Candoris tui ergo erit quod
 amoris imperio (alioquin urgentissimo) peccatum est, ipsi
 amor condonare, præsertim plus sibi spei de tua facilitate
 quam de sua uel iustitia uel pertinacia repromittenti :
 40 quandoquidem pœnitens iam et mœrens scit, nouit, sentit
 quantum in te commiserit, quantumue hallucinans totus et
 cæcutiens tota, ut aiunt, uia errauerit : cuius quidem erroris
 tua saluberrima (tot grauissimis sententijs, syllogismis, enthy-
 mematibusque fulcita) epistola amor in te noster admonitus
 45 procul dubio post hac sese colliget et resipiscet, rationem
 inprimis habiturus quid ad te deceat, atque illum scribere
 oporteat. Interea bene feceris legem illi ad te scribendi ali-
 quam præscribere, qua inprimis nixus, liberius (idque citra
 culpam) ad te scribat : nondum enim satis nouit palatum
 50 tuum. Quo sic aliquando cognito, sapidiora condimenta
 parabit, hoc inprimis curando ut (quod dicitur) quæque
 labra suas habeant lactucas. Vale et me ama.

23 maxime &c.] on p. 129 40 sentit &c.] on p. 130

26-27 dulcibus inescatam ha-
 mis] in Erasmus' *Adagia*, *Inesca-*
re homines and *Vorare hamum*
 follow each other (73 and 72 of
Chil. II, cent. v) : *ErAdag.*, 573,
 * — 574, * ; cp. §§ 151, 163.

31. herbam porrigam] cp. *Epp.*
 6, 33, n.

42. tota... uia errauerit] Eras-
 mus : *Tota erras via* : *ErAdag.*,
 47, * ; cp. *Epp.* 27, 43.

51. quæque labra &c.] Eras-
 mus : *Similes habent labra lactu-*
cas : *ErAdag.*, 386, *.

BuslMS, 71 (5 r)

<Mechlin, March 31-April 6, 1504>

16. — TO JUDOCUS VON BEYSSEL, OF AIX

- a* This letter, addressed to '*Iodoco Beysellio Patritio Aquisgranē.*', serves as dedicatory epistle to a poem describing the sufferings of Christ on the Cross, *Carm.* III. Busleyden mentions that he wrote that *Carmen* during the *sanctissimæ feriæ*, no doubt Holy Week of 1504, March 31, Palm Sunday, to April 6, Saturday before Easter.
- b* Judocus von BEYSSEL, *Beisselius*, was born of a patrician family of Aix about the middle of the fifteenth century; he went to study at Cologne, where he matriculated in the first months of 1471: Keussen, I, 330, 141; he soon removed to Louvain, where he started studying jurisprudence, promoting licenciate in Civil Law in 1474, and in Canon Law on December 12, 1476. No doubt he was a great admirer of Robert van den Poel, *a Lacu*, professor of Canon Law, founder of the College of the Jurists, at whose death, June 26, 1483, he composed an epitaph: VAnd., 165; *ULDoc.*, III, 102, *sq.*; Polain, I, 636. Although he did not enter orders, and even married afterwards, he took a great interest in moral theology and its professor John de Beetz, a Carmelite, who, after seven years' teaching died on July 17, 1476, leaving, amongst others, a work on the Decalogue: Mol., 504; VAnd., 90-91; de Jongh, 79, 97-98; *PF*, I, 58; *ULDoc.*, V, 351-55. Beyssel edited that book under the title: *Commentum super decem Præceptis Decalogi*, dedicating it to Arnold de Bost, of Vaerneuyck, Ghent Carmelite (BostE, 225-36), Erasmus' correspondent by 1497, who died on April 4, 1499: Allen, I, 53, *pr.* It was printed in Louvain by Giles van der Heerstraeten, and issued on April 19, 1486, in two varieties: Polain, I, 551-551^A; it contains a biography provided by the *Liber de Viris Illustribus* of the Carmelite order, and the dedicatory letter dated from Ghent, October [1485]. Cp. Trit., 347, 389.
- c* That letter styles Beyssel '*illustrissimi ducis Austrie consiliarius*': indeed Archduke Maximilian had taken him into his service on account, it seems, of his legal science, possibly also of his bent for literature and art, which explains several of the connections he made at Court. First among them is that which bound him to the faithful and erudite secretary Antony Haneron, Provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, whose death on December 10, 1490, he memorized by four distichs: Polain, I, 636; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. II; *ULDoc.*, III, 122, *sq.* He there also made the acquaintance of the clever musician James Barbiriau, *Barbirianus*, and probably through him, of his friend the famous Rodolph Agricola who, in 1481, spent several months at Maximilian's Court on an embassy: on November 1, 1482, Agricola wrote to Barbiriau, praising Beyssel as '*humanissimum & ornatissimum hominem, & ornamentum Musarum, omnisque eruditionis*': AgricO, II, 211; Trit., 359; and he added to his translation of Plato's *Axiochus*, printed by John of Paderborn in Louvain about 1483, some verses addressed to him: Polain, III, 3192. — The high esteem which Beyssel seems to have enjoyed, greatly impressed Jerome de Busleyden, who, probably made his acquaintance during his stays at Court; he appears to have taken him as his model, not only for his taste for literary letters

and devotional poems, for music and art in general, but also for his readiness to create connections with all erudites and artists.

d Beyssel soon settled at Aix, where he continued his studies and his literary work. He had composed a metrical *Rosarium de S. Anna*, which he had dedicated to John Trithemius, the Abbot of Spanheim, by whom edited it was on July 21, 1494, at Mayence (Peter of Friedberg), along with his *De Laudibus S. Annæ* : Polain, IV, 3813-14. About that time B. published his *Rosacea Christiferae Mariæ Corona* at Antwerp (Gov. Back, *w. d.*) ; also a metrical composition which was dedicated to *fratrem Dominicum Gelrensem*, and followed by several other devotional poems ; he also added his epitaphs on Robert de Lacu, on Antony Haneron and on James Barbiriau, and those composed by Hermolaus Barbarus on Rodolph Agricola, who had died at Heidelberg on October 28, 1485 : Polain, I, 636. On January 16, 1495, G. Back printed at Antwerp his *Tria Rosacea Coronamenta Annæ, Mariæ, Jesu*, the two first with their dedicatory letters, the third, the *Rosaceum Exuperantissimo Altaris Sacramento*, inscribed to Peter Dorlandus, the Carthusian author : Polain, I, 637 ; those *Rosacea*, which were reprinted as late as 1618 and 1623, no doubt prompted Busleyden to imitate them and to dedicate in his turn some of his compositions to the *Patritius Aquensis*. The latter further published *M. Tullii Ciceronis conversi Commentarius de Christiano Ambitu, id est, de Petitione Cælestis Eminentia*, followed by an *Epitome Stimuli Divini Amoris*.

e Beyssel seems to have resided for some time at St. Omer in 1500 as results from a letter of his, copied in MS 1565 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine without the name of the month in the date. In September of that year Erasmus intended writing to him and to his host, the Abbot of St. Bertin's, Antony de Berghe, probably to recommend his former servant-boy, whom he sent to him through James Batt in November : Allen, I, 129, 48, 135, 33. Beyssel seems to have died soon after Busleyden sent him his letter of March 23, 1505, accompanying his Homily and his hymn on Easter Day : *Epp.* 22 ; *Carm.* XIV ; *Orat.*, A ; for on July 8, 1505, abbot Trithemius, in a letter dated from Cologne, gathered praises about him by several famous men. — Beyssel left in manuscript some epistles, poems and orations, — like Busleyden, — as well as a treatise *De Optimo Genere Musicorum Liber unus* ; also an essay on (Flanders) history, *de Seditione Gandensi*, inscribed to Carolus Viruli, regent of the Lily : with the rest of whose books and papers, it was bequeathed to St. Martin's Priory, Louvain. Cp. Trit., 394 ; *SweABel.*, 490 ; *BibBelg.*, 590 ; Paquot, VII, 349-52 ; *NèveBusl.*, 25.

Q VUM ijs sanctissimis ferijs, munerum uacatione indicta, rebus eliminatis externis, ipsi mihi uacans, ac mecum, ut aiunt, habitando, rei sacræ pijsque studijs totus incumberem, meditati mihi inter cætera multa recepta et

2 ac] over line 3 pijsque] -que added C

1. ijs sanctissimis ferijs] cp. *Epp.* 21, 1, 7¹², 22, 3. 3. mecum... habitando] *Er-Adag.*, 255, D : Tecum habita.

- 5 sancta, altum illud ac ineffabile mysterium reparationis humanæ quo ut nos sibi adsereret pientissimus Deus, suo uel Vnigenito non pepercit: quominus persona serui induta, tot probris, contumelijs, plagis acceptis, ac demum dirissima morte exanclata, pro omnibus immolanda daretur hostia.
- 10 Cuius incomparabili erga nos amore, pietate percussus, non potui non summe contristatus, illi non acerbissime compati: quem iustum dolorem nostrum hac qualicunque flebili nœnia tibi, ualde religioso uiro, duxi contestandum. Vale.

BuslMS, 224-226 (A 3 v-A 4 v)

⟨Mechlin, Spring of 1504⟩

17. — TO JOHN DERVILLE, DEAN OF AIRE

- a This letter is entitled '*Johanni Deruilliano, | Decano Ariēñ.*,'; it dates most likely from the first months of Busleyden's settlement as Mechlin councillor, since the memory of his brother is still very vivid; it is an evident sequel to *Epp.* 13, by means of a visit paid by one of his friends to the Bishop of Arras, Nicolas Ruterius.
- b Nicolas le RUISTRE, Ruystre, de Rhutere, Ruter, *Ruterius*, was born in Luxemburg about 1442; he entered the service at the Court of Burgundy as a boy, and grew up



BISHOP NICOLAS RUTER
from the medal by J. de Candida

to the dignity of Master of Requests and of Councillor, which he obtained under the reign of Charles the Bold, and kept under those of Mary of Burgundy and Philip the Fair. On December 26, 1487, he was appointed as one of the three secretaries of the Board of Finances (Walther, 55, 193-95), and when, on March 14, 1497, Philip the Fair changed the management of that department, Ruter was one of the four treasurers "commis et

tresoriers ayans la charge et conduite desdites finances" (Walther, 59). When, on January 22, 1504, Philip the Fair arranged the body of his Masters of Requests in such a way that fourteen of them were not to follow any longer the movements of the Court, but were 'arrested' at Mechlin to see to the execution of jurisdiction—the Great Council,—he kept four Masters of Requests to remain at Court with the Archduke to form the Privy Council with the Chancellor Thomas de Plaine and three elder and very experienced councillors, namely Nicolas de Ruter, the Provost of Utrecht Philibert le Naturel, and Gerard de

Plaine, Lord of la Roche : *MalConM*, 22, 28, 40 ; Walther, 22-23, 84-85.

- c Meanwhile Nicolas had entered holy Orders and had secured several preferments : he thus obtained in 1484 the tenth canonry in St. Donatian's, Bruges : *BrugSDon.*, 137 ; on December 4, 1484, the archdeaconship of Brabant ; in 1485, the perpetual commendatary provostry of St. Bavo's, Haarlem ; a canonry in St. Gudula's, Brussels ; the tenth canonry of St. Gummarus', Lierre, and a canonry at Our Lady's, Termonde ; he also secured a prebend at Courtrai, a chaplaincy at Flobeck and the '*personatus*' of Brecht. On June 10, 1487, vanquishing the opposition of a competitor, George de Wolcesceyn (FUL, 2239), he was appointed Provost of St. Peter's, Louvain, and thus became Chancellor of the University, of which two dignities Francis de Busleyden, provost of Liège, took possession on his behalf. In 1501 he was nominated (45th) Bishop of Arras, and consecrated on August 7, 1502 in his Church of St. Peter's, Louvain : Glay, 1, 217-19 ; Mol., 130 ; *BelgChron.*, 376 ; *GallChrist.*, III, 346 ; *MemAss.*, 226-28.
- d The trust of his Prince in him became greater as years advanced : he was one of the envoys who made, with Louis XII, the treaty of Lyons of August 10, 1501, and drew up at Blois, on December 12, 1501, the act of interpretation of the treaty of Trente : Henne, 1, 30, 38. Before Philip the Fair left for Spain, in the beginning of 1506, he entrusted, on December 26, 1505, the management of our provinces to six men, of whom the Bishop of Arras was one : Henne, 1, 82-83. Ruterius made a most judicious use of his wealth and his power ; he was Erasmus' staunch protector, and it was to him that the great scholar owed his chance of becoming a favourite at the Court of Philip the Fair and of his son, by entrusting to him the honour of welcoming his Prince on his return from Spain by the *Panægyricus* of January 6, 1504 : Allen, 1, 177, 179 ; to him were dedicated on November 17, 1503, (*Libanii*) *Aliquot Declamatiunculæ* (Louvain, July 1519).
- e Ruterius founded a cell in the Louvain Charterhouse, and in his admiration for the order, he wished to start a new convent, when his confidential friend John Robbyns, the dean of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, advised him to create rather a new college for students in Louvain : Mol., 297 ; *SweMon.*, 239-40. He followed that counsel most generously : he obtained the necessary grants from the Emperor Maximilian and from the legate Bernardino Cardinal de Carvajal (*Epp.* 54, m), and founded the College of Arras on September 15, 1508, in the mansion he had bought from the van Ranshem family, in Provost Street, with its large garden, celebrated by Barlandus in his *De Laudibus Louanii* (*SweMon.*, 201 ; Daxhelet, 220). It was destined for sixteen bursars, and was endowed with the revenue of the Haarlem provostry and the *personatus* of Brecht, besides rents and several rich farms. The new College, which was to have a chapel with a bell-tower, was constructed at once : the contract for masonry and carpentry was made on Nov. 8, 1508, and the community actually started on Sept. 27, 1509 (FUL, 2243, 2333) under the supervision of Ruterius' intimate friends and the executors of his will, John Robbyns and Adrian of Utrecht : it soon became one of the most prosperous institutes of the University. Ruter only saw the beginning of his foundation : he died at Mechlin on November 15, 1509 ; he was buried in St. Peter's choir, Louvain. Cp. Guicc., 292 ; Mol., 641 ; *BatawMart.*, 172 ; *Vern.*,

41, 216; *VAnd.*, 301, 398; *FUL*, 2237-2245; *SweMon.*, 204, 240; *Con-Pri.*, I, 256; *ULDoc.*, I, 390-91, III, 155, *sq.*; Caullet, 49; Henne, IV, 285; Allen, I, 177. — Ruterius was Jerome de Busleyden's mentor and affectionate friend: he gave him the lofty example of turning to the general welfare the wealth supplied by offices and prebends: cp. *Anal.*, xvi, 258, 278.

INSIGNIS cantor sacræ Morinensis ædis a sacerrimo illo
Atrebatensi Præsule et hospitio hodie et conuiuio acceptus,
mihi de ualetudine tuorumque studiorum et rerum conditione
roganti respondit: te serio semper triumphantem recte qui-
5 dem ualere, atque in literario otio nunquam minus otiosum
(quam quum maxime otiosus sis) esse. Quo quidem nuntio
ubi mirifice oblectatum et me recreatum agnosceret, obiter
addidit ijs proximis diebus inter cætera non tam luculenter
quam erudite abs te edita, etiam ex literaria illa tua offi-
10 cina opibus inprimis eloquentiæ referta, emanasse episto-
lium aliquod jn quo demortui iam (proh dolor) fratris, Bison-
tini Archipræsulis merentissimi, bene actam uitam, præclara
gesta, suaque in Rempubicam merita tuis celebrando monu-
mentis, illius auxisti gloriam, nomenque suum nullo unquam
15 æuo perituum, ab omni iniuria temporum perpetuo uindi-
casti: pro qua pietate, tuaque incomparabili in desyderatum
fratrem gratitudine, quam obnoxium me tibi et deuinctum
reddideris, facilius est me cogitare quam posse dicere; quando-
quidem qui satis superque sciam hinc tibi quantum debeam
20 ac quanta me deberi uelim; verum aut quomodo, aut quando
ea persoluam, nihil est quod magis nesciam.

Confundor equidem et obruor pondere tam inmensi bene-
ficij, vtpote quo præclara desyderati fratris fama apud nepo-
tes et posteros æternum uiuet, simulque immortalitate (qua
25 excellentius aut gloriosum magis dari potest nihil), tandem
procul dubio donabitur: quæ immortalitas, quum ea una et
sola sit, in qua non tam uirtus ipsa quam quæcunque egregia

12 præclara &c.] on p. 225

1. Morinensis ædis] Théroutane.
2. Atrebatensi præsule] Nicolas
Ruter: cp. *pr.*
5. literario otio &c.] cp. *Epp.*
8, 127-128.
10. epistolium] it was communi-
cated, and Busleyden returned

thanks for it by *Epp.* 18; most
probably that document is lost.

26. immortalitas &c.] immortal
fame is also represented as the
aim and reward of erudites in
Carm. XXI, i, 28.

clarissimorum uirorum facta, et finem sibi constituent et præ-
 mia metiantur: efficitur, non in dubium uertar (modo humana-
 30 rum rerum aliquid cognitionis pijs illis Manibus apud Elysios,
 ut aiunt, Campos constitutis relinquantur), fratrem ex humanis
 ad superos euocatum, te unum ex paucis selegisse qui solus,
 auctoritate grauissimi testimonij tui et dono mellifluæ elo-
 quentiæ, uelles, scires, posses, non in marmore aut ære, quæ
 35 ædax tempus consumit, Lysippum, Apellemque in effingenda
 Alexandri imagine imitari, sed potius diuturnitate suæ memo-
 riæ æternitate tuorum scriptorum consecrare: quorum scilicet
 syncæro et uero testimonio inter alias, non aut momentaneas
 aut tumultuarias, sed indeficientes æternæ illius qua fruitur
 40 beatitudinis uoluptates, haud secius gloriabitur quam olim
 et gloriati et recreati fuerint Achilles Homero, Cicero L.
 Luceio, Moecenas Vergilio atque Horatio, suarum laudum ac
 facinorum idoneis receptissimisque scriptoribus. Val.

BuslMS, 227-228 (A 5 r, v)

⟨Mechlin, Spring of 1504⟩

18. — TO JOHN DERVILLE, DEAN OF AIRE

This letter, entitled '*Eidem...*', namely '*Iohanni Deruilliano*', to whom the preceding is addressed, serves as an expression of thanks for the document referred to in *Epp.* 17, which had been despatched soon after that missive reached Aire.

HAUD facile dictu est quam abunde solatus fueris iustis-
 simum mœrorem nostrum humanissima et cordata
 epistola ad me tua, vtpote qua non tam eleganter quam pie
 desyderati fratris nostri immortales laudes immortalibus
 5 scriptorum tuorum monumentis posteritati commendasti.
 Quo fit, cui uestrum propterea magis gratulari uelim, non-

28 et finem &c.] on p. 226 29 (non... modo] *MS* non... (modo

35. Lysippum, Apellemque] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 125: [Alexander] edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex ære duceret; cp. Erasmus, *Similia*: EOO, I, 597, v.

41-42. L. Luceio] L. Lucceius, the old friend and neighbour of

Cicero: who wrote a history of contemporary Rome, commencing with the Social or Marsic war; he was requested by the great orator to write his life, and, if necessary, to embellish it. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the consulate along with Julius Cæsar in 60 B.C.

- dum apud me certum sit, demortuone fratri, an satius tibi ipsi ; fratri, scilicet, cui obtinere contigit te suarum laudum laudatissimum laudatorem, rerumque illustrium tam il-
- 10 lustrem illustratorem ; tibi uero, qui honestam inde occasionem una cum locupletissimo argumento assumpseris, quo maxime ueluti in latissimo et amplissimo campo consummatissima tua eloquentia omnifarias spargeret amoenitates, totasque suas effunderet gratias, veneres, delitias.
- 15 Quæ quidem omnia quum in ea epistola tam affatim ac pleno (ut aiunt) cornu effuderis, restat teipsum, quem prius duntaxat admirabar, nunc plane suspiciam : tale (nescio) quid de te obiter concipiendo, ad cuius explicationem nulla quantumcunque prodiga epistola aut iustum uolumen par
- 20 esse aliquando posset. Quo etiam efficitur, qui ita mortalium immortalitati studes, immortalis denique ex mortali tu quoque fias : scilicet, cum fœnore compensaturus cumulatissime, id quod non parca (ut dicunt) manu abs te impensum est illis ; jllis, inquam, quorum nomen, gloria et fama tuo nusquam
- 25 obliterando beneficio perpetuata, te pariter cum ijs æternum uicturum, in eorum te albo tandem constituent, quos (ut Poeta asserit)

æquus amaui

Juppiter, ardensque euexit ad sydera Virtus.

30 Vale.

BuslMS, 228-229 (A 5 v-A 6 r)

⟨Mechlin, before May 1504⟩

19. — TO LUDOLF VON ENSCHRINGEN

Chancellor of the Archbishop of TREVES

- a This letter, addressed to '*Cancellario Archiēpi Treuireñ*,' accompanied a book which Busleyden lent to, or, more probably even,

15 Quæ quidem &c.] on p. 228

9. laudatissimum laudatorem] an allusion to a passage in Lorenzo Valla's letter to John Tortellus dedicatory to the *De Linguae Latinæ Elegantiæ* (Lyons, 1538 : a 1 v) : opimum præmium... laudari a laudato uiro ; cp. before, § 147 ; also *Epp.* 50, 38, 78, 15, &c.

16. pleno... cornu] cp. *Epp.* 5, 23.
23. non parca... manu] Tibullus, *Eleg.* v, 68 : plena... manu.
27. Poeta] Virgil, *Æneis*, vi, 129-130 : the second line is generally worded : Jupiter, aut ardens euexit ad æthera virtus...

had purchased for, his friend : for the great praise bestowed upon it leaves no room for the supposition that it should have been one sent as a present. The place which this epistle occupies in the collection (between *Epp.* 18 and 14), suggests 1504 ; it has a beginning similar to that of *Epp.* 20, which certainly was written a while after January 22, 1504 ; it was dispatched at least before May of that year.

- b The tone of this message, revelling as much in the author and the subject, — *authoris dignitatem*, — as in the fine lettering, — *characterum elegantiam*, — of the book, which is expected to rejoice as well the nicest ears as the most exacting eyes, evidently proves that the Treves Chancellor was as great a book lover as Busleyden. That dignitary was, no doubt, Ludolf von ENSCHRINGEN, a great protector of learning, and pro-chancellor of Treves University. He was a native of Bitburg, whereas his parents were originary from the Luxemburg place that gave him his name. He was appointed Chancellor of the Archbishop in 1482, and remained in function at least until 1501. He seems to have resigned by 1503, when the Treves see was occupied by James II of Baden, who ruled the diocese from February 27, 1503, to his death, April 27, 1511 : cp. Gams. Still he apparently kept his title until his decease, in May 1504. The date of appointment of his successor, Heymannus Frank, Dr. Decret., late dean of St. Simon's, Treves (1474-1494), does not seem to be known ; by 1505 he was already replaced by a Dr. Dangen, who is mentioned as late as 1515 : Hontheim, II, 332, a, 521, 554. Yet it is as good as certain that Enschringen was the recipient of this letter : from 1490 he was Provost of St. Simon's, where Francis de Busleyden possessed a prebend, which, at his death, was transferred to Jerome in 1502 : it may well have been in gratitude for that preferment that he lent or procured the accompanying book to his protector : cp. §§ 5, 30, and *Epp.* 14, c.

EN tandem tuus ad te it libellus, quum ob authoris dignitatem, tum characterum elegantiam non tam oculos allecturus, tuas quam aures oblectaturus delicatissimas : qui si paulo serius ac expectaueris, inter ueniendum commorans
 5 testudineo (ut aiunt) gressu fuerit usus, nihil sit quod propterea illum asperneris, maxime quum eundem præstet habere aliquando quam nunquam, et plærunque ea sese iucundius offerant, et longe cariora obuenant, nostraque diutius morantur uota, suspensaque trahant desyderia. Quare uelim
 10 eum trepide ad te uenientem et moræ pœnitentem suæ, haud ægre excipias, cæterum uenienti occurrens applaudas : illum tuis nedum in delicijs, sed et maximis habiturus ornamentis. Vale.

BuslMS, 234-235 (A 8 v-A 9 r)

◁Mechlin, Spring of 1504▷

20. — TO PETER L'APOSTOLE, MECHLIN COUNCILLOR

- a* This letter, addressed '*Petro Apostol, I. V. Doct. / Collegæ ornatiss.*', sounds in part as an echo to *Epp.* 19, as which it has a similar opening sentence : it probably belongs to the same time. Its tone proves that Busleyden had become a most familiar friend of the colleague who, probably, had been his professor of Law in Louvain.
- b* Peter l'APOSTOLE, *Apostolius*, of Tournai, studied in Louvain where he matriculated as *minorennis* and inmate of the Lily, with his brother Antonius, on February 26, 1479 : *LibIntIII*, 140 r, and promoted *Doctor Utriusque Juris* on October 15, 1492 (*LibIntIII*, 35, r, 80, v ; VAnd., 176). He was appointed professor of the Institutes in September 1492, and Primary professor of Canon Law in 1496 ; he was elected Rector in February 1496 and 1501. During his second rectorate he married Mary de la Garde, daughter of Lopez, the Portuguese physician of Maximilian of Austria, and of Margaret Breydel (*Brug&Fr.*, 111, 19). He eventually was made Master of Requests and juridical councillor, although he still continued lecturing in Louvain, where, from July 18 to November 5, 1502, he delivered the primary lesson of civil law. When on January 22, 1504, the Mechlin Great Council was organized, he was appointed to the fifth lay place, and, being an eminent scholar, he was as able as councillor as he had been brilliant as professor.
- c* He was not only intimately acquainted with Busleyden, but also with Vives, who was his guest whenever he staid in Mechlin, even after his *alter ego*, Cranevelt, had settled there. Vives refers to his twin sons, John and Peter, whom not even their mother could distinguish from one another (*De Civitate Dei* : Paris, 1636 : 1602). He had, besides, a daughter Mary, and two other sons, who went to study in Louvain : Jerome matriculated on Aug. 3, 1517 and Maximilian was inscribed as *minorennis* on Febr. 6, 1532 (*LibIntIII*, 234 r, 261 v, *LibIntIV*, 41 v). He often was invited by the University to attend solemn promotions in the Faculties of Law : VAnd., 176, 184-85. He resigned his office in the Council on February 3, 1528 in favour of his son Jerome ; but as he died in the following year, the father was re-appointed by imperial decree of November 10, 1529. Having once more resigned on account of his age in 1531, he died at Mechlin on April 20, 1532, and was buried there in St. Catherine's : *MalConF*, 34, 73 ; *MalConM*, 46, 84, 86 ; *MalConR*, 12-19 ; *MalConC*, 65, *MalConA*, 23, 58 ; *MalConB*, 10 ; *MalInscr.*, 493 ; *Cran.*, 30, a, 261, 45. Cp. § 88.

EN nudus, horridulus, squalidus, multo situ et longa carie
 obductus, tuus ad te redit libellus ; redit, inquam, man-
 cus totus atque mutilatus, miseram hanc suam non tam ægre
 ferens sortem, quam grauiter ob id tuam destestans impieta-
 5 tem, quippe qui a candidatis olim et excellenti doctrina uiris
 summo honore reuerenter semper habitus, ab iisque passim

in maximis delitijs fuerit collocatus; iamiam abs te (proh
 scelus) turpiter despectus, humi iacens, luce priuatus, et ita
 tenebris oclusus; post longam cum tineis, scombris, blattis-
 10 que rixam, tandem in murium prædam ac soricum escam sit
 addictus. Qua una re, mea quidem sententia, potuit illi con-
 tingere nihil indignius, jta nec quicquam poterat abs te pa-
 trari crudelius. Quare ut hinc poenam demeritam quidem
 et abs te luendam, uel totam deprecari, uel aliqua ex parte
 15 expungere possis, fac redeuntem ad te libellum pro dignitate
 sua, authorisque sui (a quo editus est) excellentia, magis
 reuerenter excipias: nudum operias, squalidoque illi et manco
 amissum nitorem instaures, quo demum omnes intelligant
 nequaquam ita immaniter in bonas a te literas sæuitum
 20 esse, sed potius eas sibi apud te iucundum domicilium sele-
 gisse veluti gratissimo conciliabulo, suoque assertore perpe-
 tuo et uindice acerrimo. Vale.

BuslMS, 47-48 (*d*, *r*, *v*) <Mechlin, Dec. 28, 1504-first days of 1505>

21. — TO ADRIAN FLORENTII OF UTRECHT

Preceptor of Prince Charles of Austria

a This letter was written on Innocents' day, or on one of the following holidays, and served as dedicatory address of the poem on the Children of Bethlehem slaughtered by Herodes: *Carm.* xii. Judging from the title of this letter it seems as if it had been written in the years 1510 to 1514, when Adrian Florisz was preceptor to Charles of Austria. Yet Busleyden's poems apparently were mostly composed during his stay in Italy or very soon after his return to our provinces, — except those about his house or his furniture, which are very short, and can hardly have interfered with his official duty. The ideas enounced here (*ll* 3, *sq.* 10, 17, *sq.* 19) and their very expression (*ll* 1, 10, 17, 19: cp. § 165) suggest timidity and lack of experience; they resemble those in the two letters to Judocus von Beissel, Easter 1504 and 1505: *Epp.* 16 and 22, in so far that the three seem to have been written without long intervals. This letter is the most circumstantial in the explaining of the occasion in which Busleyden indulged in making verses, and of the pious feeling that inspired them; consequently it appears more recent than *Epp.* 16; he mentions the writing of poetry on holidays as *soleo*: *l* 4, as an *antiquum... institutum*: *l* 11, which proves that there *had* been some holidays to create a 'custom'. Maybe he had filled some office at Court before his appointment of councillor on January 22, 1504, which helped towards the 'custom', although the word sounds

rather exaggerated, as he promoted only in February 1503. At any rate by Yule tide 1505, he was in Italy (cp. § 37), and does not seem to have written much poetry after his return. — As to the title given to Adrian of Utrecht, nothing proves that it is as old as the letter : no doubt Vegerius, copying it out by 1513, inserted the new title, which Busleyden, for certain, should have mentioned in it, if Adrian had owned it when these lines were written. — When, later on, the manuscript left the author's family (cp. before, §§ 122, *sq.*), the too generous donor wrote in black ink in the right margin next to the title : *Hic postea fuit Papa / Hadrianus. vj.* — Over the word *Principis* was added '*Caroli.*' A later owner further illustrated that name by a note over it : *Hic Carolus Quintus. postea Cæsar Augustus*, — no doubt, when the Great Campaigner was not any longer amongst the living.

^b Adrian FLORISZ, *Florentii*, of UTRECHT, was born in that town on March 1, 1459; his father was Floris Boeyens, a shipwright; his mother Gertrude, who was already a widow in 1469 (*AdriBurm.*, 2-4), sent him, after his training at Zwolle by the Brethren of the Common Life, to Louvain, where he matriculated on June 1, 1576 : *LibIntII*, 120 v; *AdriReus.*, ix. He was a student of the Porc, and was so proficient that he was the first of the promotion of 1478 : *VAnd.*, 244; *ULPromRs.*, 59. He then started the study of theology, which did not prevent him from getting acquainted with jurisprudence, especially with canon law; it helped him in many questions submitted to him, so that he soon became known as one of the cleverest and most erudite divines. He moreover taught philosophy in his pedagogy; it gave him the name of 'Meester Adriane int Verken', which he kept long after he had left that institute. On October 1, 1488, he entered the Academic Senate as a member of the Faculty of Arts, and by that time he seems to have resided in the College of the Holy Ghost, where seven students in Divinity lived and boarded, thanks to the generosity of Louis de Rycke and of his wife Judoca van den Putte, who had offered their house and fortune to the Faculty of Theology (*FUL*, 1465-76; *ULDoc.*, III, 9, *sq.*); their foundation had started at the death of the widow de Rycke on July 6, 1478, and one of the seven inmates was entrusted with the presidency, although the title was only used from 1513 at the bequeathing of a house for the president by Catherine Pynnock, widow of Libert of Meldert : *MonHL*, 152.

^c Adrian was entrusted with that charge, which did not prevent him from delivering his lectures of philosophy in the Porc ¹⁾, and also in the Falcon ²⁾, in those years when, on account of epidemics or political trouble, the total number of students who promoted for the four pedagogies varied between 25 and 60 (*ULPromRs.*, 60-64). About 1490 the town authorities appointed him as Anselmus Woelmont's successor, to the chief lecture of theology connected with the canonry

¹⁾ *ActArtV*, 10 v, — Adrian was then Bachelor in Divinity, — 12 v, 27 r, 33 r, 55 r, 71 r, 79 v, 85 r.

²⁾ That is attested by Gerard Morinck (*AdriBurm.*, 9) who drew his information from personal knowledge, or from Thierry Hezius, who was an old student of the Falcon and Adrian's friend and secretary : *MonHL*, 515; *Cran.*, 228, a-e; *VAnd.*, 266; *FUL*, 1377.

of St. Andrew's, in St. Peter's (VAnd., 78) ; not long after that appointment the Chapter, of which he had become a member, granted to him the *capellania primæ portionis* or 'cure' of the Great *Béguinage*. As he was fulfilling at St. Peter's the office of canon in his proper person for the year's *residencia* necessary to legalize the possession and the right to the emoluments of any benefice, the Chapter allowed him, on June 30, 1490, to 'reside' at the *Béguinage*, which through the agreement of 1240 had become one of the dependencies of the Chapter, so that his '*residencia*' there was equivalent to that at the Chapter. The '*béguine*', who served him in the presbytery within their Court, naturally afterwards took great pride in having been a Pope's servant : she died of old age in Molanus' lifetime : Mol., 161-162.

d No doubt Adrian saw to a fit substitute when the year of '*residencia*' was over, and he returned once more to the College of the Holy Ghost, where he continued his studies, which had already marked him out as one of the foremost of the scholars of Louvain. When Hermolaus Barbarus, on a mission for Venice to Maximilian, who was then in our provinces, visited Louvain, and requested to be introduced to one with whom he might talk about his own special subject, philosophy, he made the acquaintance of Adrian. The impression produced was so excellent that the Italian scholar frequently returned to Louvain to have a talk with the young divine, and wanted to know all about his family, so that he wrote when finally leaving : '*Nativitatem tuam, quam pollicitus es, prestolatur Hermolaus*' (*AdriBurm.*, 10-11). That thorough insight, which Adrian showed for philosophy, and which made it quite natural that he was wanted as lecturer by more than one pedagogy, also characterized him for theology : Mol., 583, 588 ; VAnd., 347, 351, 356. Yet his natural reserve, duly attested by Hermolaus Barbarus, might have prevented him from gaining a public testimony, if Charles the Bold's widow, Margaret of York, who took as great an interest in the welfare of her adopted country as in that of her family, had not paid the expenses of the solemn doctorate of divinity for the brilliant student. He promoted on June 21, 1491 (VAnd., 95-96) and started the way to greatness : in 1497, at the resigning of John van der Heyden, *a Thymo*, he was elected Dean of St. Peter's Chapter by his colleagues, thus becoming the Vice-Chancellor of the University, which, in the regular absence of the Provost, was the highest office after that of the Rector, than which it was even more permanent : Mol., 136, 482, *sq.*, 486-92 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 413 ; VAnd., 56-57. He was elected Rector for the Faculty of divinity on February 28, 1493, and again on August 31, 1500 : Mol., 881 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 260-61.

e His fame grew as years went on, both for his professoral teaching and for his wise advice. He continued his frugal and simple life, although affluence had started, and prebends and preferments fell to his lot. He bought a site, and built a large house in Old Mint Street, opposite the school of the Porc, which excited the admiration of the Papal Legate Bernardino de Carvajal, Cardinal of the Holy Cross (cp. *Epp.* 54, *b-i*), not only for the stately building, but especially for its purpose, the creation of a College for students of theology, who were to remedy by their science the moral ailments of Church and Society : *FUL*, 2188, 2478-80, 3333 ; Mol., 625. So great was the influence of the Dean of Louvain that when a preceptor was wanted for the young

Archduke Charles, Maximilian of Austria and Margaret the Regent chose him : he left his familiar work to enter the Court, where he taught Latin and arts, religion and wisdom to the Prince, whom William of Chièvres trained in strategy and military exercise. He performed his duty with so much zeal and wisdom that between him and his pupil there sprung up a deep affection, which lasted throughout life. The Emperor, who was not a scholar, gratefully attributed in after times to his master whatever he knew, and on many occasions he showed the moral influence received in his youth, which seemed to strengthen as years went forward : cp. Moeller, 40, 86-88 ; *AdriBurm.*, 29-31 ; *AdriPas.*, 21 ; *AdriLep.*, 40 ; Henne, II, 100 ; *MonHL*, 119-120 ; *AdriReus.*, xv ; *AdriBau.*, 16-19 ; E. Gossart, *Notes pour... le Règne de Charles V : BelgAcM.*, LV (1898), 10, sq ; *MargvOK*, 204-5 (Margaret made herself a church ornament for Adrian).

f It is difficult to state exactly when Adrian's preceptorate began. It certainly did not start in 1507, when the young Prince was entrusted for his instruction to Louis de Vacca, a Spaniard, who succeeded in the short-lived office of John d'Anchiata, and was paid 12 solidi every day : Moeller, 43, 53, 87. It is moreover sure that in August 1508, he was not appointed yet, as otherwise he would have been commissioned to welcome the Papal Legate Cardinal de Carvajal on his arrival at Mechlin in the first days of that month, in the name of the Prince, which welcome was entrusted to Jerome de Busleyden : *Orat. D*, a, 6. It results from the references copied from the fifth volume of the *Acta Universitatis* 1495-1522, destroyed with Louvain Library in August 1914 (FUL, 54), that, both in the months of August and of November 1508, Adrian was assigned by the Faculty of Theology to represent them at the following rectorial election ; on December 22, 1508 he was chosen as University Receiver, — which office lasted one year ; and for August 1509, the *Acta* incidentally call him (semestrial) *Decanus pro tempore Facultatis Theologicæ* : *AdriReus.*, xiv ; de Jongh, 39*, sq. These three functions, — deputy for the rectorial election, receiver, and Faculty dean, especially the two latter — cannot be conceived without a constant and regular presence in Louvain, which makes a preceptorate in Mechlin *Keyzershof* absolutely impossible. A fourth reference, on the contrary, only implies a short visit to Louvain : at the University meeting of November 8, 1511 the Rector — Peter Zelle, or Winckel, of Herenthals, — related that on the Thursday before, viz., November 6, Adrian, Dean of St. Peter's and Chancellor of the University, had handed to him at a function in the School of Theology, the credentials as Inquisitor for himself and for 'Mgr. Francis van der Hulst', which had been read out there and then after the function, in presence of many doctors of Divinity, of Laws, and of Medicine, and many Masters of Art (*AdriReus.*, xv). That function, *actus*, was, no doubt, a promotion to licenciate, to which Adrian had been invited, or which just happened when he was in Louvain, possibly to impart to the Rector and to the Academic Senate the news of his and van der Hulst's appointment, which concerned the University. The presence in Louvain for one day is quite consistent with the task of preceptor in Mechlin ; even the way in which mention is made of that presence, suggests that it is an exception, and that Adrian was regularly absent. His wages at Court are only indicated —

as far as is known — for 1512, when 24 *solidi* per day are marked for him : Moeller, 87 ; still it does not prove that he only started his preceptorate in that year : Moeller, 86-88 ; *AdriLep.*, 40 ; on the contrary the fact that in July and August 1511, he was sent with Maximilian of Hornes, Lord of Gaesbeek, with the Antwerp pensionary James de Vocht, and the herald of the Golden Fleece, to negotiate with the town authorities of Utrecht (Bergh, I, 315-18, 320, 329-31), shows that he was at the time in the service of the Court.

- g Two documents of Margaret of Austria's correspondence show that the Dean of Louvain was tutoring her nephew long before 1512. One is a request dated September 29, 1511, by which Adrian asks the Archiduchess to remind King Ferdinand of Aragon of the promise he made to grant him the first vacancy in his country that would be in his gift : Bergh, I, 341-42. As Margaret had obtained that promise, it seems that nothing could create in the Spanish King an interest in a Louvain professor, distinguished and well intentioned though he may have been, except services rendered to his grandson ; nor does there appear to be any other consideration that might have prompted Margaret to further that request, and to propose even a clergyman of the Netherlands to a rich benefice beyond the Pyrenees. It thus looks as if, in September 1511, Adrian had already a long stretch of preceptorate behind him. That is also implied by the second document, a letter of Margaret to Cardinal de Carjaval. During his stay for some months in this country as Legate, from August 1508 (cp. *Epp.* 54, c), the latter had had frequent occasions to meet Adrian of Utrecht ; he had been in his new house, and he had even praised so much his sagacity and erudition in his reports that Julius II had invited him to Rome, which invitation would have been accepted if the preceptorate had not prevented any stay abroad : *AdriBurm.*, 24-25. On Carvajal's recommendation the Pope had granted the '*accessus*' to the provostry of St. Saviour's, Utrecht, to Adrian ; but since that *accessus* was in danger to be foiled, the Archduchess applied to Carvajal to see that the favour granted by the Pope to 'pedagogo carissimi nepotisi nostri Hispaniarum principis et Austriæ archiducis', on her nephew's and on her own entreaties, should not be forestalled, but rather revalidated and caused to '*ossibus hominis herere*' : Bergh, I, 226-27. That letter which reached its aim, — for Adrian succeeded William of Montfoort as provost at his death, May 26, 1514 : *LibNomI*, 86 r ; Hoyneck, III, i, 198-99, 200-205, — has at its end the figures 'cx', which, judging by other letters in the same collection in which many abbreviations occur, were originally written, or at least meant, for 'xv c x', 1510. That year is consistent with all facts, and especially with the complete absence of all references to a lengthy stay in Louvain of so important a man, namely, the chief professor of the first Faculty who, besides, was Vice-Chancellor, the virtual head of the University, and, moreover, the organiser and practical manager of four important colleges founded about that time : that of John Standonck, in 1499, that of Arnold Trot, in 1500, that of Nicolas Ruterius, in 1508, and that of Houterlé, in 1510 : Mol., 637, 638 ; FUL, 1003, 2026, 2173, 2244, 2446 ; Vern., 132-3 ; VAnd., 256, 269, 301, 329. All that combines to make it most probable that if Adrian had executed those functions in proper person, there *must*

have been several references to him : their complete absence proves that he had entered on his duties as the Prince's preceptor as early as 1510, if not already in the last months of 1509.

- h* That preceptorate took an end when, on January 5, 1515, Charles was emancipated ; he appointed his master as a member of his Council on January 17, 1515 (Henne, II, 69, *sf.* 89), and occasionally used him as envoy (Hoyne, I, i, 61). It was to his sagacity that he applied for help when the startling news reached him that his grandfather, King Ferdinand, had made a will in July 1515, by which he left his estates to Queen Jane, but nominated Prince Ferdinand as regent, as well as head of the three powerful military Spanish Orders. With a view to prevent that his brother thus should be invested with what was his own due, Charles sent his trusty Adrian, under pretence of consulting his grandfather about a marriage with a French princess. With prudence and caution, and with Ximenes' assistance, the astute Ferdinand was gradually brought to concern himself in Charles, and to understand his interests and circumstances, in so far that he accepted the scheme of a mutual arrangement for a reconciliation, in which the pro-French policy of the Lord of Chièvres was sacrificed, and Margaret's influence was prescribed. In December 1515, Adrian advised his young master of the Convention he had thus prepared, which secured real advantages at the price of some illusory concessions, since they were only to have effect until the King's death, which was visibly nearing. When the conditions were known in this country, Chièvres and his partisans gave vent to their animosity, which the straightforward Adrian tried to mitigate, offering to come and explain at once. He had, however, been ordered, to take possession of the power if the King should die, which happened on January 23, 1516. Although the Convention projected had no binding obligation since it had not been accepted, yet so great had been Adrian's influence on the Old Monarch, that he had made another will, in which he nominated Jane and Charles his heirs. Thus the old preceptor had saved the rights of his pupil, as afterwards he even saved for him his Spanish realm : *AdriLep.*, 45-46 ; Ximenes, 436-40 ; &c. Adrian's further life is described in *AdriBurm.* ; *AdriReu.* ; *AdriHöf.* ; *AdriPas.* ; Pastor, IV, ii, 1-157 ; Albergato, 8-34 ; VAnd., 95-7, 380, 402-3, Mol., 249, 509, 872 ; *BibBelg.*, 19-21 ; Vern., 269-70, 289 ; *AdriE.* *pr.* ; Bergh, II, 92, 136-37 ; Allen, I, 171, 12 ; Brom, I & II *passim* ; FUL, 2471-73, 2731, 2737 ; *Cran.*, 25, 28, 73, *pr.* &c. ; *MonHL*, 112-120, 484-86, &c. ; *ULDoc.*, III, 197, *sq.* ; *AntvEpisc.*, 105-7 ; Young, I, 12, *sq.*, 515.

D. HADRIANO FLORENTIO MODERATORI PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTISS. BUSLIDIUS GAUDERE BÑ AGERE

QVOTIES a publicis muneribus (me sibi quantuluscunque
sim uendicantibus) uacare contingit, festis scilicet celebrioribus, Deo inprimis et religioni sacratis intercedentibus,

1. Quoties &c.] cp. further *ll*
7-12, and *Epp.* 16, 1, 22, 3.

1. quantuluscunque sim] cp.
l 22, and *Epp.* 8, 123, &c.

soleo tunc, cæteris quibusuis neglectis, rei sacræ et lectioni
 5 diuinæ animum intendere, ijsque me exercendo nonnunquam
 uel stilum adplicare ad ea quæ inprimis religionem sapiant et
 maxime ad pietatem pias mentes instruant. Hoc equidem
 instituto meo uoluptate fruens duplici, scilicet, tum pia
 legendo, tum lecta pie scribendo : utpote quæ æque reficiat
 10 tam mentem lectoris ac manum exarantis. Quod quidem
 iuxta antiquum nostrum (nescio an satis probatum) institu-
 tum actis ijs festis proximis, iterum tentauī : idque inter alia
 multa litteris prosequendo diram illam et feralem trucidati-
 onem qua profanus uir ille ac sanguinarius, Herodes, tot
 15 candidatorum infantum sustulit millia ut inter hæc de regno
 suo sollicitus natum perderet Christum, quem formidabat suc-
 cessorem futurum. In cuius immanitatis nimiumque grassan-
 tis impietatis præsentī prosequutione, ego patrata tam ex-
 crabili sæuitia indignatus, haud operæ pretium duxi multum
 20 de stili elegantia laborare, quando satis superque bonum
 (quem ars aut natura negauit) fecit indignatio uersum :
 quem qualiscunque siet, tu candide lege, et boni interea con-
 sule. Vale.

BuslMS, 52-54 (f v-g v)

<Mechlin, March 23 1505>

22. — TO JUDOCUS VON BEYSSEL, OF AIX

This letter addressed '*Iodoco Beysellio, Patritio Aquisgraneñ.*', dedicating to him a *Homilia in Die Resurrectionis* and a *Votiva Gratulatio* : *Carm.* xiv, *Orat.* A, belongs to B.'s earlier years as Beyssel died about June 1505 ; its beginning (*l* 3) also recalls the wording of that addressed to Adrian of Utrecht during the Yule tide of 1504 and of the first letter to Beyssel of Holy Week 1504 (*Epp.* 16, 21) about the use he made of the vacation from his work at Court ; its end also resembles that of the letter to Adrian (*ll* 32-38) ; it uses expressions found in all the epistles of the first years (*l* 21, also *Orat.* A, 28, 54), and it mentions its author as *uix ultra primas literas progressus* (*l* 26). It follows that this letter with the Homily and the poem were written for Easter Sunday, March 23, 1505, as in 1504 Busleyden had already

9 reficiant] possibly -ciat 15 ut inter &c.] on p. 48 21 indignatio] o corr. S

4. soleo] this verb, confirmed by : *iuxta antiquum nostrum... institutum* on *l* 11, applies, rather hyperbolically, to the five or six feastdays which had come be-

tween Busleyden's appointment on January 22 and the Yule tide of that same year 1504.

19-21. haud... uersum] cp. *Epp.* 22, 32-38.

written another letter and poem to Beyssel (*Epp.* 16, *Carm.* XII) ; besides, in 1506, he was returning from his embassy to Rome : cp. before, § 38.

SALVE UIR ORNATISSIME

VT tandem tibi, quum doctissimo, tum pientissimo uiro,
pensum suauissimi otij mei, simul et rationem aliquam
studiorum (quæ actis proximis ferijs munerum uacatione in-
dicta excoluimus) ederem, mitto ad te Homiliam, atque tale
5 quale carmen nostrum, quod tunc de ineffabili mysterio po-
tentis ac triumphalis Dominicæ Resurrectionis obiter con-
cœpi. Quod tamen si forte (ut uereor) tanto mysterio refe-
rendo longe impar sit et inferius quam illius aut altitudo aut
maiestas postulat, nihil sit quod propterea uel labores uel
10 mireris, quando in eo commemorando iampridem tot candi-
datorum eloquentissimorum uirorum studuit pietas, labo-
rauit facundia, desudarint ingenia : quibus tamen nusquam
sunt adsequuta quod inprimis tanti (idque incomparabilis
mysterij) dignitatem, excellentiam, altitudinem prorsus aut
15 attingeret aut æquaret : cæterum contra multum infra
illius magnitudinem, profunditatem, sublimitatem subsiden-
tia, sat ostenderunt quam longissimo interuallo illa fuerint
subsequuta. Neque mirum. Quæ enim ratio inferiorum ad
cœlestia ? Quæue comparatio naturalium ad supernaturalia ?
20 Quid noctuæ obtutus ad radiantissimum iubar fulgentissimi
solis ? Sane nihil. Quod quum ita sit, quis tam temerarius est
qui diuina, inaccessa, inscrutabilia Dei sensa, consilia, iudicia,
opera tandem tentet humano captu, ingenio, ore persequi ?
Quod quum adhuc uel omnibus ita negatum, uel quam raris-
25 simis fuerit concessum, nunquid ego, futilis homuntio (humi
adhuc repens, ueruecum in patria, crassoque sub aere natus,

4 excoluimus)] MS) —, 9 nihil] ih over line S 14 aut] crossed off C
15 aut] chd. into nedum C 15 multum &c.] on p. 53

3. ferijs munerum uacatione
&c.] cp. *Epp.* 16, 1 (ijs sanctissimis
ferijs munerum uacatione in-
dicta), 21, 1, sq.

6. Dominicæ Resurrectionis]
in 1505 Easter Sunday fell on
March 23.

21. Quod quum ita sit] cp. be-
fore § 139.

26. ueruecum... natus] Busley-
den no doubt alludes to his native
country, the hilly South-West
part of Luxemburg where flocks
of sheep were reared ; and quotes
a line of Juvenal's *Satura* X, 50 :
vervecum in patria crassoque sub
aere nasci <monstrat summos
posse viros...>.

uix ultra primas litteras progressus), tam alta, tam ardua,
remota, recondita aliquando præsumam? Profecto minime.
Quando id alioqui uelle præstare, nil aliud demum foret quam
30 gigantum more, cælum ipsum penetrare, vel tenui pugillo
immensas undas æstuantis æquoris quandoque exhaurire.
Quare in hoc probato studio et pio instituto meo pergenti, sat
superque fuit æsurienti pietati nostræ libamen aliquod seu
degustamentum tanti mysterij adposuisse : quod ego (ueluti
35 post tot candidatos messoros, relictas spicas recolligens) illi
lubens impertij : jnterea nil curans, parum laborans quo-
modo illud aliorum gustum iuuaret, modo palato nostro, cui
solum adpositum erat, pie saperet. Vale.

BuslMS, 240-242 (B 1 v-B 2 v)

<Mechlin, end of 1505>

23. — TO ADRIAN HERBOUTS

Antwerp Pensionary

a This letter, inscribed '*Hadriano Herberio, | Pensionario Antwerp.*', refers to the appointment which happened in 1505, — probably towards the end of that year, — a few days after a visit paid to Busleyden, who, no doubt, had recommended his old friend for that nomination.

b Adrian HERBOUTS, *Herberius*, as Busleyden calls him, or HERBERTSEN (Génard, in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, VI, 395), had promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Iuris*, probably at Orleans University where Jerome de Busleyden knit up with him a hearty friendship. He served for some time in a war (*Epp.* 52, 23), and, on his return to Antwerp, he tutored young boys (*Carm.* xv, 15-16), which, however, did not provide him the means to maintain his growing family : *Carm.* xv, 5-6, &c. Evidently Busleyden took his friend's welfare to heart, and seconded him in his efforts to secure the office of pensionary, or juridical councillor, of Antwerp, which was granted to him at the same time as to James de Vocht, *Tutor*, by 1505 : he took the oath on February 8, 1506 and his colleague did two days later (*BN*, s.v. Tutor, James) : they are mentioned together as *Masters* of the Guild of the Circumcision : *AntwHist.*, VII, 614. — Herbouts filled his post for 41 years ; he is recorded in that character in several deeds : on April 22, 1514, he attended as pensionary the erection of the Convent of Austin Friars

32 et pio &c.] on p. 54 38 saperet] corr. from sapieret S

30-31. tenui pugillo &c.] allusion to the legend of St. Augustine trying to comprehend the mystery of Holy Trinity.

32-38. sat superque fuit... saperet] cp. *Epp.* 21, 19-21.

(*AntwHist.*, iv, 26 : *Hermbouts*), and on February 9, 1522, he witnessed in St. Gudula's, Brussels, the *revocatio* of one of those friars, James Proost, accused of Lutheranism, and sentenced to recant publicly before the papal legate Jerome Aleander, the Brabant Chancellor Jerome van der Noot, and the suffragant of Cambrai Adrian Aernouts, or Arnouts, bishop of Rose : *AntwDiercx.*, iii, 359 ; *AntwHist.*, iv, 34 ; *CorpInq.*, iv, 95 ; Berlière, 89-90 ; *Præp.*, 243 ¹). When, in July 1532, Pierre Boisot proceeded against the Portuguese Diego Mendez in the name of the Brabant Council, the factor of the King of Portugal wrote a friendly letter to Herbouts, pointing out the financial trouble which a sentence on the wealthy banker might entail for the Emperor's finances : Goris, 565. — With his colleague 'Jacoppe Maes' he is recorded on April 10, 1540 in the letter of protestation to the Brussels Court against the authorities of Bergen-op-Zoom, who refused the extradition of an Antwerp exile : *AntwHist.*, iv, 516-18. In 1526 he was commissioned for the census in Antwerp town : Cuvelier, *ccli.* Cp. *AntwWet.*, 61, v, 88, v.

- c These and other functions of his office, together with the care bestowed on his family, did not prevent Herbouts from studying and practising literature, as results from the poems which greatly pleased Busleyden : *Carm.* xv ; he occasionally presented his friend the Councillor with some object of art : *Epp.* 52. He died on January 10, 1546 ; his wife Elizabeth Nilis had preceded him on August 9, 1533 : they were laid to rest in St. Clara's, Antwerp, together with their daughter Levina, wife of Nicolas van der Heyden, who died in childhood on March 24, 1527 : *SweMon.*, 181. The 'Hadrianus Hadriani' of Antwerp, who matriculated in Louvain in July 1536 (*LibIntIV*, 86 v) may have been his son. — P. Génard, in his *Notes Biographiques concernant Corn. Dup. de Schepper*, edits several letters from Herbouts to that great statesman : *pp.* 602-618, sq.

HADRIANE MI SUAUISSIME, SALUE

ACCESSIO dignitatis tuæ, quantum hic te nuper uersante
 cordi mihi fuit et curæ, certe hodie nobis tantum attulit
 gaudij : totum id scilicet (amore tui, qui mihi alter ego sis,
 esque futurus semper) in me collatum existimans, quicquid
 5 non tam rei quam dignitatis tibi bene merentissimo contigerit.
 Dij itaque bene uortant : atque feliciter auspicatæ dignitati
 tuæ tam fauentes præsentisque adsint : illa tibi tum decori,
 tumque tuæ (cui te addixeris) Reipublicæ usui cedat.

HADRIANE &c.] on p. 241

1. dignitatis] the function of pensionary or juridical councillor of Antwerp which Herbouts ambitioned and obtained, probably with Busleyden's help.

¹) *AntwDiercx.*, iii, 349, 350, and *CorpInq.*, iv, 89, erroneously call Adrian Herbouts 'suffraganeus Cameracensis', mixing up the names.

Quod ut tandem sic assequaris, prudenti diligentia et dili-
 10 genti prudentia, ea quidem omnia mature prospicias quæ in-
 primis salutem respiciant ac in rem faciant tuæ Reipublicæ :
 quæ tibi esse tam chara debet : nihil æque coneris, magisque
 in uotis ducas, ac eam, hoc tempore satis beatam atque flo-
 rentem, studio tuo reddere aliquando florentissimam. Quod
 15 prout facile ita procul dubio facturum te, mihi asseuerant pro-
 bitas tua simul et industria, una cum peruigili et indefessa
 sedulitate coniuncta : quæ pulcherrimæ partes et præclaræ
 animi dotes quum maxime te adornent, bono et alacri sis
 animo, in suscepta prouincia te eum præstando cum incre-
 20 mento honoris et splendore nominis: diutius perstes talis, heri
 esse qualis coeperis. Vale.

BuslMS, 242-244 (B 2 v-B 3 v)

⟨Mechlin, 1505-7⟩

24. TO PHILIP DE BEUCKELAER, ANTWERP

a This letter, entitled '*Philippo Bucklerio / Antuerpicē*,' is an acknowledgment for the present of some dried fish, — *pisciculi passuli*, — and confectionary — *opipare condita mellitissimaque bellaria*, — and other small items for which the writer could hardly offer anything in return. As no date could be derived from the contents, the place in the collection, between a letter of 1505, to Adrian Herbouts (*Epp.* 23) and another of the middle of 1507 to Henry Viruli (*Epp.* 30), may be taken as a suggestion.

b Philip *Buckelerius* — no doubt de BEUCKELAER, — most probably was an Antwerp merchant, who may have been Busleyden's fellow-student in Louvain, and later on occasionally wanted to please his old friend by some delicacy or some speciality in the trade. Reference is made to his recent marriage in the letter to their common friend Adrian Herbouts, *Epp.* 52, as well as to a small vessel in wood, with a little case or cover, — probably a model in miniature, — which Busleyden received from him as present, and which was returned to him at his death¹⁾. He probably was the son of Aerd or Arnold de Beukeleer, who was Secretary of Antwerp in the second half of the xvth century, — *AntwAnn.*, II, 49 (1457), 140; *AntwHist.*, III, 158 (1456); — and is mentioned in a lawsuit on Nov. 24, 1474; he afterwards, probably went into business and died in 1508 during his office as mayor. 'Mr. Philip de Beuckeler' himself was mayor in 1518; he is

12 debet] *over line S* 15 prout facile] *cr.* 15 probitas &c.] *on p.* 242
 20 talis,] *MS talis/*

¹⁾ 'Item M. Philipo bokele' gegeven een cleyn sceepken van houte met een custodiken <the case> pro memoria want hijt den testat^r gegeven hadde' : *Rek.*, 100 r.

recorded as Master of the Guild of the Circumcision with Aerd and with the treasurer 'Mr. Claes de Beuckeler': *AntwHist.*, III, 158, VII, 614, VIII, 232-33.

- c This Nicolas de Beuckelaer, Canon and Treasurer of Our Lady's, no doubt, Philip's brother, was one of Erasmus' friends at Antwerp, as results from a letter from Leonard Casembroot, writing on August 25, 1525, from Padua about the six countrymen, his pupils, with whom he had just then taken a house (*Cran.*, 55, a). 'Postremo sextus', he wrote, 'est Carolus Buclerius Antuerpianus, cui patruus quoque est ille Buclerius Antuerpiensis, canonicus pariter et tibi familiariter notus': Allen, VI, 1594, 50, sq. — The Nicolas de Beuckelaer (Boeckelaer), Canon and Treasurer of Our Lady's (*AntwHist.*, IV, 29: 1514), left by his will the wherewithal to found a *Gerontocomium*, an almshouse, for twelve poor old men with a chaplain, but as the Emperor stipulated conditions which the executors and the heirs could not accept, the bequest was changed on February 1, 1549 into the foundation for the seven canonic hours in St. Andrew's Church with the consent of the Chapter of Our Lady and of the Town Council: *AntwDiercx.*, IV, 117-18. — Some of the property of Charles and this Nicolas de Beuckelaer was situated in what has become the 'Rich de Beuckeleeren Street'; it was partly disposed of on June 17, 1544 by the heirs of their two nieces, 'Jehanne de Beuckeleeren', wife of Henry van de Werve, and her sister Catherine, married to Hubert van Wyck, and sold to the wine gauger James de Voocht, probably a son of Tutor, the pensionary (§ 25): F. Donnet, *La Maison des Dames d'Honneur de Marie Stuart*: Antwerp, 1902: 5-6.

- d Both Philip and Nicolas de Beuckelaer were staunch friends of Busleyden: for when he left for Spain, he entrusted on June 23, 1517, a chest with silver and valuables to Adrian Josel who was to hand it 'es mains de maistre Nicole boeuckele'. et maistre philippe son frere', who were to keep it until his return: the first is called 'canoine dâvers'; the other 'eschevin dudit âvers': cp. §§ 43, 88, 93; *Carm.* XXI, i, 1; *Rek.*, 101, 1, v. — Philip, who had been taken as successor to Lewis Happaert, an alderman of Antwerp who died in office in 1511, is mentioned as *scabinus* from 1512 to 1514 and from 1516 to 1522; he was treasurer of the town from 1524 to 1526; that his name does not occur after that year implies either that he retired from public life, or that he died long before his time: *AntwWet.*, 64, 1 - 73, v.

NON fuit satis, mi suauiissime Philippe, pro tuo in me officio et propensissimo studio, iampridem crebris nos tuis et pulcherrimis ornasse muneribus et deuinxisse meritis, nisi magis magisque in eo instituto indies pergendo, meritis
5 non tam merita quam muneribus merita adstrueres cumularesque. Quod etsi sæpius olim ita, tamen id nunc cumulatissime præstitisti, scilicet destinatis ad me pisciculis passulis et opipare illis conditis mellitissimisque bellarijs, omnem facile ambrosiam nectarque superantibus.

10 Pro quibus omnibus quum aliquas saltem gratias, ne dicam
referre tibi, sed solum agere cogitarem, obruit me undique
coaceruata illorum magnitudo et frequens oblatio : adeo ut
nunc prorsus hæream, summeque sim anxius, ubi, quando,
quo pacto ego totus in ære tuus, tot tantisque tibi nominibus
15 deuinctus, tam inestimabile et ferme insolubile debitum luam
atque exoluam, maxime qui plane modo id soluendo non sim,
nisi quantocyus fortunis cedam, uicatim passimque horridulus
stypem a prætereuntibus emendicem.

Quod ne ita demum, tu tam rigidus debiti exactor sinas,
20 sed magis ut facilis exorabilisque creditor, statam solutionis
diem adhuc aliquantisper proroges, te etiam atque etiam oro.
Interea non tam occasionem tempusque præstolaturus quam
uel (modo sic res expostulet) omne id fortunarum undecunque
corrasurus ; quo si non totum, saltem meliorem illius partem
25 leuare, et integrum (quod difficile foret) debitum expungere
atque redimere queam. Vale.

BuslMS, 40 (c 10 v)

⟨Mechlin, 1505-06⟩

25. — TO PHILIP WIELANT, MECHLIN COUNCILLOR

a This short letter, addressed '*Philippo suo, Collegæ ornatiss...*', no doubt the famous jurispudent Philip Wielant, accompanied a poem of six lines, *Carm.* v, iii, which Busleyden had made at his request to be added to a picture of the three goddesses standing in front of Paris, the *hospes*, who was to award to one of them Eris' golden apple.

b Philip WIELANT, lord of Landeghem, son of John secretary of Philip the Good and councillor of Flanders, who died at Ghent on June 1, 1473, and of Catherine de la Kethulle († May 22, 1472), was born at Ghent about 1440 ; he studied in Louvain, where he promoted licentiate of Laws on December 5, 1464 ; after some years spent in practice and study, he was appointed Master of Requests and Councillor of Mechlin Parliament, created by Charles the Bold's decree of Thionville in December 1473 : *FlandAnn.*, 360, r. In 1477, at Charles's death, that central court of jurisdiction had to be abandoned for the local and traditional jurisdiction in the various estates, and Wielant was made Councillor, succeeding in 1488, Paul de Baenst as President, of Flanders Council (*FlandCon.*, 168). When on January 22, 1504, the

10 ne] *MS* (ne 11 tibi] *MS* tibi) 16 atque exoluam] *cr.*
25 (quod &c.] on p. 244

14. totus in ære tuus &c.] cp. 19. rigidus... exactor] cp. *exactor durus* : *Epp.* 38, 12¹³, &c.
Epp. 38, 10¹⁴, 50, 93, and before, §§ 150, 166.

Great Council of Mechlin was re-installed, he was once more appointed as member, occupying the first Lay Seat, which gave him the right to replace the president in his absence (*Cran.*, lv; *MalConM*, 28). In September 1505, he was sent with John of Luxemburg and other diplomatists to Louis XII to settle some difficulties about the rights to the counties of Flanders, Artois and Charolais, signing the Convention with the French commissaries, October 25, 1505, on which occasion his thorough knowledge of feudal law was abundantly made use of (Henne, I, 73). Ten years later, in May 1515, Wielant was one of the embassy that had to negotiate with the English envoys, Cuthbert Tunstall, Richard Sampson, Sir Thomas Spynelly and Thomas More, sent to secure commercial advantages and to prepare a political alliance; he took an important share in the conferences which terminated in a most satisfactory treaty signed in Brussels, on April 19, 1516 (Henne, II, 150, 161-62). Cp. § 88.

- c Wielant had married Jane of Halewyn, daughter of John, who brought him the lordship of Eversbeke, and died at Mechlin, April 20, 1510. He followed her on March 2, 1520. Of their seven children, few survived him: a son, Philip, born April 25, 1488, is said to have died already on May 25, 1489: Paquot, x, 50-53; still the lists of the members of the Great Council of Mechlin mention a Philip, in whose favour the father resigned his seat in 1508: he is reported to be born in Ghent, to have been a Knight, as well as Lord of Eversbeke and Landeghem, and to have married Margaret Villain, daughter of Philip Lord of Moerkerke, Great Bailiff of the County and Country of Alost. He is said to have died at the latest in 1521 ¹⁾: *MalConM*, 56; *MalConR*, 15; *Cran.*, lv; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 228-229; Butkens, *Trophées du Brabant*: II, 295-97. — His sister Philippote, born 1480, and married to Ferry le Gros, lord of Oyghem, Nieuwlande, &c., died at Bruges on December 1, 1521, leaving a numerous offspring; an elder sister, Florence (September 6, 1479-Dec 22, 1506) married to Stephen de Liedekerke, Lord of Heestert and Zulte (*Brug&Fr.*, III, 210, II, 317), was, besides her, the only one to leave descendants: cp. Paquot, xv, 50, 51; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 208, III, 44, sq. IV, 1167; *BrugInscr.*, II, 334, b; *MalConM*, 21, 28, 30, 42.

- d Far greater fame came to Wielant by his own relentless work and study. At a time when juridical practice was most bewildering on account of the multiplicity of customs, especially for feudal rights, he wrote a clear and yet complete treatise of the matter for Flanders: *Tractaet van den Leenrechten naer de Hoven van Vlaenderen*, 1492, which was printed in 1555, and translated into Latin in 1664. He also composed two small handbooks describing the course of civil, and that of criminal, procedure, in which he placed at his countrymen's disposal the treasure of his experience and of his deep and discriminating insight: the first was printed in the original Flemish in 1558, and reedited in 1573, with corrections and additions by Antony van 't Sestich, advocate of the Great Council. Josse de Damhouder, whose *Enchiridion Rerum Criminalium* of 1555 may have suggested Wielant's heirs to edit his manuscript works, used the framework and some parts as foundation for the *Praxis Rerum Civilium* which he issued

¹⁾ The date March 11, 1520/21 is given.

in 1569 : *HisTriLov.*, chapt. XII. The handbook of criminal procedure was kept in manuscript, and so was a collection of antiquities of Flanders, which is supposed to have been in Oliver de Wree's¹⁾ possession, as well as other works on Flemish nobility and on Flemish juridical custom : although not ignored by bibliographers, they would have been infinitely more useful if they had been published at the time, and not in our days, merely as interesting witnesses of the past. The writings which actually were published made Denis Hardouin repeat about him what Pliny the Younger wrote of his uncle (*Ep.* VI, 16) : *Equidem beatos puto quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero quibus utrumque* : Cp. *BibBelg.*, 780-81 ; *MalConM*, 21, 28, 30, 40, 42, 56 ; *MalConR*, 11-13 ; Paquot, xv, 48-57 ; *SweABelg.*, 648 ; *Gand-ErVir.*, 115-116 ; *MalConC*, 42, 56 ; Nijkron., II, 2226 ; De Smet, *Recueil des Chroniques de Flandre* : IV : *Antiquités de Flandres*, de Ph. Wielant : Brussels, 1864 ; *BCRH*, v, vi, 293 ; Walther, 12, sq, 17, 21, sq, 28, sq, 39, 84-86, 104, 127, sq, 137, sq. — Wielant's portrait with his Patron-Saint is found on the wing of the picture of the *Presentation* in St. Saviour's, Bruges, in St. Barbara's chapel, attributed to Adrian Isenbrant, pupil of Gerard David ; the other wing represents his wife Jane of Halewyn, with St. John the Evangelist : *BrugHist.*, 470.

PHILIPPO SUO, COLLEGÆ ORNATISSIMO

EN tenes Epigramma meum abs te tantopere efflagitatum : si minus placeat (quod omnino futurum puto), tu ipse uideris ; at tibi imputa qui tam rancido poetæ id negotij dederis ; qui nihilominus ut se tibi officiosum præstaret, ma-
 5 luit in hac præstanda obsequela subire dispendium famæ quam tibi (cui maiora debet) minus aliquando paruisse. Quare recte posthac egeris, si ipsum qualecunque fuerit epigramma, boni consulas ; deinde tali obeundo muneri receptum aliquem magisque idoneum poetam accommodes, qui
 10 tandem accuratius (ac ipse fecerim) sciat tam famæ suæ quam uotis tuis satisfacere. Vale.

BuslMS, 236-237 (A 9 v-A 10 r)

⟨Mechlin, 1505-06⟩

26. TO CHRISTIAN DE HONDT

ABBOT OF THE DOWNS

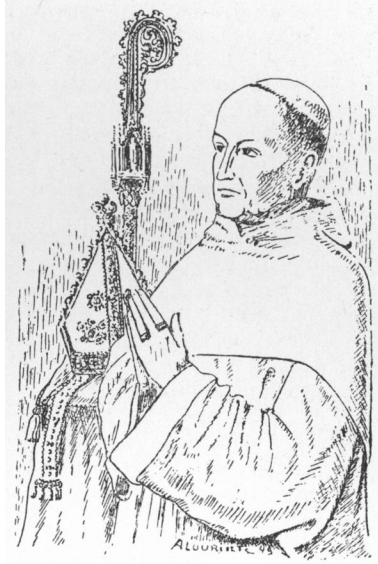
a This letter, entitled '*Abbati Dunensi...*', treats the same subject as *Epp.* 19 and 20, and in the same spirit ; it seems to belong to the

10 suæ] over line S

¹⁾ Cp. before, §§ 128, sq.

same period, 1505-1506, perhaps a little later than those two messages, on account of the 'tandem' with which, after several admonitions, the delayed return of the books to the Abbey is humbly excused.

- b The abbot of Our Lady of the Downs about that time was Christian DE HONDT, a native of Bruges, who from supprior was elected as successor to abbot James de Wever, *Textoris*, in 1495, and filled that dignity until he resigned it in 1509, a little while before his decease. — His portrait, painted by a Bruges Master in 1499, now in Antwerp Museum, represents the xxxth Abbot of the 'Dunes' in his living room, kneeling on his prayerstool in front of an opened manuscript, thus corroborating his love for books referred to in this letter : *AlbHist.*, 97 ; cp. *FlandIll.*, II, 97.



Christian de HONDT
Abbot of the Downs
by a Bruges Master, 1499

HONESTO ut tuo tandem parerem desyderio, simul et nostro gratificandi satisfacerem studio, tantopere abs te desyderata tibi iam mittantur uolumina ; volumina, inquam, non tam antiquitate quadam ac vetustate ueneranda, quam
5 Sanctarum Scripturarum dignitate et characterum uenustate certe mirifica. Quibus ubi primum adeundi tui copiam faciens, commeatum dedi, alacritate sane incredibili uisa sunt antiquum suum ad dominum remeare, quandoquidem ingenue profitentia : longe malle sese in bibliotheca illa tua ornatissima
10 uinculis et compedibus perpetuo mancipatum iri quam apud me diutius morando libertate frui, hucque nunc atque illuc mecum uagari. Quod quum ita plusquam exploratum et confessum sit, tuam propterea præstantiam admonitam, ac (si pateris) obnixius oratam uelim : volumina illa, tanta alacri-
15 tate suum te ueterem patronum adeuntia comiter excipias,

14 oratam &c.] on p. 237

5. Sanctarum Scripturarum] no doubt manuscript Bible volumes, which were regularly fastened by chains (*l*₁₀) to the library

desks in the Abbey ; being of frequent use, they were requested back by the Abbot.

11. hucque &c] cp. § 68.

sicque excipiendo perhumaniter tractes, dignum ijs in tua refertissima bibliotheca locum decernendo, quo demum propensius omnes intelligant te non tam vetustatis amatorem et antiquitatis studiosum quam uel Sacrarum Litterarum hospitem conciliabulumque esse. Vale.

BuslMS, 168-175 (h 3 v-h 7 r)

⟨Rome, last days of 1505, beginning of 1506⟩

27. — TO FERRY DE CARONDELET
Archdeacon of Besançon

a This letter is entitled, in red ink as generally, '*Ferrico suo, Archid. Bisont.*', viz., Ferry de Carondelet, appointed archdeacon of Besançon in 1504 : *Epp.* 7, c, 8, *a*. This friend of Busleyden's had entered orders (*l* 96), and was acting in Rome as an agent for his Princes, which gave him the title of *vir senatorius* (*l* 97). Sent on embassy to congratulate Pope Jules II on his election and coronation, Jerome reached the Eternal City on the last days of 1505, with the other envoys and their train, and pronounced the oration before the Pope, of which the text is preserved in his manuscript : *Orat.* B. On the occasion of his stay in Rome, no doubt, he found that his dear friend had abandoned all study and was not even occupied by any serious avocation ; in his ardent zeal for learning and study, he wrote to him this admonitory letter, which, consequently, has to be dated at the end of 1505, or, which is more probable, in the beginning of 1506, before the return of the embassy.

b The title to this letter on *p* 168 of the manuscript, indicating Ferry de Carondelet as the friend to whom it was addressed, was crossed off with black lines, and on the top of *p* 169, where the letter begins, a later hand (which evidently did the crossing off), wrote in the right margin at the top in black ink : '*Marliano*' meaning, no doubt, the Italian physician of the Princes Philip and Charles, Luigi Marliano (cp. *Epp.* 38, *b-g*). That alteration due to one of the earlier owners of Busleyden's manuscript, is an evident mistake for, far from wanting incentives to study, Marliano even declined all invitations to feasts and to intimate meals on account of his attachment to his old friends the books, as clearly results from the letters 47 and 49, immediately preceding and following this present one in the collection ('*pp* 162 to 186) : Busleyden advocates there in vain an exceptional relaxation with some good friend, rather than blaming gently, though firmly, an idle and dissipated life as he does here. Cp. before, § 158.

SALVE SPECTATISSIME

QUI uere amat, semper in amato est, illius salutis, rei, accessionis anxius. Qui recte amat, nusquam amicum

- fallit, circumuenit, palpat ; qui syncære amat, interpellat, arguit, castigat quem amat. Quorsum (inquies) huiusmodi
 5 tam abrupta, subitaria, tumultuaria ? Non sit quod mireris : quando hæc qualiacunque sint, non tam imperium quam uel impatientia nostri in te amoris dictat, quum te ægre uideat, ægerrime ferat extraria ista et temporaria tantopere curare ; contra autem uera animi bona, æternum nos concomitantia
 10 (quæ nusquam sat excolueris) prorsus negligere, a quibus maxime serenitas mentis, tranquillitas animi, institutio uitæ beatæ recte auspicaretur. Quæ uero aut qualia ea sint, abs te hucusque parum curata, unde tot et tanta obuenant expetenda, paucis (si lubet) præscribam, tametsi ea putem tibi
 15 magis ac unguis tuos fore nota. Quare age, an nondum sat compertum habeas quantam inprimis notionem Dei, quantam cognitionem imbecillitatis nostræ, deinde quantum prosperis ornamentis, aduersis solatij adferat dulcissimum otium literarium ? quo qui semel allekti occupantur, fruuntur,
 20 tenentur, nonne plus quam fortunatissimi, in ipso Jouis (ut ita dicam) gremio suauissime quiescentes, uitam uiuunt beatam : nusquam minus soli quam quum soli ; neque minus otiosi quam quum sint maxime otiosi, utpote de otio negotium, de negotio facientes otium.
 25 Quod quum ita sit, quid ergo causæ est quod ab illorum instituto, nusquam satis laudato te adeo terreat, tamdiu remoretur, tam procul auocat : ad quod, contra (si sapes) totis neruis, omni conatu, uelisque (ut aiunt) et equis tibi foret contendendum anhelandumque ? Proinde paucis tandem, age ?
 30 Quid obiter aut excusare mauis aut incusare quo minus in illorum uel albo appareas, uel arena contendas, uel stadio

17 cognitionem] in *rmg* is added sui 17 imbecillitatis nostræ] first words
 on p. 170, cr. 27 auocat]

15. unguis... nota] Erasmus : *Ad unguem* : *ErAdag.*, 216, r.

20. in... gremio... quiescentes] cp. Virgil, *Æneis*, I, 689-95, IX, 261, &c.

22. nusquam minus soli &c.] cp. *Epp.* 49, 52 : L. A. Seneca, *Fragmenta*, 57 : nunquam minus solus erit quam quum solus fuerit.

22-23. neque minus otiosi quam quum... maxime otiosi] cp. *Epp.*

8, 127-128 and before § 144 : there is here a word-play on *otiosus esse*, viz. to take repose from work ordered by duty, and *otiosus esse*, not work at all : cp. *ErAdag.*, 861, b (*Nihil agere*) and 1207, b (*Liber non est, qui non aliquando nihil agit*).

28. uelisque... et equis] Erasmus : *Velis equisque* : *ErAdag.*, 157, c.

decurras ? An forte ad ea te accingenda, tibi comparanda desyderas quum Croesi fortunas, tum Midæ diuitias ? Profecto minime: quando nequaquam te premat res angusta domi, cæte-
 35 rum ampla adsit, qua affatim suppetente ad ea quorum meminimus assequenda facile (modo uelles) emergere posses. Quum ergo per fortunas (ut diximus) non stet, quo minus illa (ut uellemus) obtineas, age, quidnam est reliqui, aut impedi-
 40 obstare existimes ? Num illud quod natura minus sis ad cultum literarum idoneus ? aut quod fueris ingenium tardum, aut effluam plenamque rimarum memoriam nactus ? Falleris profecto, totaque (ut dicunt) aberras uia si hoc in animum induxeris, qui tam homo sis ad ipsas literas quam ad omnes
 45 (ut aiunt) horas natus, acerrimo ingenio, felici memoria præditus, quæ abs te exulta atque aliquantulum in literaria palæstra exercita tandem uel Iurisconsulto a quo (Cicerone adstypulante) summa expectatur, satisfacere posset.

Quamobrem rursus (amabo) fare, age, quidnam in re præ-
 50 senti deest, cuius inprimis desyderium, quærenti mihi, legitime obijcere posses ? ambitumne sacerdotiorum, dignitatum, uel magistratus cuiuspiam ? Quod ita fore minime puto. Qui ambitum ipsum a teneris (quod dicunt) unguiculis haud secus ac nauita in mari scopulum semper accuratissime declina-
 55 ueris, non ignarus illum cum otio literario non bene congruere, neque eadem sede morari posse, quando qui ipso ambitu perciti ducuntur, nusquam in otio sint (quod sibi expostulat bonarum Artium studium), sed magis nunc huc, nunc isthuc transuersum agitati, tandem miseri totidem insi-
 60 dijs inpetuntur quot exponuntur inuidijs. Quorum dolendam ambitionem non est opus imiteris, quum inter honoratos sis honoratissimus, inter spectatos iuxta spectatissimus : qui subinde conditione et præsentis sorte tua, tam sis quam esse debes, contentus : haud quidem uulgari, uerum honesta atque

34 nequaquam &c.] on p. 171
 51 ambitumne &c.] on p. 172 57 perciti] last i corr. S

43. tota... aberras uia] cp. *Epp.*
 15, 42 : *ErAdag.*, 47, 7.
 44-45. ad omnes... horas natus]
Erasmus : Omnium horarum ho-
mo : ErAdag., 144, 4 ; cp. *Epp.*
 49, 144.

47. Cicerone adstypulante] cp.
 Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, II, 4, 7,
 XI, 2.

53. a teneris... unguiculis] *Er-*
Adag., 283, 4.

65 spectabili, meritis tuis iampridem debita, non, ut plærunque solet, pecunia redempta, sed magis uirtute (cui omnia debent) parta; quæ quidem quum te multum beat, passimque clarum et famigeratum reddat: quid ergo, inquam, restat quod tibi tam expetendum otium inuideat.

70 Quod si forte pudore ductus, ingenue fateri minus audeas: sinas saltem id ipse audeam. Quod si pateris (sicuti amicum debes) id nullo negotio uel paucis absoluam: tam libere scilicet quam amice, idque sine ullo (ut aiunt) dente: quando nil magis candidum amicum probet, nil æque rectam firmamque
75 amicitiam deceat, ac una libertas. Qua fretus tam citra suspicionem simultatis quam notam iustæ redargutionis, quod de amico libere sentias, liberius et eloqui et decernere possis, etiamsi una secum in tenebris (ut fertur) mices. Indulge ergo amico de te liberius sentienti: non irascere dicta tua aut facta
80 ad trutinam expendenti; admitte consilium legitimi et candidi amici, qui tum maxime amare probatur quum maxime castigare uidetur.

Verum quo tandem eo (unde sim digressus) redeam: impatienter audio, ægre uideo, ægerrime ut dixi, fero, te mi-
85 nutioribus, aduentitijs, precarijs rebus tam diu auocatum. distractum animum omnino despondere, mentem prorsus auertere a suauissimo illo ubique expetendo literario otio, cuius studium omne studium, voluptas quamuis uoluptatem, sapor et gustus omne nectar, quamcumque ambrosiam su-
90 perat. Quare non mirum si tibi succenseam, si hinc male in te afficiar, ubi audio et uideo te tot et tantis bonis quibus et melior et doctior euaderes posthabitis, tanta curarum turba, tanta negotiorum mole, tanto externarum rerum studio quotidie obrui; adeo ut te ipsum, deinde actiones, consilia ac
95 denique cogitationes tuas tibi eripiant, sibi uendicent. Quod quidem quantum sit te libero homine indignum, sacris initiato indecens, uiro senatorio turpe, nemo est qui ambigat, vtpote ad maiora nato, maioribus exercendo, et maximis deco-
rando.

68 famigeratum &c.] on p. 173

84 dixi] after it uideo is cr.

85 tam diu &c.] on p. 174

87 expetendo] corr. from expendendo B

73. sine ullo... dente] ErAdag.,
865, E, 466, F.

78. in tenebris... mices] Eras-

mus: *Dignus, qui cum in tenebris mices*: ErAdag., 308, A.

100 Quare bene, prudenter, præclare egeris si aliquando ex tam
 implicatissimo negotiorum labyrintho pedem retuleris, tam-
 que patenti curarum et rerum implacato pelago ad tranquil-
 lum placidissimumque literarij otij portum appuleris, jneundo
 commercium cum bonis artium studijs, redeundo in gratiam
 105 cum Musis, a quarum cultu atque congressu tamdiu (quod
 dolendum est) abstinueris. Quod si, non tam monente me ac
 urgente, sic ocysus præstiteris, dij boni, quanta hinc te felicitas,
 uoluptas manebit, summaque mentis tranquillitas et securi-
 tas animi recreabit, quæ quidem te ipsum tibi, quieti tuæ et
 110 bonis studijs plane reddent; futurus tunc certe tuus, tui
 juris, felix, liber, fortunatus, ubi tam rarum et incomparabile
 bonum semel agnoueris, agnitum colueris, excultum seruauere-
 ris. Vale.

BuslMS, 137-139 (f 8 r-f 9 r)

⟨Mechlin, Summer of 1506⟩

28. — TO NICASIVS HACKENAY

Chief Steward of Prince Philip

a The letter is entitled : '*Magnifico ac Splendido uiro Nicasio/Ha-
 guenæo Præfecto domus Principis Castellæ.*', which probably was the
 address written on the reverse of the paper leaf. It shows to all evidence
 that the message was sent to Cologne before October 1506, when the
 news of Philip the Fair's decease reached these provinces; the voyage
 of the Archduke to Spain, on which he embarked on January 10, 1506
 (Epp. 29, 21), makes it most likely that this missive belongs to 1506,
 as it gave to Hackenay the occasion to pay a visit to his native town
 Cologne, whilst off duty as Chief Steward : *Epp.* 4, *b*, *c*. If it had been
 written in 1505, mention would have been made of the Diet which
 Maximilian had convened in that town : Janssen, 1, 542, *sq.* 605, and
 which would have made as good as impossible the *tumultus* referred
 to on *ll* 3, *sq.* as strong military forces would have been provided for
 that great event.

b The *tumultus* to which this letter refers seems to have been
 chronic in Cologne from 1500 to 1512 : there were important and perti-
 nacious upheavals from the crafts and guilds in those years against
 the town authorities belonging to the patrician families : Janssen, 1,
 444, *sq.* From 1505 to 1507 measures were taken against some men
 who had attempted murdering the burgomasters John von Berchem
 and Conrad Schürenfels, pretendedly on the suggestion of archiepisco-
 pal officials at Poppelsdorf and Bonn. The trouble came to a climax
 in December 1512, when riots broke out, leading to a revolt which, in

January 1513, caused the downfall of the Council. On January 11, John von Berchem was executed, and in the following days his colleague John von Reidt and several councillors, also fell victims in the ruthless struggle : *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* : 26-27 : 220, sq ; J. Kuckhoff, *Johannes Rhetius* : Dusseldorf, 1929 : 8 ; L. Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln* : Cologne, 1875 : III, 678, sq. To those troubles was added that caused by epidemics : in December 1506, the *Quodlibet* disputations were prevented by an outbreak of the pest : *UniKöln*, 339.

MAGNA profecto sollicitudo tui tenet hic spectatos tuos
et me ne quid forte iam tibi (quod absit) aduersi
obuenerit populari hoc tumultu et motu Coloniae in magistra-
tus grassante. Verum quum contra, mente reuoluimus auram
5 popularem bonorumque ciuium praesentem gratiam (quam
tibi iampridem sapientia tua, humanitate et obuia in omnes
liberalitate conciliasti), continuo cessat atque facessit omnis
sollicitudo, timoreque omni posito iubet nos bona spe perdu-
rare : videlicet tibi adhuc bene esse, teque nullius culpae
10 conscium in utranque (ut fertur) aurem altum dormire. Quo
fit minore anxietate, licet desyderio maiore, reditum ad nos
tuum praestolemur : quem ut aliquando (quantum per res et
negotia licuerit) matures uehementer rogamus, reducem te
summa animorum alacritate, laetitia, festiuitate excepturi.
15 Sed ut animis non solum exultantibus, uerum etiam organis
suaue personantibus aduentum tuum celebrare possimus, mitto
eum quem uides, hominem fidum cui ad me deferendum dabis
regale illud organum toties et tam perseueranter a te mihi
promissum : semper apud me hoc habiturus in testimonium
20 tuae erga me beneficentiae, quam aliquando uel maiori benefi-
cio demereri curabo, dijs bene iuuantibus. Vale.

Magnifico ac Splendido uiro Nicasio Haguenæo,
Praefecto domus Principis Castellæ.

1 tuos] prob. supply amicos
4 mente &c.] on p. 138

16 celebrare] r celebrare 17 fidum] u corr. c 21 demereri &c.] on p. 139

3. hoc tumultu] cp. *pr*, *b*.
10. in utranque... aurem... dor-
mire] cp. *Orat.* B, 181 ; Terence,
Hauton Timorumenos, 342 : in
aurem utramvis... ut dormias ;
Juvenal, I, 17 ; *ErAdag.*, 307, B.
18. regale illud organum] the

organ in Busleyden's mansion,
praised to Arnold van Vessem as
having been invented and built
by a *Germano Norico*, Hans Suys,
Epp. 35, 33-34, — had been bought
through his friend Hackenay : cp.
§ 42.

Luciani Opuscula (Paris, 1506), *xlvi*ⁱⁱ2.

Allen, I, 205

Bologna, November 17, 1506

29. — DESIDERIUS ERASMUS TO J. DE BUSLEYDEN

a This letter served as preface and as dedicatory address to the translations of some of Lucian's dialogues added as supplement on *p* *xlvi*ⁱⁱ2 to some copies of the *Luciani Compluria Opuscula... ab Erasmo Roterodamo et Thoma Moro... in Latinorum Linguam traducta*, printed in Paris by Josse Badius, November 13, 1506; the original collection counted *liii* leaves. The first of the eighteen short colloquies added, *Dialogus Cnemonis & Damippi*, starts on *f* *xlvi*ⁱⁱ; the addition extends to *f* *lxi*[*lix*]. Those dialogues dedicated to Busleyden, with this letter (Renaudet, 491, 493), were printed separately in 1521 by Alb. Pafraet, at Deventer: *Decem et octo Breues Luciani Dialogi a Desiderio Erasmo... in Latinum conuersi*: NijKron., I, 1399. They were reprinted with this letter in Barlandus' edition of the *Luciani... Opuscula* (of 1506) by Th. Martens, Louvain, as *Complures Luciani Dialogi*, on August 14, 1512, and again in 1515: Allen, I, 187 *pr*, 205, *pr*; *EraBib.*, II, 39; Iseghem, 234, 257, S 15-16; NijKron., II, 3434, 3435.

b The text is based on that of the edition of *Luciani... Opuscula* of 1506 (*a*); it was reprinted 'ex posteriori recognitione' in the edition of December 1517 by Jerome Froben at Basle (*β*), who re-edited it in August 1521 with some alterations (*γ*): it is reproduced in EOO, I, 311, and in Allen, I, 205; but was left out with the other prefaces in Judocus Badius' issue of June, I, 1514.

c At the news of the approach of the armies of the Pope, Erasmus and his companions, the brothers Boerio, left Bologna in a hurry, and sheltered during six weeks in Florence, where the translations of Lucian's dialogues were made. On November 4, at the news of Giov. Bentivoglio's flight and of the submission of the town, he decided to return to Bologna; — he arrived soon enough to witness Julius II's entrance on November 11: Allen I, 200, 1-7, 203, 7-12; Nollhac, II-17; Renaudet, 493.

HIERONYMO BVSLIDIANO PRÆPOSITO ARIENSI
CONSILIARIO REGIO ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS S. P. D.

RVMOR iam pridem hic perseuerat acerbior quam vt
verum esse libeat credere, sed constantior tamen quam
vt vanus credi possit, PHILIPPVM Principem nostrum e viuīs

3. Philippum] Philip the Fair at an entertainment offered by his favourite Don Juan Manuel, whom he had promoted to Governor of Burgos, had ridden some of his host's horses and played at

tennis; being hot, he drank very cold water, which a few hours later caused a fever from which he died after a few days, on September 25, 1506: Henne, I, 118-119.

excessisse. Quid querar, mi Buslidiane, quid vociferer, quem
 5 incusem hominumue deumue ? Quæ comploratio, tragœdia,
 quæ huic tam atroci vulnere sufficiat ? Nimio, heu nimio
 constitistis Hispaniæ, quæ quidem primum Franciscum Busli-
 dianum, archiepiscopum Bizontinum, nobis ademistis ; neque
 tanti viri iactura contentæ Principem etiam eum absorbuistis
 10 quo (si viuere modo licuisset) nihil vnquam habuit hic orbis
 neque maius neque melius. Quanquam quid, quæso, supererat
 etiam adolescenti, nisi vti iam ipse sese superaret ?

Sed o dirum fortunæ ludum, o nouam fatorum inuidentiam,
 o mors quam iniqua, tam etiam inuida vt semper præstantissi-
 15 ma quæque quam ocysime tollis e medio, vixque oculis
 ostensa protinus subducis ! Cuius ego vicem hic potissimum
 deplem ? MAXIMILIANINE patris, qui tali sit orbatus filio,
 quem vnum multis etiam imperiis anteponebat ? an libero-
 rum magis quibus ætate tam immatura tam pius sit ereptus
 pater ? an patriæ potius cui de charissimo Principe tam serum
 gaudium, tam præproperus contigerit luctus ? An orbis demum
 20 vniuersi cui tam singulare lumen sit ademptum, idque tam
 ante diem ? Hoc, nimirum hoc, tempestas illa fatalis qua
 medio e cursu in Britanniam depulsus est, portendebat, vide-
 licet fatis illum palam ab Hispania reiicientibus. Equidem
 Panegyrico qualicunque laudaui iuuenem. Tum autem, bone
 25 Deus, quot mihi Panegyricos, quam copiosos pollicebar ? Et

5 tragœdia] *a*; *γ* (EEO, I, 311) tam tragica ; Allen, I, 205 <quæ> tragœdia

7. Franciscum Buslidianum] Cp. before, § 6 ; the journey to Spain was also to be fatal to Jerome de Busleyden.

21. tempestas illa fatalis] Philip the Fair and the Archduchess Jane put to sea at Flushing on January 10, 1506 with 43 ships, which had to return to harbour on account of a sudden storm. When they left Flushing for the second time, they were caught in a storm which lasted from January 15 to 26 ; the vessel *Juliana*, with the Princes, was driven to land at Weymouth on January 17 ; they at once advised Henry VII, who invited them to Windsor, which they reached on January 31. They set out again from Fal-

mouth on April 23 : Henne, I, 83, *sq* ; Allen, I, 189, *pr* ; *MargvOK*, 162-5.

24. Panegyrico] Erasmus pronounced his speech of welcome, *Panægyricus*, to Philip the Fair on his return from Spain on January 6, 1504 at the Palace of Brussels : it was printed by Th. Martens, Antwerp, 1504, with a letter to Bishop Nicolas Ruterius (February 1504) to whom were also inscribed the [Libanii] *Aliquot Declamatiunculæ*, November, 17, 1503, printed by Th. Martens, Louvain, in July 1519 : Allen, I, 177, 179 ; cp. *Épp.* 17, *b-d* ; Henne, I, 48 ; Iseghem, 221, *sq*, 298, *sq* ; NijKron., I, 837, 1367.

en repente commutatis rebus epitaphium paro miser. Eamus (nunc) nos homunculi et fortunulis nostris fidamus, quum eos etiam pro sua libidine mors rapiat quos quam diutissime vivere tantopere omnium refert.

- 30 Sed quid ego, mi Hieronyme, dum meo indulgeo dolori tuum exulcero? Quod reliquum est, precor vt superi propitii liberis paternam quidem felicitatem, sed cum diui FEDERICI viuacitate copulatam, largiantur. Tibi item in moderandis illis fraternos successus, sed vitam fraterna diuturniorem. Literis his, ne ad tantum tamque doctum amicum nullo literario munusculo comitatae venirent, Dialogos aliquot Luciani comites addidi; quos pauculis his diebus, dum obsidionis metu Florentiam profugeremus, Latinos feci: hoc nimirum agens ne nihil agerem. Nam in praesentia quidem in
35 Italia mire frigent studia, feruent bella. Summus Pontifex Iulius belligeratur, vincit, triumphat, planeque Iulium agit. Vale, et amplissimo patri Nicolao Ruterio, episcopo Atrebatensi, etiam atque etiam Erasmus commendato.

Bononiae, xv. Cal. Decemb. M D VI.

26. epitaphium] it was then the custom to compose an epitaph when hearing of the decease of one's friend or of some outstanding personage, and send it if possible to adorn the hearse at the funeral.

32. diui Federici viuacitate] Philip the Fair's grandfather, Emperor Frederic IV. of Austria, died at Lintz on August 20, 1493 at the age of seventy-eight, after a reign of fifty-three years and four months.

33. in moderandis illis] evidently as Councillor and Master of Requests.

36. Dialogos... Luciani] cp. *a-b*; they probably were printed about that time, or, at any rate, soon after the date of this letter so as to be added to, and sold with, the *Luciani Compluria Opuscula* that

had been issued on November 13, 1506, according to the colophon; the supplement had no colophon.

38. obsidionis metu] Pope Julius II had decided to put an end to the tyrannical rule of Giovanni Bentivoglio, in Bologna, and to that of Gianpaolo Baglione, in Perugia, by joining those towns and their territories to the Papal States: he left Rome on Aug. 26 and, having submitted Perugia, he marched from there to Bologna on September 21; on October 6, near Modena, he was told of Philip the Fair's death; he reached Bologna on November 10, from which Bentivoglio had fled on All Souls' Day: Pastor, III, 605-618.

42. Ruterio] Nicolas Ruterius, Bishop of Arras: *Epp.* 17, *b-e*.

30. — TO HENRY VIRULI LOUVAIN

a This letter is entitled '*Henr. Virulo.*'; it announces as new boarders in his house, Cornelius Erdorf and his tutor, in 1507, after that the stay in the Lily, where the boy matriculated on August 31, 1506, had proved a failure; cp. *Epp.* 31, *b* and *ll* 8, 17; the allusions to the sadness caused by that nephew's complete absence of interest in all studies, suggest at least a few months of vain efforts to induce the young man to work.

b Henry VIRULI was one of the four sons left at his death, on May 13, 1493, by Charles Menneken(s), *Viruli*, who after promoting Master of Arts in 1435, became the *Regens* of the *pædagogium Lili* in 1537, and managed it most successfully during 56 years: *Mol.*, 631, 588, 840; *Vern.*, 129-130; *VAnd.*, 261; *FUL*, 1136-38, 1223; *BaxH*, vii, 143, *sq*; *BaxF*, iii, 40, *sq*; *ULDoc.*, iv, 168-176; *MonHL*, 180, *sq*. He himself had trained his sons in his own institute: thus his third son Henry matriculated '*in artibus*' on January 1, 1480, and his fourth, John (who did not survive his father), on February 24, 1480: *LibIntII*, 146 *v*, 147 *r*; Henry became Master of Arts, as also did Godefroid, the youngest brother, whereas Robert Viruli, another brother who had matriculated on February 23, 1576¹⁾, promoted licentiate in both laws. It was the eldest, Nicolas, who stepped in his father's track. He took an active part in the management of the pedagogy, and he showed a great spirit of initiative by abandoning the methods of teaching Latin which his father had applied in his *Epistolares Formulae*, printed for the first time in 1476. He was so zealous in attending the lectures of the Italian professors of the newly-founded chair of 'poetry', that on November 24, 1487, he stood warrant for Cornelius Vitellius, binding himself to refund the wages paid in advance, in case of decease or departure before the money was earned: *MonHL*, 125, 305. It was to this son Nicolas and to the faithful *legens* Leo Outers, or Wouters, of Hondshoote, his *baculum senectutis*, that Charles Viruli bequeathed by equal parts the profits of the pedagogy by his will and codicil, January 16 and February 6, 1493 (*FUL*, 1136-37). Nicolas sold out his share to Outers, who thus by 1494 was the only *Regens* (*ActArtV*, 109 *v*, 121 *r*). Yet, Nicolas kept in touch with the Faculty of Arts, for he was one of the first to avail himself of the Privilege of Nominations of that Faculty in June 1515; he is recorded at that date as a priest, and as already having been a *legens* and *regens* during thirty years; he was appointed successively to vacancies at the collation of the provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, of the *per-sonatus* of Hasselt and Herenthals, and of the abbot of St. Gertrude,

¹⁾ *LibIntII*, 118, *r*. Their relative Lottinus Viruli, Master of Arts, was elected Rector of the University on August 31, 1477: *LibIntII*, 129, *v*, 132, *r*; he then was canon of St. Peter's, professor in the Lily, and, since May 28, 1473, Dictator of the University. Cp. *VAnd.*, 39, 50, 262; *ULDoc.*, i, 259, 313, iv, 244.

Louvain (June 1515 to July 1518 : *LibNomI*, 73 r, 81 r, 91, 149 r : the 'Magister Nicolas Viruli' whose sons Jerome and Adrien matriculated on August 29, 1515 : *Excerpts*, 98, 96, 103; *ULDoc.*, iv, 176, must have been a grandson of Charles Viruli).

- c The three younger sons of the founder of the Lily, Robert, Henry and Godefroid, seem to have caused much sorrow to their father as they called the servant who took care of him in his last years, their *noverca*. The old man attested the innocence of that young woman before God and before death in his will, on January 16, 1493, and indemnified her with a considerable legacy for what she had had to suffer from his sons. He denied to the latter all right on his most prosperous pedagogy, which he bequeathed to the poor students, granting to his son Nicolas and to Outers, in equal shares, the profits and rights due to the *Regens*. He did not disinherit them, though, for he divided amongst his children a fortune which was so abundant that he indicated the rents and revenues by series, as they were written down in his register; he moreover gave them either the property or the usufruct of houses where they had probably been installed. As they had enjoyed both their father's example, and a careful training, they probably started boarding institutes for well-to-do students in their houses. Thus it is recorded that, in February 1527, Robert Viruli had as *contubernales* Maximilian, the son of Adolph of Beveren, Lord of Veere, and his preceptor John Becker of Borselen: Allen, vi, 1787, 46-47. That Robert had married Catherine van Winckele, daughter of John, the founder of the College of that name (*ULDoc.*, iii, 144), and at her death he took, on March 24, 1507 as second wife, the widow of Golinus van 't Sestich, Catherine van Vlaenderen : *ULDoc.*, iv, 176; *HisTriLov.*, chapt. xvii. The William Viruli, and Joannes Mannekens recorded about 1550 as Antwerp business men (*AntvAnn.*, ii, 386, 390), were probably relatives.
- d Henry Viruli had received for his part the usufruct of a house situated in "de Bachelaine", a street outside the inner walls of the town, from Diest Street to Cow Street, with wide grounds, where, according to this letter, he also kept students. The 'Johannes de Nassouwe filius ade de nassouwe', a 'minorennis', for whom he took the oath at the matriculation, between April 6 and 12, 1499 (*LibIntIII*, 73 v), was most likely one of his boarders. It is probable that it was to Henry Viruli's house that John Becker repaired with his charge, Adolphe of Beveren's *filiolus* Maximilian, when he came first with him to Louvain about the end of September 1522 : on November 23, 1522, he announced to Erasmus (Allen, v, 1321, 27-32) that he lived opposite Dorp's house : *Vicini sumus proximi Dorpio, e regione edium illius habitantes*, the house, namely, of which Barlandus mentions the orchard in his *Historia Ducum Brabantiae*, chapter 184, (*MonHL*, 245), and in which Viglius boarded for some time with Michael van Doorn, a *Dorna*, who had taken it after Dorp's death (Hoyneck, i, i, 8, 68). It is quite consistent that John Becker, after having been Henry Viruli's inmate, should have gone to his brother's house when returning to Louvain after several years : possibly his former host lacked accommodation, or did no longer take boarders.

MULTIFARIÆ doctrinæ atque eximiæ probitatis tuæ
 constanti fama allectus, nepotulum nostrum pædagogo
 comitatum ad te mitto erudiendum, scilicet abs te non tam
 liberalibus disciplinis quam uel candidis ingenuisque forman-
 5 dum moribus : quibus ita ocyus, idque haud multo negotio
 assequendis, satis superque (mihi crede) habet acrimoniæ,
 ingenij, memoriæ, jlle modo uelit, minusque sibi ipsi desit,
 utpote cuius uel maxime intererit si aliquando nihil magis
 quam ipse sibi defuisse censeatur. Quod ne sic illi quandoque
 10 contingat, tui muneris erit : eum si te audierit, uerbis et exem-
 plis ad amorem bonarum artium inuitare. Sin minus auscul-
 tauerit, nolentem ferula impelle, reluctantem calcaribus ur-
 geas, quo saltem animaduersionis metu, id tandem amet atque
 discat quod prius aut amare sponte aut suapte peruicacia
 15 discere renuit : alioqui tu illi seu prorsus nihil, seu parum
 certe profuturus. Quare fac, quæso, labora ; ille te audiat,
 reuereatur, amet, timeatque : amet, inquam, ne te offendat ;
 timeat, tuum in se amorem haud perdat. Vale.

BuslMS, 134-136 (f 6 v-f 7 v)

⟨Mechlin, Summer of 1507⟩

31. — TO CORNELIUS ERDORF

- a* This letter was written some time after *Epp.* 30, probably in the summer of 1507. It is entitled '*Cornelio nepoti suo...*', to which a later hand added : '(Cornelio) *erdorfio* (nepoti suo) *ex sorore*'. The same hand — probably one of Egide de Busleyden's sons — wrote in the left margin, next to that title : '*Hic fuit tibi studiorum comes/ & socius. Sub Joâne borsalo./ Neuio. & Martino Dorpio Louanij.*' That note was addressed to the recipient of this manuscript, a canon of St. Donatian's of Bruges, as results from what is added to the title of *Epp.* 59, — without doubt, John de Fevyn, who also matriculated as rich student of the Lily on the same day as Erdorf : cp. §§ 122-123.
- b* Cornelius ERDORF was the son of Catherine de Busleyden, the sister of Jerome, who took a very great interest in his instruction and education, after the boy, by 1505, had lost his father, possibly even his mother, who, at any rate, did not survive her brother (cp. before, §§ 11, 50). Cornelius was sent to Louvain where he matriculated, 'Cornelius Erdorf de Lussenburgo', as one of the rich students of the Lily on August 31, 1506, along with John de Fevyn, as just mentioned :

12 ferula &c.] on p. 245

2. nepotulum] Cornelius Erdorf : cp. *Epp.* 31, b, c.

2. pædagogo] John Becker of Borselen : cp. *Epp.* 32, b-e.

LibIntIII, 128 v ; *Cran.*, xciv ; *MonHL*, 300-301. Still neither the life in the pedagogy, nor the studies seem to have agreed with the youth, notwithstanding the endeavours of as clever and experienced an educator as John Becker of Borselen (*cp. Epp.* 32, b-e), who was still at the Lily, and had been engaged by his old fellow-student Busleyden to become his nephew's mentor. Most naturally a change of atmosphere was advised, so much the more since the young student did not enjoy a good health in the crowded pedagogy : probably by the middle of 1507 the removal to Henry Viruli's boarding house was decided on, and John Becker was prevailed upon to follow his charge in the new surroundings. From the letter to Viruli, *Epp.* 30, it follows that Jerome's expectations had dwindled to the acquisition of nice and freeborn manners, to the formation of a fine society man, for which all means, even the *ferula* were to be used (*ll* 11-15). In the full air and calm of Viruli's house outside the inner town-wall (*Epp.* 30, d), the young man felt better than in the Lily, in the very centre of a busy, crowded town, and thanks to that beneficent change, he applied himself with such zeal to study that his Uncle expressed his satisfaction at his letter, accompanied by a good testimony from his host.

- c A few days later Cornelius announced to his uncle that his friend, a son of the banker Friscobaldi, whose preceptor, Remacle d'Ardenne (*Epp.* 33), had left him to go to France, wished to share Erdorf's board and lodging and Becker's lessons ; Jerome de Busleyden considered it as an excellent means to make his nephews's life in Louvain attractive, as well as to provide a new source of profit for Becker, who lost the advantage of private tutoring in the Lily ; he therefore readily seconded that project ; he urged it on the father and wrote to the son a letter (*Epp.* 33), which he sent with further instructions through his nephew (*Epp.* 34). Whether the project was put into execution does not appear ; still Jerome sent to John Becker, to whom he had already communicated his joy at the change (*Epp.* 32), a most substantial present for his nephew, to reward and encourage his endeavours (*Epp.* 36). Unfortunately Erdorf's good dispositions did not last long, and things soon came to a crisis (*Epp.* 51), — which may have been the result less of ill nature than of a weakly constitution, which broke down a few years later and took the young man to an untimely grave (*Epp.* 68, 3, *sq.*). — Jerome de Busleyden did not only take care of his orphaned nephew's instruction ; with his brother Valerian he upheld his rights against a powerful adversary as far as the Court of Rome, provided Cornelius Erdorf is one of the *nepotum* referred to in the letter to John Goritz of 1508 : *Epp.* 53, 18³⁴ : the other *nepos* or *nepotes* were most probably one or more sisters, who are mentioned amongst the heirs of their uncle, — namely his four nieces, daughters of his sisters Mary and Catherine, with their respective husbands : *Rek.*, 24, v ; *cp.* before, §§ 11, 82 ; and *Epp.* 53,

18³⁴.

EXPECTATA diu epistola tua, simul et commendatio tui de te hospitibus haud contemnenda, nobis non tam multum gaudij quam plurimum spei attulit, quandoquidem qui illius lectione et huius assertionem, nunc plane intelligam bonas

5 literas earumque studia magis (unquam ac antea fuerant) iam
 tibi cordi esse, teque ad amorem illarum magis magisque quo-
 tidie accendi. Quo quidem ita cognito, tam sum (mihi crede)
 recreatus quam olim totus eram contristatus, scilicet quum
 earum studia te minus oblectarent. Quare mi fili, si tibi tuis-
 10 que bene uelis consultum iri, si nobis gratificari, nosque prop-
 terea aliquando auunculum tui amantissimum experiri, fac
 (hortor), labora, contende, in tam sancto proposito ac lauda-
 bili instituto constanter pergas, quousque in bonarum artium
 studijs doctior et bonis moribus ornatior euadas. In quibus
 15 (mea quidem sententia) facile, idque plurimum proficies, ad ea
 ingenium modo et animum tendas : quod tandem, quum
 iuxta uotum nostrum, tum instauratam olim ferme deperdi-
 tam spem de te nostram, ita præstare ualeas, hæc nostra salu-
 taria tene præcepta. Inprimis Deum Opt. Max. uenerare,
 20 time. Præceptores obseruans cole. Otium euitans, secordiam,
 desidiam, languorem fuge. Literarum studia alacer amplec-
 tere. Ex doctis doctiores selige. Improbis ignotus, probis
 cognitus. Nemini odiosus, omnibus carus. Lætus uiue. Hoc
 quidem sic præstando, quod facile (ubi uelis) poteris, tibi con-
 25 gratulans, mecum gloriabor tali tamque bene instituto nepo-
 tulo me fore auctum, presertim qui a maiorum suorum uesti-
 gijs non degenerans, uirtutem scilicet ipsam non tam sit passim
 sequutus quam denique illam ipsam feliciter assequutus. Bene
 uale ; stude et proface : quando quantum profeceris te nus-
 30 quam poenitebit.

BuSlMS, 245-247 (B 4 r-B 5 r)

<Mechlin, Summer of 1507>

32. — TO JOHN BECKER, OF BORSELEN

a This letter, inscribed '*To. Borsalo*', is evidently contemporary with *Epp.* 31.

b John BECKER, whom Erasmus praises as one of the glories of Louvain in his *Epithalamium Petri AEgidii* (EOO, I, 749, A), was called *Borsalus* being born at Borselen, a town in South-Beveland which was

8 -status &c.] on p. 135 17 deperditam] corr. from desper- S
 24 uelis] e indistinct 25 nepotulo &c.] on p. 136

8. olim] probably at the time
 when Erdorf still resided in the
 Lily.

17. olim] cp. l 8.

swamped in 1532 with part of the island : *BibBelgTop.*, 76. He studied in Louvain where, on August 30, 1495, he matriculated as rich student of the Lily (*LibIntIII*, 51 r) ; he promoted B.A., April 8, 1497, M.A. on December 4, 1498 being classed the 23rd on 77 (*ActArtV*, 136 r, 146 v, 157 r, 162 r). In this pedagogy he took part in the intense study of Latin grammar started by John de Neve and Leo Outers, and continued by their pupils Gerard Cannyf, of Meuwen, John Ceusters, of Brecht, and John de Spouter, of Ninove (*MonHL*, 125-127). He was entrusted with teaching in the Lily, being admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts on Dec. 22, 1502 (*ActArtV*, 189 v), and soon gained a name as excellent Latinist : it brought him Erasmus' acquaintance and staunch affection (*MonHL*, 138). He also tutored boys of wealthy families, and by 1507 he was taken up with the instruction of Cornelius Erdorf, with whom he left the Lily to go and board with him at the house of Henry Viruli.

- c After the complete failure of that boy's studies in Louvain, Becker may have accompanied his charge for a time to Luxemburg. In the Spring of 1513 he was appointed canon in Middelburg, thanks to Philip van Spangen's interference, and he resided in Zeeland, from where he wrote to Erasmus on April 19, 1514 (Allen, I, 291). In compliance with Jerome de Busleyden's request, — who may have recommended him to the Middelburg *sacerdotium*, — he accepted about November 1514 to go to Arlon to tutor another nephew, — the son of the recently deceased Valerian de Busleyden ; for the mother of the young boy could not separate herself from the only consolation for her departed husband : Allen, II, 320, 11-23¹). Becker did not like being so very far from all intellectual intercourse, nor did the climate of Arlon and of Luxemburg, where the family occasionally resided, agree with him as he announced to Erasmus (January 4 & November 22, 1515 : Allen, II, 320, 370, 40, sq). It is possible that he accompanied his pupil to Louvain, — although there is no record to materialize that supposition, and the complete absence of all reference to a son of Valerian in the accounts of Jerome de Busleyden's succession is a proof that he, too, died prematurely like his father and his cousin Erdorf. At any rate Becker, who was delighted to share the hospitality of the Lily with Erasmus in the last months of 1517, was recommended by him as tutor for John de Berghes' son in Louvain, on December 12, 1517 : he had exercised that office, the letter says, for several years already : 'instituit enim nepotes reuerendissimi D. Francisci Buslidii, episcopi Bizontini piæ memoriæ' — viz., Cornelius Erdorf and Valerian de Busleyden's son : cp. before, §§ 9-11 ; Allen, III, 717, 21-23, 737, 7-12.

- d Meanwhile Erasmus had made up his mind to have Becker appointed as professor of Latin in the institute to be founded with Busleyden's bequest (Allen, III, 794, 13), and on March 26, 1518, he even suggested to John Robbyns, the most active of the group of protectors, to let him begin teaching, like the Hebrew professor had

¹) Nondum enim mulieri persuaderi potest vt filiolum ætate adhuc tenera, vnicum defuncti mariti solatium ab se ableget : it is evident, there can be no question here of Erdorf, who had matriculated in Louvain in 1506 : *ULAnn.*, 1874, 399-409 ; Allen, II, 320, 15, n.

done : it only wanted a decent salary as the man was waiting for that appointment in Louvain, and he might leave and accept any other offer ; whereas his light should shine much further if he staid in Louvain ; he himself, he said, placed all his books and papers at Becker's disposal during his trips to Basle (Allen, III, 805, 4-24). Unfortunately what Erasmus dreaded, happened whilst he was away ; tired from the long inaction, Becker accepted the office of Dean of the Collegiate church in the ancient castle of Zandenburg, near Veere, which was in the gift of Adolphe, Lord of Veere ; by June 19, he had passed through Antwerp and seen Peter Gillis (Allen, III, 849, 6-7), and on March 28, 1519, he wrote from Veere to Erasmus, reminding him of the promise made the preceding winter of writing a *Ratio Concionandi*, just as he had composed manuals for the Christian Soldier, for the Christian Prince and for the Christian Teacher (Allen, III, 932, 16, sq) ; in reply the great Man sketched, on April 24, 1519, his own wondrous activity, and remarked that his friend did not want a *Ratio Concionandi* for himself (Allen, III, 952, 40-42). Three years later Becker had been elected Dean of Middelburg by his colleagues, but the place was contested, as it had been disposed of by the Emperor's privilege of the *Primariæ Preces* ; his patron tried to indemnify him by granting him the *personatus* of Brouwershaven, as he wished him to go to Louvain as tutor of his weakly son Maximilian. With his new charge, Becker reached Louvain about the end of September 1522, and staid most probably at Henry Viruli's house ; at any rate, opposite Dorp's, as he wrote to Erasmus on November 23, 1522 : Allen, V, 1321, 31.

- e Through Dorp, as also through Barlandus, Erasmus sent an occasional greeting (Allen, VI, 1584, 27), but some trouble, or at least a certain coolness, had come on their connection, for Erasmus heard from Dorp that Becker had listened a whole hour to the slander of one of his chief enemies (Allen, VII, 1851, 1-26, 1860, 1-4). — After a year and a half's absence in Zeeland, where he was in October 1524 (*Cran.*, 121, 9), Becker returned with Maximilian to Louvain, and went to live at Robert Viruli's, where in the summer of 1526 he was so ill, that his death was announced to Erasmus, who wrote a most honorific report about him to Barlandus. Becker thanked him for it on February 27, 1527, when he also advised him to adopt a strictly chronologic order in the editing of his letters (Allen, VI, 1787). In reply to Becker's request of July 28, 1527, Erasmus wrote on August 24 following, a letter to his pupil Maximilian of Beveren, who was probably then attending the lectures of the *Trilingue* (Allen, VII, 1851, 37-40, 1860, 5-7). As the letter to the young man went astray (letter of Nov. 6, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1898, 1-16), another was written, which, with a dedicated copy of *De Recta Pronunciatione*, reached Louvain as, a few days later, on March 25, 1528, Becker announced ; he added that he was leaving for Zeeland to show them to the boy's father, who had decided on lengthening their stay in Louvain : Allen, VII, 1984, 1, sq, 29, sq. — By 1536 he had returned to his deanery at Veere, when Barlandus dedicated to him his last work, *De Amplificatione*, as he had gratefully inscribed to him his first, *Pluscule AEsopi*, 1511, as well as his *Libelli Tres* of 1520 (Daxhelet, 238-41, 273-76, 330-31, &c). Geldenhouwer put his name to two of his *Satyrae Octo*, 1515 (*GeldColl.*, 171, 173), and John Rei-

gersberg indicates Becker's writings, which seem to be lost, as one of the sources for his *Chronicon Zelandiæ*. Cp. Allen, I, 291, *pref.*; *Cran.*, 12, *e*, and sources indicated; *MonHL*, 135-38, 186, 192, 321-22, 326-29, 333, 354, 403 &c; Paquot, I, 32; *HisTriLov.*, chaps. III, VI, VIII, &c.

IOANNES MI SPECTATISSIME, ÆTERNUM SALVE,
FELIX UIUE

QUÆ proxime, ex Atrebatibus rediens, tam tuis quam
pueri literis cognouerim, sane omnia nobis grata ac
periucunda fuere : in primis spes illa certa toties (ut nosti) a
me desyderata quam de credito tibi puero nuperrime concæ-
5 peris : qui una hoc cum cœlo mutato, animum quoque literas
prius auersum, planeque fastidientem prorsus commutauerit,
adeo ut accinctus iam totus et expeditus illas anhelat arden-
tius, resumat alacrius : ad studium quarum oscitantem paulo
ante illum et omnino nauseabundum ferula oportuit urgere
10 atque additis calcaribus acrius accendere. Quæ quidem muta-
tio uoluntatis, siue suapte ingenio, siue ab aura permutata
(qua ut sæpe compertum est atque usu uenit animorum habi-
tus nonnunquam uariantur) contigerit, certe undecunque tan-
dem processerit, mihi iucunda uenit tam læta, tam expectata,
15 quam illi utilis et summe necessaria : quando tantus sit af-
fectus, item pietas : tanta erga illum propensio nostra, ut pul-
chra illius institutione, receptorumque morum profectu, nil
æque cogitem, nec efficitur quicquam in uotis ducam.

Quod quum ita sit, enixius contendendum tibi est, impen-
20 siusque elaborandum, illum quem mihi affirmas aliquantulum
iam resipiscere, frugi esse, speique multum probitatis futuræ
de se repromittere : in tam sancto instituto et cursu pulcher-
rimo confirmes, adusque contineas, quo et tandem et melior
euadat, et se quotidie magis atque magis proficere haud peni-
25 teat. Quod ex animi sententia nostri tum demum sic continget,
modo illi uerbo et exemplo tu adsis, præesse illi quem, nedum

5 qui una &c.] on p. 246 21 multum &c.] on p. 247

2. pueri] viz., Cornelius Erdorf.
4-5. concæperis] viz., at the
removal to Viruli's house.

5. cœlo mutato] cp. l. 11 *aura
permutata* : Viruli's house was
outside the inner wall of the
town, and amongst gardens and

fields, whilst the Lily was inside
a block of houses belonging to
four streets — Oppendorp Street,
New Street, Penny Street and
St. Peter's cemetery.

9. ferula] Cp. *Epp.* 30, 12.

adesse uolui, vtpote cuius præceptis salutaribus, pulcherrimis-
que institutis, rudis adhuc totus ac plane informis, formare-
tur, jñ alterumque hominem (ut ita dicam) effigiaretur : homi-
nem scilicet ingenuis tam moribus adornatum quam uel elo-
quentia singulari præditum. Quibus coniunctis (si nostram
super his roges sententiam) tantum homini præstat homo, una
quantum ratione bruto. Vale.

BuslMS, 139-140 (f 9 r, v)

⟨Mechlin, Summer of 1507⟩

33. — TO FRANCIS FRISCOBALDI

- a* This letter, inscribed '*Francisco Friscobaldo*,' was evidently written a short while after *Epp.* 31 and 32, and was sent to Erdorf with another from Louis Ponzanus (*Epp.* 34, 9), to be handed to the addressee, so as to make him leave the Lily for Henry Viruli's house, and share John Becker's lessons, as he intended doing.
- b* Francis FRISCOBALDI, no doubt, belonged to the powerful family of Florentine bankers and merchants Frisco- or Frescobaldi, who had established branch offices at Bruges and Antwerp. He probably was a son of Jerome Friscobaldi, born about 1448 at Florence, who was already carrying on business with Bruges merchants in 1474, at times through the ministry of the procurator Antonio Gualterotti : *BrugEst.*, 222, 282, 287 ; *FuggZeit.*, 1, 278 ; Goris, 619. He soon established in Bruges, and, by 1507, he bought a site for a house in Antwerp : in fact, it was here in the Netherlands that his firm became powerful (*BrugEst.*, 374 ; *FuggZeit.*, 1, 278). From 1489 on, he frequently lent money to the Burgundian Court, and at Tommaso Portinari's death, he held for a time the famous pawn : '*il riccho fiordalisio di Borgogna*', which provided him with advantages, such as, for 1498, the entrance duties of English wool and the taxes of Gravelingen (*FuggZeit.*, 1, 277-79, 289, 11, 38). In Antwerp he did not merely speculate on ordinary goods-in-trade or landed property (Goris, 374, 393), but launched out on spices and foreign produce, chiefly provided by the Portuguese (*FuggZeit.*, 1, 272, 278 ; *BrugEst.*, 391 ; Goris, 230-31). He bought large quantities of alun from the countries under the Sultan, which reached him through England, and thus brought down on him in 1507, the resentment of the Pope, whose monopoly was upheld by interdict and excommunications ; the Court remonstrated, though most gently, with Jerome, whilst James IV of Scotland urged Louis XII to help him to intercede on his behalf with Julius II (Goris, 205-207 ; *BrugEst.*, 387).
- c* From 1509 dates a most busy connection with the Court of England : *FuggZeit.*, 1, 279 ; he supplied even cargoes of weapons and ammunition, such as that which was seized at Hamburg in 1512, and which he freed by using reprisals on vessels of the Easterlings : *BrugEst.*, 409-434. Indeed he enjoyed a great ascendancy over Maximilian, to whom he lent money in 1510, 1512 and again in 1515 ; in the latter

year, he obtained from Henry VIII a large credit to finance the Emperor's war in Italy; since, however, Jerome's means in Italy were not ample enough to provide the large amount wanted, he had to transfer the necessary coin; it caused an unfortunate delay in the military operations which was not prevented in time by the help requested from the Fuggers: *FuggZeit.*, I, 96, 279, 289; Goris, 393. If Jerome Friscobaldi had become reconciled with the Papal Court, in so far that, in 1515 and 1516, he was requested to gather and send to Rome the produce of the pardon and of the indulgence granted by Leo X (*BrugEst.*, 465; *FuggRom.*, I, 172, II, 198), he became suspected of having caused a delay in the army's progress so as to help France; he consequently lost all credit and favour with Maximilian, which he was unable to recuperate, for he died by the end of 1517; his five sons, who continued the business, could not stave off the failure of the once so powerful concern (May-June 1518). Still after paying off the debts, they managed to rebuild a society on joint account with the help of some friends, like Cardinals Campegio and Wolsey, under the firm of Lienard, or Leonard, Friscobaldi and Company, Leonard being the eldest son, the others Philip, John, Francesco and Peter (*BrugEst.*, 413, 465, 492; *FuggZeit.*, I, 278-80; *FuggRom.*, II, 228; Brewer, III, 54, pp. 1530, 1546, IV, p. 868).

d Francesco or Francisque Friscobaldi, after his initial training in his family, was entrusted to the care of the future favourite at the Court of Margaret of Austria, Remacle d'Ardenne (cp. *Carm.* VIII). As the latter availed himself of the opportunity to accompany one or more pupils to France, Francesco had, by the end of 1506 or in the beginning of 1507, to go and study at the Lily, where he made Cornelius Erdorf's acquaintance, and was soon gained to the scheme of sharing with his friend both Becker's tutoring and Viruli's house and board. Jerome de Busleyden was not remiss in seconding what he considered a move which, besides being a sign of gratitude of the boy to his master, was to produce pleasure to his nephew, and encourage him in the course of the earnest study that he seemed to have started. He therefore advised Francesco Friscobaldi, who was free to dispose of the matter himself (*Epp.* 34, 15¹⁷) to join Erdorf for his board and his lessons; he added even an encouraging letter to that effect from Louis Ponzanus, a friend of the Friscobaldi family.

e After his training in Louvain, Francesco entered his father's business and spent some years in England, making there several friends. By 1517 he was in Florence (Brewer, II, 2953), and after his father's death he gave, on January 29, 1518, procuration to his brother John to pay some of the debts by a deed passed before Jehan de Gayes, notary apostolic in Rome (*BrugEst.*, 492-93). On May 28, 1521, his brothers Leonard and John borrowed, in their name as well as in his and in that of their brother Philip, a sum of money, but on December 10 of that same year, as well as on July 4, 1522, Francesco was in Bruges and one of the parties present at the sale of his father's house to Count Francis de Melun, constable of Flanders: *BrugEst.*, 543, 547-48, 555. When about 1529, Lionardo, the eldest brother, who had been Wolsey's favourite, died, Francesco applied to the Cardinal with the request that he might continue to protect the concern, as he had done in the time of his father and of Lionardo (Brewer, IV, 5974-75). It is

not known whether Wolsey still had the time to tender much help. Matteo Bandello, the novelist (*Novelle*, II, 34), who lived some time in England, relates how Francesco Friscobaldi, in his misfortune, tried to realize there an outstanding debt of fifteen thousand ducats. Having gone there one day to claim that apparently hopeless title, he was recognized by Thomas Cromwell for the patrician who had taken pity on him when, some years before, being at Florence, he was in utter destitution, and who had generously helped him. On learning the plight of his old benefactor, the then powerful successor of Wolsey took him up in his house, helped him to recover his claim, and offered him a large capital to start a bank in London. But Francesco, who is praised by Bandello for his nice and liberal mind, preferred a quiet life and returned to Florence where he, soon after, died : *FuggZeit.*, I, 271, 280-81.

- f It might be surmised that the Francesco Friscobaldi referred to here, should have been identical with the chaplain of St. Donatian's Bruges, of that name, who is recorded to have been wounded by a confrater, 'D. Guillelmus Richafort, *musicus eximius*'; as the latter humbly requested to be forgiven, the Chapter pardoned him on December 2, 1532, but did not allow him to say Mass, though, or to come to the choir (Schrevel, I, 199, 195, sq). Still it is far more probable that this chaplain was the son of the Antony Friscobaldi, a relative of Jerome, who had settled at Bruges as early as 1489, and who died at Antwerp in 1533 (*FuggZeit.*, I, 276 ; Goris, 361) ; the 'Friscobaldi fratres quatuor', prosecuted at Bruges on account of a failure in June 1523 (*Cran.*, 60, 12-13) may have been his sons, and the brothers of that chaplain Francesco.

AVDIO Remaclum pædagogum, te tandem posthabito, in Galliam profectum, operam suam alteri locauisse : quod si ita est, e reque tua putes futurum in absentis locum alium surrogari, consuetudine cuius atque institutione melior euadas
 5 et doctior ; est Ioannes Borsalus, excellentis uir ingenij, prudentiæ singularis, moribus ornatus, multifaria doctrina præditus, ad huiusmodi munus feliciter obeundum maxime idoneus, vtpote annos iam multos in docendis bonis artibus, for-
 mandisque atque excolendis ingenijs uersatus. Qua in re ma-
 10 ximam sibi apud doctos comparauit laudem : est assequutus gloriam, testante et comprobante florentissimo (in quo iam agis) Louaniensi gymnasio, cui ipse Borsalus magno fuit de-

5 est] MS Est with a double curl, like an *ε* between E and s
 12 magno &c.] on p. 140

1. Remaclum] Remacle d'Ardenne : cp. *Carm.*, VIII, b-f.

5. Ioannes Borsalus] Cp. John Becker of Borselen : cp. *Epp.* 32, b-e.

8. annos iam multos] ever since 1498.

12. gymnasio] the Lily.

cori atque ornamento. Quod quum plus quam confessum sit, superuacaneum puto eum tibi pluribus commendare quem
 15 passim in literis candidatorum personant ora, suspiciunt iudicia, extollunt suffragia. Quare, ut paucis me absoluiam, tu ipse uideris an illius opera et congressione uti aliquando uelis; quod si tibi certum est, fac quam primum resciam. Quo sic cognito, probe curabo tantum ut uirum impetres,
 20 honesta quidem conditione oblata, te scilicet offerente et illo acceptante haud indigna. Interea uale; et si recte ualere ac præclare tecum agi cupis, expositam tibi hanc nostram operam non ægre admitte; cæterum obuijs, ut dicitur, manibus illam complectere. Iterum uale.

BuslMS, 140-141 (f 9 v-f 10 r)

⟨Mechlin, Summer of 1507⟩

34. — TO CORNELIUS ERDORF

a This letter addressed '*Cornelio suo, Sororis filio*,' was written on the same day as *Epp.* 33, which it accompanied, as the boy was requested to hand it to his friend Friscobaldi, together with another from Louis Ponzanus, a member of one of the Councils. The three concern the same subject, the finding of a new pupil for Becker and thus securing a means to encourage Erdorf in his good purpose: cp. *Epp.* 31, *b-c*.

b The 'Ludouicus PONZANUS' mentioned in this letter is for certain identical with the so-called *Louis Bouzan* or *Bouran*, whose name occurs amongst the members of the Great Council of Mechlin. He was appointed as successor to Nicolas Everardi on his promotion to the Presidency of the Holland Council, and his letters patent were signed in Brussels on October 6, 1509. He was a Genoese, and had promoted doctor of laws. In 1515 he was appointed councillor attached to the person of Archduke Charles, King of Spain, and was replaced at Mechlin by Richard Reyngher, or Rogier, Knight, by letters patent of December 18, 1515. It is more than likely that his name was Ponzani or Ponzano, as it was written twice by Vegerius, and not altered by Busleyden, who evidently knew him personally: *MalConM*, 57, 64; *MalconR*, 15-16: to him is inscribed the hexastich *De Nocte Natali Christi*: *Carm.*, VII: ad Ludo. Ponsanum Amicũ.

CVRAM et studium tuum (ne dicam officium aut pietatem) in rem Borsali mirifice laudo atque probo. Est enim

15. candidatorum] Becker was most successful in his teaching, which no doubt his students did not fail to proclaim; Busleyden's

nephew was an evident proof.
 23. obuijs... manibus] Erasmus: *Obuijs ulnis, Obuijs manibus*: *ErAdag.*, 675, 2.

indiciū legitimi gratique discipuli erga bene merentissimum
 præceptorem, cui raro uel nunquam quis potest ex æquo
 5 satisfacere. Quod quum ita sit, tantæ pietati tuæ operam
 meam accumulatam uolui, ut ita duplicata tanto foret apud
 Borsalum gratior et Franciscum efficacior. At ne opera
 nostra sic coniuncta nimium uiribus suis confidens, uana tan-
 dem existeret, necessarium duxi operam illi Ludouici Ponzani,
 10 ornatissimi Collegæ, subiungere, quod eum hominem plurimum
 apud Franciscum et fide posse et auctoritate ualere intelligam.
 Quas nostræ quoque comitantur, vtrasque harum tabellarius
 redditurus est tibi; eas tu porro Francisco trades obsignatas,
 monendo atque urgendo hominem ut quod ad hanc rem atti-
 15 net, non tam uotis nostris uelit satisfacere quam sibi ipsi bene
 consulere; maxime quum id ei sic ex sententia facere liceat &
 (ut audio) prorsus in manu eius situm sit, inconsulto etiam
 patre. Vale.

BuslMS, 259-263 (1 r-3 r)

<Mechlin, Summer of 1507>

35. — TO FRATER ARNOLD <VAN VESSEM>

of Tongerloo

a This letter inscribed: '*F̃ri Arnoldo Tongeroleñ.*', belongs, no doubt, to the latter half of 1507: perhaps the summer, as it refers to an organ recently installed in his mansion: l 32, sq. That organ, built by (a Nuremberg organ-builder, — probably Hans Suys, — had already been ordered some time before, as Busleyden wrote in the summer of 1506 to Nicasius Hackenay, through whose medium the instrument was bought, mentioning it as '*toties et tam perseveranter... promissum*' (*Epp.* 28, 17-18). Judging from his eagerness, it is not likely that Busleyden would have waited long before having the organ installed in his mansion, and, no doubt, he, at once, invited the able musician of Tongerloo Abbey, who for some time had been training his younger brother, who was to enter his service as soon as he was efficiently taught. The time that Bartholomew, the brother, had spent in the Abbey as a guest, was so considerable already that it had given some

3 indicium &c.] on p. 141 14 urgendo] before it objurgan is lined out S
 15 non] second non cr

1. Curam &c.] viz. the kindness and gratitude he showed to his preceptor to whom he tried to procure another pupil: cp. *Epp.* 31, c.

7. Franciscum] Friscobaldi: cp. *Epp.* 33, b-f.

9. Ludovici Ponzani] cp. *Carm.* vii, pr.

uneasiness or scruples to Arnold, as the possibility of entering the Premonstratensian Order could hardly be invoked, on one hand, and, on the other, as it caused a too large expense to his future master, who, no doubt, had to provide for him. It looks as if recently Busleyden had been told by Arnold that there seemed to be some perfidy or falsehood in keeping the young man much longer there under a wrong pretext: *ll* 19-21. He therefore wished to take him at once into his *familia*. That circumstance suggests as early a date as possible for this letter, for the *fraterculus*, who was *ætatis... adhuc satis... tene-riusculæ* (*ll* 3, 22-23), when this letter was written, was so full-grown in body and character in September 1517, that he brought back the mortal rests of his master from Bordeaux to Mechlin, besides conveying the most important part of his belongings and managing the servants (*Rek.*, 17 v, &c.; cp. before, §§ 76, sq; *HisTriLov.*, chaps. I, III); he afterwards conducted the affairs of the heritage, and spent several years in working for the interests, both financial and material, of the *Trilingue*: *HisTriLov.*, chaps. v-VIII.

- b 'Frater Arnold', an old friend (*l*53), was, to all probability, identical with the 'Winand Vessem' recorded in the *Necrologium* of Our Lady of Tongerlo, the Premonstratensian Abbey between Herenthals and Westerloo: a second Christian name is given to the members at their entry in the order. Arnold Winand van VESSEM — probably originary from Tilburg, — was priest and canon already by 1503, when he was appointed *pitantiarius*, master of the food of the community; in 1526 he was entrusted with the parish of Little Zundert, about 15 kilometers S.W. from Breda. He devoted there all his care to his flock until his death on February 13, 1536. Of his ability as musician hardly any mention seems to be made except in this letter. He did not only leave the memory of a pious and kind character, but also the means to continue his charity after his death: on February 3, 1536, he bequeathed, with the licence of his Abbot, several goods to the Masters of the H. Ghost to help them to clothe every year the two poorest of Zundert, and to have a Mass and an evening service celebrated there in honour of Our Lady on Sundays and feast days: *TongNecrol.*, 31. Most likely it was on account of those foundations, to which the Tongerlo Abbot was the collator, as well as of the experience gained under an elder relation, that as his successor was appointed, in the same month of February 1536 ¹⁾, his nephew 'Arnold de Vessem, *alias* van Loet or Loedt', born in 1496, also at Tilburg, who had taken the white Premonstratensian habit on June 23, 1520 after having studied at Orleans; he made his profession on June 9 (or 19) 1522, became priest and canon, and had served his brethren as cellarer from June 24, 1527, as 'pistor' and 'camerarius' from July 16, 1530. Through his religious zeal he made some enemies, who cruelly tortured and murdered him in his presbytery on July 19/20, 1557, thus becoming one of the three martyrs amongst the Tongerlo brethren in those troublesome years. In later times another nephew, John van Vessem, *alias* Vervloet, of Tilburg who had made his profession at Tongerlo on April 25, 1565, worked from November 28, 1580 to his death,

¹⁾ That appointment was approved of by the Bishop of Liège on June 21, 1536: Coppens, III, ii, 180.

April 4, 1606, in the same parish as his uncles : *AntvEpisc.*, 204; *Tong-Necrol.*, 141, 64; *Tongerloo*, 323-24; Coppens, III, II, 180. — In the XVIIth century another Arnold of Vessem, probably belonging to the same family was Abbot of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Hertogenbosch : J. B. Gramaye, *Taxandria* : Louvain, 1609 : 7, a, 15 a.

- c The *frater* taught music by Arnold, Bartholomew van VESSEM served his master most faithfully ; at his death he bestowed all his affection and devotion to what had been Busleyden's chief preoccupation in his last years, his *Collegium Trilingue*. For several years he worked with conscientious care and sagacious experience at the realization of that great scheme, instead of enjoying a peaceful life provided by the canonry at Aire which his master had secured for him. His great friend John Robbyns, dean of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, obtained for him a canonry in that church : unfortunately he did not enjoy it very long, for he died much before his time on April 29, 1538, even before he was ordained, according to the epitaph on his tomb in St. Rombaut's : *Hic jacet sepultus Dñus Bartolomeus Vessem Subdiac. & Canonic. hujus Eccl'iae qui obiit anº Dñi xv. C. xxxviii penultima mensis Aprilis R. i. p.* (*MalInscr.* 65). On April 30, 1538, the notary Robert Persoens made, at the request of the executors, an inventory of all the goods in his house in the *Heembeemd* : *IBM*3, 121, v - 124, r. — On June 18, 1517, on the eve of accompanying his master to Spain, he gave, in presence of the notary Walter Militis, procurator to Philip Fourdain, or Fourdin, Busleyden's chaplain, and to other friends, to see to his interests, and even to sustain law-suits for him in his absence : he was then only a '*clericus leodiensis*' : *RegNot.*, 307. Cp. *HisTriLov.*, chapt. I and XXI.

SALVE, SERUE DEI, MI FRATER ARNOLDE

ACCPEPI literas tuas propensissimæ erga me pietatis tuæ
 testes luculentissimas ; quibus, inter cetera, hoc unum
 quod imprimis placuit agnoui, scilicet fraterculum illum tuum
 arti musicæ iampridem operam strenue mandantem, tandem
 5 te duce et auspice clarissimum euasisse, maxime temperandis,
 moderandisque (quibus cantantium chorus iuuatur) organis ;
 quam pulchram institutionem suam, et felicem in ea arte suc-
 cessum ille tibi uni (post Deum Optimum Maximum) ferre
 debet acceptum. Præterea et tantum beneficium propensiori
 10 studio demereri, qui eum in tam laudabili et expetendo insti-
 tuto, non tam recte formaueris, quam uel plane confirmaueris :
 videlicet ultra praxim iamdudum traditam, addendo illi
 ipsius artis theoricam uniuersam, occasionem hinc illi ho-

4 mandantem] d cr 13 uniuersam] after it some space occasionem &c] on p 260

3. fraterculum] Bartholomew van Vessem.

nestam et pulcherrimum negotium relinquens. Quo quidem
 15 nonnunquam forte occupatus, poterit exhyllarando animum
 uitare otia fomenta omnium malorum, præterea et ipsis orga-
 nis et cymbalis bene sonantibus pæana superum personare
 et orgia diuum. Quod quum ita est, nil ergo sit, mi Arnolde,
 quod dubites te aliquando aut perfidum hinc aut falsum ar-
 20 guam, quod is frater tuus tamdiu tecum egerit, religioni non-
 dum destinatæ, ut scripseras, traditus. Quod sic abs te factum
 et laudo et probo, habita inprimis ratione ætatis illius adhuc
 satis, ut nosti, teneriusculæ ; deinde quod ipsa iam arte per-
 cepta, is nondum fundamentum adeo firmum iecerit, quo ma-
 25 xime fretus illi satis licuisset uel tradita fideliter retinere, uel
 sine doctore aliquid ultra aliquando tentasse. Quem ut interea
 semel audiam, coram periculum facturum quantum olim pro-
 fecit, quantum callum in ea arte iam fecerit ; postremo quam
 dexterrimum, expeditum, peritumque modulandis ipsis orga-
 30 nis quotidie sese præstat : velim, modo ita uacet, idque per
 Abbatem sic liceat, hinc ad dies octo una cum fratre hic
 adsis, ambo mecum audituri, non sine summa uoluptate or-
 gana illa præclara, nuperrime in ædibus nostris, a Germano
 quodam Norico magno ingenio inuenta, mira arte faberrime

16 fomenta omnium malorum] *order reversed by a and b C*
 18 est] 28 arte &c] on p. 261

19. arguam &c] viz., for protracting unduly the time of the youth's teaching, which was at Busleyden's charge.

20. religioni &c] it has always been a custom in bigger abbeys to offer liberal hospitality to young men desirous of entering the order, so as to get acquainted with the life they are to lead.

31. Abbatem] Tongerlo Abbey had at that time as Abbot Antony TsGrooten, born at Oosterwyk in 1460, who made his profession on July 11, 1482 ; he was elected Abbot on August 28, 1504 and died on April 14, 1530, after a most beneficent management as well for the intellectual and material wants as for the religious direction of his Abbey, which he enlarged by new buildings and enriched by a library : *Tongerloo*, 283-85, 288-304.

33-34. Germano quodam Norico] most probably the Nurenberg organ-builder Hans Suys, who had also a shop or an office in Cologne : cp. § 42 ; *Epp.* 28, 15, sq.

34. inuenta] Suys took the engagement in 1509 to provide for Our Lady's in Antwerp : Eengen Orgele voort eengen Doeve van drie Manieren, ende een Cibeles van drie manieren : nog twee manieren van fluiten ende Hoelpypen, nog Wegelen, Walthornen, Scheelpypen, Trompetten, Schalmeyen, sincken Royspypen ende Tamboureyne ende nog meer andere selsame stemmen die nooyt in orgelen geweest en zyn... Grégoir, 173, 182, 183. — It is most probable that Busleyden's organ, too, had some novel arrangements and new sets of tones.

35 absoluta. Opus sane uti rarum, mirificum, ita et mea quidem
sententia passim memorandum : quo quidem nonnunquam
tractando audiendoque non solum tibi dabitur doctas exer-
cere manus, aures pascere delicatas, cæterum, quod longe
præstabilius est, licebit inter hæc audiendum incomparabilis
40 illius harmoniæ obiter meminisse qua æternum mulcentur,
reficiuntur, fouentur beati illi spiritus, pientissimæ cælestes
animæ, quarum multiplex chorus et milia lætantium psalterio
decachordo, Neomenia tuba, ductilibus tubis, tympano, choro,
chordis, organis, cymbalis, cythara Domino gloriose hymnum
45 canentes, tam suaue melos, tam dulcissimum iubilum, concor-
dem symphoniam, inexhaustis uocibus depromunt, qualem
unquam nec auris audiuit, nec aliquando humanus captus sat
pro dignitate memorare posset. Quos utinam coram audire
itidem detur nobis, illorum tandem expetendum (ad quod
50 nostra tendunt uota) consortium feliciter assequutis.

In quo sic assequendo qui adhuc sum mundo totus immer-
sus, uelim tu me iuua, mundo iampridem abdicatus, tuis pijs
uotis, charitate inprimis (qua me olim amplecteris) æstuantibus,
scilicet apud Illum qui totus incircumscripta charitas,
55 bonitas, pietas, amor est : neminem usquam perire, omnes
quandoque saluos fore, uitam sitiens animarum, pro quibus
animam olim suam ponens, iure merito pientissimi Saluatoris,
acerrimi Adsertoris, perpetuique Vindicis et Liberatoris est
nomenclaturam sortitus. Dignus certe titulus, par prærogatiua
60 tanto beneficio condigna quod tanti constitit ; vtpote quo nil
aut maius, aut carius, aut excellentius usquam est, aliquando
fuit, unquam erit. Vale.

BuSlMS, 248-250 (B 5 v-B 6 v)

⟨Mechlin, last months of 1507⟩

36. — TO JOHN BECKER, OF BORSELEN

This letter, inscribed '*To. Borsalo.*', evidently follows *Epp.* 33 and 34, marking a continuation of the pupil's good dispositions, which the tutor had wished to reward with a present : it may have been written in the last months of the same year 1507.

SALUUS SIS, MI DULCISSIME IOANNES

VT tandem tibi, nedum non morem gererem quam uel
 consilio tuo parerem, quam tantopere efflagitasti cocci-
 neam mitto infulam, una cum duplici materia, conficiendis in
 usum pueri duabus (quas diploides uocant) interulis : vnā
 5 scilicet diebus festis atque æstate, alteram uero feriatīs hyeme-
 que accommodandā ; quæ interim ne compressæ, nimiumue
 coartatæ puero, aut inutiles fiant aut molestæ, sed satius
 iuxta corporis modum habitumque dimensæ, legitimam suam
 accipiant formam atque mensuram, etiam atque etiam cura-
 10 bis. Hanc tamen infulam, nolim illi quamprimum concedas :
 cæterum ardens pueri uotum certa impetrandi spe tamdiu
 pasces atque eo protrahes quo tibi tandem unam ex Terentia-
 nis Comoedijs integram memoriter fideliterque reddiderit.
 Solent quidem liberalium ingeniorum liberorum ingenia non-
 15 nunquam plus moueri blandicijs, ac quibusdam propositis
 præmijs ad studia excitari uehementius quam rugosa fronte,
 sæueroque supercilio uerba quotidie atque plagas inferente.
 Quod quidem ita sit necne, illius nunc data occasione pericu-
 lum tibi licebit facere : sic obiter experiundo, utrum istorum
 20 in puero plus ualeat ; juxta quod (ubi id demum expertus sis)
 ipsius ingenium quoties remissum fuerit aut languidum, du-
 cere in tua (quo uelis) uota, ac minori negotio flectere possis :
 jñ quo uno (mihi crede) summum inprimis officium ac primæ
 partes optimi præceptoris nimirum consistunt uersanturque.
 25 Cuius rationem facile crediderim tam te hucusque habuisse
 quam sperauerim post hac habiturum esse, adeo ut ex insti-
 tuto, diligentia tua intercedente et cura, una cum pueri docili-
 tate, ingenij acumine et felici memoria iam pene nobis per-
 suasum sit eum tandem cumulatissime responsurum suæ
 30 spectatæ indoli, tuo labori, expectationi meæ; atque (ut paucis
 absoluam) utriusque nostrum suorumque omnium gloriæ: quam
 ita sibi parentes (quo nomine nec ipsi præceptores defraudan-
 tur) haud iniuria uendicant ex liberis liberaliter institutis,
 probatis scilicet moribus et bonis literis undecunque ornatis-

11 tamdiu] *over line S* 14 Solent &c.] *on p. 249* 22 tua] *corr. from tuam*
 29 responsurum &c.] *on p. 250*

4. pueri] Cornelius Erdorf.

31. suorumque] i. e., his family.

- 35 *simis. Interea uale, inter probatos tam mihi dilectissime quam ex dilectis maxime probate ; hospitem tuum cuius cordatas atque humanissimas literas accepi, nostro nomine animitus salutaturus.*

BuslMS, 265-267 (4 r-5 r)

⟨Mechlin, latter part of 1507⟩

37. — TO JAMES DE BLASERE FLANDERS COUNCILLOR

- a* This letter, inscribed '*Iacobo Blaser, Consiliario Flandriæ.*', refers to a plea which the addressee had pronounced in Paris Parliament in the Spring of 1506 ; Busleyden had heard so much praise about it that he requested the text, to have it copied. He returned it with much delay, which he ascribed to the copyist. The letter, which was sent with the document, shows the author's sincere desire to gather all possible information and all documents that might be useful for his work as juridical councillor : art and literature did not make him forgo in the least his stern duty.
- b* James de BLASERE, member of the Council of Flanders, a native of Bruges, was the son of John de Blasere, who from 1458 to 1478 had filled there several times the office of 'chef-homme', and once that of councillor of the town : he married Catherine de Joncheere, who died on Sept. 5, 1493 : he followed her on July 3, 1512, being buried in the St. George Chapel of Our Lady's, Bruges (BostE, x; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 285 ; *BrugInscr.*, II, 359, 474, 479, 37, 452). James, his second son, matriculated as a student of the Lily in Louvain on August 31, 1478 (*LibIntII*, 136) ; he afterwards became pensionary of his native town, and then First Councillor in the Council of Flanders : *FlandCon.*, 213-14. He certainly will have put there to good use the knowledge and the experience gained by the office he had filled at Bruges. Judging from this letter, he had defended in Paris Parliament the right of the Count of Flanders Philip the Fair, or that of his son Charles, against the encroachments of the centralizing Louis XII.
- c* It happened probably as a sequel of the veering in the policy of the untrustworthy French King, who resented the bad treatment which had been given in the Spring of 1505 to a royal sergeant sent with a writ of justice to Flanders ; six commissaries had been dispatched, who on August 23, 1505, summoned Philip the Fair to make amends, and as it produced no result, Paris Parliament summoned him to come and hear them pronounce that Flanders, Artois and Charolais was going to be seized and kept by the King until satisfaction should be given for his complaints. Being ready to leave for Spain, Philip sent five envoys to Louis XII, — amongst them John of Luxemburg and Philip Wielant ; they left Brussels on September 16, 1505. Grievances which had been forgotten since centuries, were brought up, such as the

36. *hospitem*] Henry Viruli : cp. *Epp.* 30, *b-d*.

royal rights on vacant Flemish episcopal sees, as well as the ownership of the Land of Waes, of the Lordship of Rupelmonde, and of the territory of Ostrevant about Bouchain, which were claimed as French estates, as the Scheldt was the proper limit, and homage was demanded for them. On October 25, 1505, an agreement was reached at Coutres, according to which Louis XII was to receive the revenues of the vacant see of Tournai, and a delay of six months was granted to plead the matter of the ownership of the territories of Waes, Rupelmonde and Ostrevant before Paris Parliament. It was most probably in that suit, which was ventilated in the summer of 1506, that de Blasere pronounced a plea which was famous for its effectiveness, at least in the opinion of people in these provinces ¹⁾; for in the hostile atmosphere which then weighed on France's King and government, the Flemish rights and traditions had little chance of being recognized and acknowledged: the question was even only solved provisionally at the Treaty of Cambrai on December 10, 1508, stipulating that Charles of Austria was not to do homage for the estates he held from France before he was twenty: Henne, I, 71-75, 206-208; *MarguOK*, 236, sq.

- d On June 10, 1500, James de Blasere married Adrienne de Vos, — or, *des Riches* —, Lady-heiress of Ydewalle and Beaupré († Dec. 14, 1539), daughter of James, Lord of Ydewalle, and Isabeau of Halewyn; he died on October 2, 1534, and was buried in the oratory of the Dominicans in Ghent (*Brug&Fr.*, I, 285-86, 412-15, II, 363-65, 371). They left several children: their son James, Lord of Walle, his successor as councillor, Sept. 27, 1534, and afterwards vice-president of Flanders, married Jane de Bets, or Bette, and died at Ghent on June 9, 1557 (*BelgDom.*, 41; *FlandCon.*, 114, 213-14, 225; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 288, VI, 239, 246; *BrugInscr.*, II, 404, 407); their daughter Adrienne married Josse of Halewyn, Knight, Lord of Merckem (*Brug&Fr.*, I, 286, 391, 224, II, 410, V, 10, VI, 245); their second daughter Barbara, lady of Beaupré, became the wife of John de Vos, Lord of Herlebout or Heurlebout (*Brug&Fr.*, I, 286, 457, III, 87); whereas John de Blasere, the second son ²⁾, was a member, and afterwards President, of Flanders Council, and from December 18, 1562 to 1583, a member of the Great Council of Mechlin: Matthieu, 238, 243. He married first Anne, daughter of Robert Hellin ³⁾, and afterwards Jane van Erp; he died on August 17, 1587 at Tournai, where he was buried in St. Peter's (*Brug&Fr.*, I, 287-88). Cp. *MalConM*, 124; and *LibIntII*, 74, v (James de Blasere, Sept. 18, 1469), 103, v (Adr. de Blasere de Geraldimonte, Jan. 26, 1474); *GandErVir.*, 18, 47, 76, 94, 117.

¹⁾ *FlandCon.*, 213-214, mentions as a 'fait remarquable' quoted by J. L'Espinoy (*Recherches de Flandre*, p. 936) that James de Blasere, summoned by the King of France before his Paris Parliament and questioned about the rights and claims of the County of Flanders, answered so fitly and peremptorily that it pleased and satisfied Parliament.

²⁾ He was classed the 9th at the promotion of March 30, 1546: Joannes de Blasere, Gandavensis: *ULPromRs.*, 135.

³⁾ Robert Hellin was the son of Robert — no doubt the Bruges Pensionary, Cranevelt's colleague and John de Fevyn's brother-in-law: *Cran.*, xlvij, xciii, xcvi, 51, a, 221, 28, &c.; *BelgDom.*, 42-43.

REDDITÆ sunt mihi nuper doctissimæ literæ tuæ, una cum luculentissima illa actione qua tu pro summa tua in Comitum fide, frequenti Parisiorum Senatu iustissimas ipsius Comitum partes, simul et insignia iura latissimæ ditionis
 5 eius, es (ut audio) et acerrime prosequutus et feliciter tutatus, scilicet contra inuisos olim suos (quos iam pridem probe nosti) uilitigatores: quibus nil magis animo sedet, nil æque in uotis est quam florentissimam dominationem eius, simul et amplissimam qua pollet auctoritatem, suis dolis, technis, imposturis
 10 et iniquis usurpationibus indies labefactare, sibi adserere. Quo quidem honesto studio laudatissimæ actionis tuæ, non minus tua in Principem spectata fides, quam uel memoria citandis authoribus, uel ingenium retorquendis malignantium tælis, clarissime emicuit : argumentum sane plusquam con-
 15 fessum, idque nunquam intermoriturum, eximiæ probitatis tuæ, fidei et doctrinæ. Quæ quidem in tam iusta causa, in tam spatiosissimo dicendi campo, etsi parum apud æquos iudices, adeo uires suas ostendit, neruos omnes intendit ut tandem ijs facile calumniantium conatus, aduersantium thri-
 20 cæ, machinæ, spicula irrita cesserint, in ipsos suos unde uibrata erant authores retorta. Quæ actio si forte serius ac speraueras,

5 et acerrime &c.] on p. 266
 19 thricæ] r tri-

11 studio] before it desyd is crossed off
 20 in ipsos &c.] on p. 267

3. Comitum] Philip the Fair as Count of Flanders.

6. inuisos olim suos] no doubt the deceitful Louis XII, and especially Engelbert of Cleves, Count of Nevers, Auxerre, Étampes and Réthel, who had been a friend, councillor, and ambassador of Philip the Fair, — on August 10, 1501, he was one of those who signed the treaty of Lyons, by which Charles of Austria and Claude of France were to be joined in marriage. He became a most dangerous enemy on account of a quarrel about some claims, such as those on his county of Étampes, which had been, he said, unrighteously divided in 1401 by their common ancestor Philip the Bold, and seized by Charles the Bold; he started a lawsuit against Philip, of which neither of them saw the end. He

passed into Louis XII's service, who placed him at the head of the commissaries sent to urge satisfaction for the bad treatment of a French royal sergeant in Flanders; on August 23, 1505, he took act of the Archduke's refusal to make amends, and threatened him with the penalties that would follow: Henne, I, 31, 71-72.

17-18. parum apud æquos iudices] no doubt the will of the tyrannical King weighed heavy on the French jurists of those days, when, — at least in France, — it was considered quite natural that old traditions and even solemn treaties were overlooked, since the territory of the kingdom was considered as inalienable, as was declared at the meeting of the States-General at Tours in 1506: W. H. Hudson, *France*: London, 1917: 228.

ego quoque destinaram, iam ad te redeat, nil sit quod hinc mihi succenseas. Cæterum si quid in hoc peccatum est, id qualecunque sit, puero meo notario, cui dudum eam exscri-
 25 bendam crediderim condones. Interea tantæ tuæ in me propensionem simul et benevolentiae gratiam habeo plurimam, quæ me adeo expetenda ac pulcherrima lucubratione sua dignata fuerit : cuius quidem lucubrationis, etsi me aliquando parem præstare imitatore nequiuiro, illius tamen perpetuus admi-
 30 rator et laudator, utinam idoneus, nusquam deero. Vale bellissime, bonorum doctissime, doctorum optime.

BuslMS, 142 (f 10 v)

⟨Mechlin, latter part of 1507⟩

38. — TO LUIGI MARLIANO

a This letter, entitled '*Aloysio Marliano Medico Princ.*', was written from Busleyden's mansion, — which was ready in 1507, — in favour of a nephew who was then staying with him ; having fallen ill, he had been treated by the Court physician. It aimed at getting the recipe for a preservative which had been promised, as well as the favour of a letter from the Italian erudite, who had recently returned from Spain whereto he had accompanied Philip the Fair. It may be dated in the second half of 1507, possibly in 1508.

b Luigi, or Aloisius, MARLIANO was born from a noble family in Milan : he may have been the son of John Francis Marliani, senator of Milan, ambassador of Duke John Galeas Mary Sforza to Innocent VIII in 1485 ¹⁾ : Polain, III, 2616, 1, 282 ; perhaps a brother to John Albert Marliani, patrician of Milan : Polain, III, 3199. He studied medicine, and entered the service of Lodovico and Massimiliano Sforza, after having been received as a member of the College of Physicians of his native town in 1484. He came to our provinces with the young Prince Maximilian, and at his leaving, was engaged as councillor and physician by Philip the Fair, whom he served for several years : Daniel and John-Antony de Marlian, recorded as squires of the Stables of the Archduke in 1517 and 1521 (Gachard, 505, 513), were probably his sons ²⁾. At the death of his wife, Marliano entered orders, and received several preferments, although residing at Court, where he devoted to study the time that was not taken up by his office ³⁾.

¹⁾ His *Oratio* was printed without name or date (probably by Stephen Plannck, in Rome) under the title : *Jo. Francisci Marliani Mediolanensis : Magnifici Antonij filij : Illustrissimi Ducis Mediolani legati : oratio habita apud Innocentium Octavum Pontificem maximum : Anno dni. M. cccc. lxxxv. tertio. calendas quintiles*. Cp. Polain, III, 2616.

²⁾ One of them is referred to in Spinelly's letter to Wolsey, April 11, 1521, as 'the son of the bishop of Toy', who expressed great regret at Chievres' inclination to the French : Brewer, III, 1223.

³⁾ In 1509 he had for a time as secretary Remacle d'Ardenne (*Carm.* VIII, c), through whom Erasmus sent him his greetings on June 1, 1516 : Allen, II, 411, 8, III, 803, 8.

In the first days of 1506 he accompanied his master on his voyage to Spain, which he described in an *Epistola* ¹⁾; on their forced landing in England he probably made there the acquaintance of Erasmus' friend and protector Andrew Ammonius (Allen, I, 189, 218). At Philip's decease, he became the physician of his son Charles, with whom he was a very great favourite. He suggested to him the famous device of the two columns of Hercules with the words *Plus Oultre*, putting right the belief of antiquity that those columns were the *nec plus ultra* of the inhabited world, not only alluding to the newly discovered America, but also presaging the centuries of progress and intellectual development inaugurated by humanism. Charles was so pleased with that device that, about August 1516, he rewarded Marliano with the see of Tuy in Galicia, saying: 'Je vous donne *plus oultre* que vous me dites' (Moeller, 250).

c He became a most influential member of Charles's Council, in so far that his kinsman Pietro Vermigli Martyr called him *Cæsaris semi-anima*. On October 27, 1516, he preached the opening sermon to the Chapter of the Golden Fleece celebrated in Brussels (published probably in 1517: NijKron., I, 1495, and reprinted in Basle: P. Gengenbach, June 1517); he accompanied his master to Spain in 1517 as private secretary, and afterwards assisted at his coronation, and at the diet of Worms. There he held an *Oratio in Martinum Luterum*, which distinguishes itself from the rest of the polemic literature by its mildness and its choice form. He points out how many of the German humanists had impaired their emulation of Italy into a malevolent criticism of Church and Pope; he states that the defects of the ministers of a really good thing do not spoil it, and he tried to help and make more acceptable the teaching about indulgences, about Roman primacy and about confession, which evidently had frightened Luther into his opposition (*BeitClem.*, III, 4-9; Lauchert, 226-29).

d That *Oratio* and its author were at the time much admired by the Papal Nuntio Jerome Aleander, who wrote most appreciatingly about them in his reports to Rome (*BalanR*, 28, 55, 78, 82), but he mixed them with slander on Erasmus. Thus on February 12, 1521 he once again expresses his surprise that the great humanist made such a good impression in Rome, although he writes worse things than Luther; many of the leading men, and especially the Bishop of Tuy, he adds, consider that some of Martin's worst books, were written by Erasmus, and hold that those which go under the humanist's name, are filled with most dangerous errors (*BalanR*, 55). No doubt, Aleander wanted to make it appear as if his reports were not disfigured by personal hatred (*BalanR*, 55), and he therefore was pleased to quote Marliano's opinion; nor did his move escape the eye of Erasmus' friends, who were not remiss in letting him know, so much the more since, no doubt, owing to Aleander's influence, the *Oratio* was understood to insinuate that Luther's worst errors were to be attributed to the Humanist, suspected of instigating the whole disturbance. Although not being correspondents, the latter and Marliano had always been on

¹⁾ *Epistola de Calamitosa Philippi Hispaniæ Regis in Hispaniam Navigatione*: Strassburg, 1514; Vienna, 1514: Trit., 425; Lauchert, 223; *Epp.* 48, 102, n.

friendly terms, as results from a letter of the last weeks of 1516, by which one Alvar sent to Erasmus a poem praising the newly appointed bishop of Tuy for his medical knowledge ¹). In fact Erasmus always treated Marliano most considerately: on June 1, 1516, he wanted Remacle d'Ardenne to greet him 'diligenter': Allen, II, 411, 8; afterwards, when Marliano was in Spain, Peter le Barbier was regularly requested to fulfil that friendly office (Allen, III, 695, 50, 794, 85, 803, 8-5), to which is alluded in the letter of June 1520, recommending Ulrich von Hutten on his way to Brussels (Allen, IV, 1114, 13).

e No doubt Erasmus was annoyed at the slander that was spreading about favouring Luther and about being the author of libels like the *Acta Academiae Lovaniensis* and the *Vita S. Nicolai* (*MonHL*, 207-213), as well as of some of the writings that went under the name of the Wittenberg monk. He therefore wrote a most peremptory letter to Marliano dated from Louvain, March 25, 1521, in which he strongly denied having ever helped Luther in his works, or having meddled with him otherwise than with the aim of putting a satisfactory end to his revolt, which had been, he thought, preposterously dealt with. Expressing his diffidence about Aleander's feelings towards him (*MonHL*, 251), he decidedly assured that not even death would separate him a finger's width from the Roman Catholic Church (Allen, IV, 1195).

f That letter made an excellent impression on Marliano; for in his reply of April 7, 1521, dated from Worms, he recalls how, through Barbirius, he had advised him not to lose his time answering contradictors who only wish to gain renown by being vanquished by Erasmus; also how on his return he had requested him not to have anything in common with Luther, which was more than granted. He also declares that Aleander never said, in his hearing, a disobliging word about Erasmus, and he owns that he himself does not approve, any more than Erasmus, of the method of repression which made Luther wild instead of healing him. He would have added to his letter the text of two *Orationes* against Luther, the second being much sterner than the first, if he were not making ready for returning; he hoped to have the opportunity before long of talking about many things which he now neither would nor could mention (Allen, IV, 1198). Unfortunately that hope never realized; if Marliano received Erasmus' reply of April 15, to his most welcome letter (Allen, IV, 1199), he did not survive very long, as he was laid up with the pest that raged at Worms, and died in the night between May 10 and 11, 1521, so that he certainly did not receive the letter by which Leo X thanked him, on May 4, 1521, for what he had done in the struggle against Luther (*ReichstAkt.*, II, 903, 907; *BalanR.*, 212; Læmmer, 9). Cp. Lauchert, 221-229; Allen, II, 411, 8, III, p. xxv, IV, p. xxv; *ReichstAkt.*, II, 461, 520, sq.; *BalanR.*, 55, 223-24; *BeitClem.*, III, 4-9; *KkErLuFrie.*, 75-77; *KkAlDep.*, 56; Brieger, 24, 60, 72, 79; Tiraboschi, VII, ii, 1009, sq.

g The first *In Martinum Lutherum Oratio* was printed several times; the second may have been the '*In Lutherum Oratio ad Princip. & D.*

¹) Allen, II, 506; EE, 1857, c, sq, quoting Alvar's poem on Marliano: in that letter there is no 'sneering' in the mention of the anathema (*KkErLuFrie.*, 76), as it is part of the contrast with Æsculapius.

Georg. Saxoniae Duc.’, issued in Leipzig in 1522 : the scarcity of that volume prevents stating whether it is merely a reprint of the first *Oratio* dedicated to Duke George of Saxony, or a different speech all together (Lauchert, 224-226). That same incertitude hovers over other writings ascribed to Marliano, which possibly only exist in some lists of rare and out-of-the-way books : amongst them a *Silva de Fortuna*, of 1503 ; *De Bataviae Laudibus*, of 1511 (cp. *Epp.* 48), and the letter describing Philip the Fair’s ill-omened voyage to Spain, of 1514 (*Epp.* 47, 89-90, 48, 102, *nn* ; Lauchert, 223). Thus little remains of the work of this zealous and untirable erudite, on whom no friend could prevail to leave his study for a cosy talk over a comfortable meal, as Busleyden experienced : *Epp.* 47, 48, 49. He left a manuscript in-folio entitled : *Epistolæ ad diversos Principes*, also containing *Diversa Opuscula* : in 1640 it belonged to Groenendael Abbey (*BibBelg-Man.*, II, 137) and has since then disappeared. That loss seems sad, considering the interest of the few letters of Marliano preserved accidentally in the correspondence of his countryman Peter Vermigli Martyr (*Opus Epistolarum* : Amsterdam, 1670), or the one dated from Ghent, October 27, 1513 which serves as preface to *Symph. Chamberii Symphonia Platonis* (Paris, J. Badius, April 18, 1516), or the one addressed to Busleyden, which, on account of its hearty praise of Holland, was quoted in Cornelius Gerard’s *Batavia*, edited by Bonaventura Vulcanius in 1586 : cp. *Epp.* 48.

NEPOS noster ualetudinarius, post unum Deum in tua promissa ope respirans, pristini uigoris appetentissimus, uel exiguae moræ (ut ægroti solent) impatiens, puerum hunc nostrum ad te mittit, qui schædam illam antidotariam referat
 5 quam nobis tantopere efflagitantibus, breui præscribere recepisti; quod ut non tam iuxta nostrum quam ipsius male habentis uotum ocysus præstes, non est opus te pluribus moneam, quando iampridem tuam sat nouimus fidem, tam prouidam, scilicet, ut ægre falli possit : tam spectatam, ut fallere nemi-
 10 nem uelit. Præterea iamdudum debitor es mihi unius (ut nosti) epistolæ : uelim aliquando debitum expungas, alioqui magno aliquo malo tuo tandem probabis quam sim exactor durus : quare dum licet, caue ne diutius maneas in albo nostrorum nominum, nomen tu ipse primum. Vale ; ex adi-
 15 bus nostris.

I. Nepos] Either Cornelius Erdorf, on a holiday (cp. *Epp.* 31, b, c) or one of Giles de Busleyden’s sons, the eldest of whom, Francis, seems to have been his uncle Jerome’s favourite : cp. before, § 16.

10-14. debitor es mihi &c.] cp. *Epp.* 24, 11, sq, 50, 93.

12-13. exactor durus] cp. *Epp.* 50, 93 and 58, 6 ; *rigidus... exactor* : *Epp.* 24, 19.

14. nomen... primum] a similar expression occurs on *Epp.* 39, 13.

BuslMS, 114-116 (e 6 v-e 7 v)

⟨Mechlin, last months of 1507⟩

39. — TO ADRIAN SANDELICUS

Dean of Antwerp

- a* This letter is entitled '*Hadr. Sandelico Antuerpi Decano.*'; it is contemporary with *Epp.* 38 (cp. l 13, *n*) and belongs, no doubt, to the last months of 1507, since Sandelicus was appointed Dean in that year; moreover, Busleyden was looking forward to the delivery of the famous cup (which he later on illustrated with several verses, *Carm.* XXI,v) to complete his mansion and *supellex* made ready by 1507. The five letters following were no doubt despatched at some intervals during a few months (*Epp.* 44, 14), as the silversmith did not finish the work which Busleyden was waiting for most impatiently.
- b* Adrian SANDELICUS (possibly Sandelyn) was one of Busleyden's fellow-students at Padua, where he acted as witness at his promotion to Doctor of Laws on February 8, 1503 (*PDoct.*, 116). On his return to our provinces, he was appointed canon of Our Lady's, Antwerp, and in 1507 he was elected Dean of the Chapter, of which office he took possession on October 7 of that year (*AntwDiercx.*, III, 266). He thus succeeded Gismund Hofweger, who had been installed on Nov. 19, 1502, in the place of Francis de Busleyden who had held that post, at least by name, from Oct. 1, 1498 until his death: cp. before §§ 5, 6. During Sandelicus' tenure several great improvements were started: not only the new organ, which Hans Suys of Nuremberg was to build — cp. *Epp.*, 28, 18, 35, *a*, and § 42; but the largest bell, to be baptized under the name of *Carolus*; it was not hung up before October 1519.
- c* Dean Sandelicus did not stay long in office since he died prematurely on November 18, 1512; he was buried in Our Lady's Church: his friend the secretary Peter Gillis adorned his tomb with these verses:

Hoc tumulo Musæ, Charites, Astræa quiescunt,
Quo sua SANDELICVS membra ADRIANVS habet.

suggesting that the deceased was remarkable for his literature, his kindness and his justice (*SweMon.*, 59); it indicates the studies he pursued at the University, and explains the friendship that linked him with the Mechlin Councillor. At the subsequent election, Adrian of Utrecht, Dean of Louvain and Prince Charles's preceptor, was chosen as his successor, but he yielded that office to a competitor, James de Bannissiis, secretary of the Emperor Maximilian, probably when he was sent to Spain: *AntwDiercx.*, III, 266-267; *AntwEpisc.*, 105; *AntwHist.*, I, 559, IV, 8, VII, 614.

ACCEPI tuas quibus (quod alias semper) agnoui egregiam
operam quam poculo ex sententia conficiundo impendis;

2. poculo] no doubt a drinking
cup which was afterwards cele-
brated by three distichs and two

monostichs *ad Poculum Baccho
Sacrum*: *Carm.* XXI, v.

quo in officio id sane præstas quod semper præstare es solitus,
 uirum scilicet tum officiosum, tum rebus amicorum maxime
 5 intentum, adeo ut quum hac in parte omnibus quidem, nedum
 mihi, abundo satisfacias, tibi ipsi tamen haud satisfacies :
 tanta siquidem in omnes tua est pietas, obuia passim et ex-
 posita humanitas, ut nihil tibi uidearis præstitisse nisi
 adhuc officio beneficium, beneficio officium accumulares. Dij
 10 faxint, si minus (quod timeo) totum, saltem unam tantorum
 meritorum particulam aliquando expungam. Interea uelim
 me totum in ære tuo habeas locatum, nomina inter tot tua
 nomen primum, pro quo paulatim luendo, nisi mihi non sol-
 uendo extanti aliquid induleris moræ, tandem uel turpiter
 15 decoquam, uel misere stytem emendicem necesse est. Verum
 de ijs interim satis.

Reliquum est te si pateris oratum uelim fabrum ipsum
 moras nectentem, ac semper aliqua (quibus rem differat) im-
 probe causantem, ad auspicatum opus urgeas, aliquam illi
 20 idæam elegantem et formulam præscribendo quæ inprimis
 ad rem ipsam faciat, antiquitatem (cuius amator es) redoleat,
 simulque intuentium oculos sua præstantia pascat atque te-
 neat : non tam in ea suspicientes sculptam, quæcumque fuerit
 hystoriam, quam uel ipsius nobilis artificis miram et raram
 25 industriam, qui uel hinc tibi plurimum debebit quod insti-
 tutum opus, non solum auspicijs tuis inchoauerit, cæterum
 (quod maius est) ductu tuo, ne lineam quidem transsiliendo, ad
 amussim formauit. Quo aliquando curis uacui, genio indulgen-
 tes, bene poti, lætum pæana canentes, orgya Bacchi celebra-
 30 bimus, una tecum, Corculo meo, simul N. et N. ,
 nostris olim commilitonibus et Bacchi deuotis cultoribus : qui-
 bus omnibus bene esse opto, teque cum ijs recte ualere et
 serio semper triumphare. Vale.

11 meritorum &c.] on p. 115 13 nisi mihi] in MS between brackets
 27 trans-/siliendo] 30 simul &c.] on p. 116

13. nomen primum &c.] a similar idea is expressed in *Epp.* 38, 13-14.

BuslMS, 116-117 (e 7 v-e 8 r)

〈Mechlin, last weeks of 1507〉

40. — TO DEAN ADRIAN SANDELICUS

This letter, addressed '*Hadr. Sandelico Antuer. decano...*', was probably written in 1507, a short while after *Epp.* 39, as it refers to the *Bacchi Poculum* ordered in Antwerp through the Dean.

NISI adhuc esses ac perseuerantissime perdurares, qui
semper fueras, alter scilicet ego, nusquam certe com-
mitterem tibi toties rerum nostrarum impositione molestus
essem. Qua in re si forte (quod tuum sit iudicium) pec-
5 cauerim, doleo quidem, idque vehementer : inter cætera
unum ob hoc, nil æque excusans ac amorem nimium in me
tuum, qui quotidie tot et tanta (taceo iampridem collata)
mihi pollicetur ut nihil sit quod non continuo impetrem,
modo id aliquando aut sperare aut optare ausim. Quod quum
10 ita sit, tuque sic fieri uelis, adeo ut non sat sit tibi precanti
gratificari amico, nisi et uota eius præueneris gratificando,
restat ut personam precantis exuens, iubentis induam, quæ
tibi iure suo imperet, exactam operam naues, conflando scili-
cet atque cælando amici poculo : ne breuis illius quem opta-
15 mus successus, nos longo maceret uoto. Quare ambiendus est
tibi quum otium datur, sollicitandusque faber atque calcaribus
(si res postulet) adigendus opus ipsum maturet et dexterrime
absoluat ; aliquin inter spem et metum positi, desyderio eius
dubij et anxij manebimus. Quod ne ita contingat, tu unus
20 prospicias a quo solo pendemus, in manu cuius spei nostræ
summa consistit. Interea felix uale, et fabrum urge quantum
potes : poteris autem tum plurimum ubi uoles. Iterum uale.

BuslMS, 117-118 (e 8 r, v)

〈Mechlin, end of 1507, beginning of 1508〉

41. — TO DEAN ADRIAN SANDELICUS

The address of this letter is : '*Hadr. Sandelico Antuerp. decano...*' ; it mentions the *Bacchi poculum* referred to in *Epp.* 39 and 40, than which this one is a few weeks later.

7 tuum] before it meum is crossed off 12 restat &c.] on p. 117

22. poteris... uoles] cp. *Epp.* 58, 81-82, 74, 18-19.

EN iterum inconcinnis anser tibi obstrepat et precator improbus aurem uellicat : neque (quod impudentius est) modum uellicandi facere uult nisi uel improbitate sua id quod tam pertinacissime iamdudum cupit, tandem abs te impe-
 5 trauerit, scilicet illud tuis auspicijs coeptum poculum Baccho sacrum ; quo quidem nos tecum aliquando lætos et festiuos conuiuas agentes, dulcia miscere et uina (ut poeta ait) coronare possimus. Quod ut iuxta datam nobis fidem, ocyus exoremus, te inprimis appello, atque si pateris, per sacra Bacchi
 10 sanctissime adiuro : alioqui hoc ita, aut prorsus negligente, aut minus curante te, caue tibi sentias aduersum, tuum nedum Buslidium, cæterum uel ipsum Bacchum. Quo prouocato semel et irritato adeo in se peccantes furit, sæuit, debacchatur, ut tandem Argos cæcos, cordatos uecordes, sanos plane
 15 insanos reddat. Quare (ut paucis absoluam) tanti numinis horrendam animaduersionem iugi diligentia (si sapis) depreceris, et interea quid de ipso poculo sperandum sit, mihi (quum licuerit) rescribe. Interea uale.

BuslMS, 120 (e 9 v)

<Mechlin, beginning of 1508>

42. — TO DEAN ADRIAN SANDELICUS

This letter, entitled : '*Hadr. Sandelico, Ant. Decano.*', the third about the *poculum*, probably belongs to 1508 being a few weeks younger than *Epp.* 41 ; the words used on *ll* 5, *sq.* which are the same as in that to Luigi Marliano, *Epp.* 38, 10-14 and in the first missive to Sandelicus, *Epp.* 39, 13, *sq.* indicate that they belong to one and the same period.

A PUERO hoc tuo tuas accepi literas quæ me mirum recrearunt, quum quod nuntiarent tibi bene esse, tum nostrum (cuius desyderio prope conficimur) poculum iam ferme ex sententia absolutum fore. Quo sane nuntio, ut optatius

4 abs te &c.] on p. 118 8 ocyus] corr. from ocyus C
 13 peccantes] lined out, over it lædentes is written C

1. anser] cp. *Epp.* 2, 30, 50, 97.
 2. aurem uellicat] Erasmus :
Aurem vellere : Er. *Adag.*, 277, c.
 5. poculum Baccho sacrum]
Epp. 39, 2, 40, 14 ; *Carm.* XXI, v.

7. poeta] Virgil, *Æneis*, I, 724 :
 vina coronant.

3. poculum] cp. *Epp.* 39, 2, 40,
 14, 41, 5 ; *Carm.* XXI, v.

5 nihil, ita nil nobis adferri poterat lætius : debitam hinc tibi gratiam (quum soluendo non sim) tandiu habebō quousque eam semel uel cum fœnore referre liceat. Interea scio quotus et quantus iampridem in tuo ære sum, quotque nominibus tibi deuinctus maneam, spero facilem te, non rigidum credito-
 10 rem probaturum, cui uel abunde satisfaciat, deficientibus fortunis, gratus animus debitoris, nil sibi retinentis, tibi omnia debentis ; qui qualiscunque et quantulus sit, totus certe tuus est ; quem tibi interim uiuere, tuaque obire mandata, perpetuo mancipatum uolo. Vale.

BuslMS, 121 (c 10 r)

⟨Mechlin, first months of 1508⟩

43. — TO DEAN ADRIAN SANDELICUS

This letter, addressed '*Hadr. Sandelico, Dec. Ant.*', also refers to the *Bacchi poculum* of *Epp.* 39, 40, 41 and 42, and was probably written in 1508, some time after *Epp.* 42.

PROH deum hominumque fidem ! Quo me uertam ? Quidnam agam ? Quid dicam ? Turbatus hæreo. Nisi quod coruos pasturus in malam abeat crucem falsus ille nebulo, ueterator, furcifer faber, qui datam fefellit fidem, spem lusit
 5 nostram, simulque oleum et operam frustratus est tuam. Quod quum ita sit, reliquum est exspes totus post hac, fidem nusquam tutam esse arbitrer, maxime quum impudentissimus ille præuaricator hac in re tam futili haud ueritus est tantam tuam (cui omnia debet) ludere auctoritatem, ridere dignita-
 10 tem. Testor deos tanta iniuria, tamque grande commissum, inferos superosque uindices sentiat : inter cæteros Bacchum ipsum, qui potis est hominum eripere mentem et addere furorem. Interea uale.

(42) 8 sum]

5. debitam &c.] cp. *Epp.* 38, 10. *sq.*

9. rigidum creditorem] cp. *Epp.* 38, 12-13 : exactor durus.

14. mancipatum] in Rome insolvent debtors became their creditors' slaves : cp. *Epp.* 73, 61.

(43) 3. coruos] Erasmus: *Ad corvos* : *ErAdag.*, 446, 2.

3. in malam... crucem] Plautus, *Mostell.*, III, ii, 163 ; *Menech.*, II, ii, 53 : *Abi in malam crucem.*

3. nebulo] the silversmith who did not finish the *poculum* at the day stated.

9. cui omnia debet] probably the Dean had saved the *faber* from some serious trouble.

12-13. Bacchum... qui potis est &c.] At Argos, Dionysus, returning from India, punished the women with frenzy, because they did not recognize him as a god.

BuslMS, 124-125 (f 1 v-f 2 r)

〈Mechlin, first months of 1508〉

44. — TO DEAN ADRIAN SANDELICUS

This letter, entitled '*Hadr. Sandelico. Antuerp. Dec.*', is the sixth, and last, that refers to the *Bacchi Poculum* which Busleyden caused to be made in Antwerp. It probably dates from 1508, some time after *Epp.* 43.

CERTUM est mihi absente te, quem non datur (ut uellem) coram alloqui, litteris sæpius inuisere, ijs tecum semper aliquid tale agendo, quo et doctiores et meliores effecti, quisque nostrum efficacius possit suo officio satisfacere. Quod quidem ego quoties sic uolens præstare, animum ad hoc et stilum adplico, continuo et de repente nescio quid aliunde intercedit negotij quod tam pulchrum institutum interturbat, simulque exarantis manum alio quam destinauerat uel reluctantem diuertit. Quod si quæris quidnam aut quale id sit negotij quo auocati, aliud ab instituto aggrediamur, quærenti pro multis hoc unum sat sit tibi : negotium scilicet conficiundi (quod inter manus est) poculi : cuius desyderio iam tot momenta, horas, dies, menses enixe laborantes, parum hucusque proficimus. Quod quum nobis non minus curæ est ac cordi, nil mirum si hoc sese aliud uel meditantem mihi uel scribenti ingerat, obijciat, ostentet : adeo ut illi solum uacando atque illius quicquid conemur dumtaxat memores aliorum quorumcumque omnium obliuiscamur necesse est. Quæ quidem res quum tanto sui desyderio sibi omnes cogitationes nostras, ne dicam actiones uendicet, in tantum ut non agere quid uelim, et tamen agere quæ nolim, me cogat. Rogo, oro, obtestor, hanc meam misertus sortem me tali ac tanto desyderio (aut si mauis, tædio) liberares : quod quidem sic tibi integrum ac plane in manu tua positum est, si modo cunctantem et moras quotidie nectentem fabrum urgere pergas : scilicet ut auspiciato poculo supremam manum adiiciens, ocyus eum (quem optamus finem) imponat. Vale.

13 horas &c.] on p. 125 24 moras] a corr from e

12. poculi] cp. *Epp.* 39, 2, 40, 14, 41, 5, 42, 3; *Carm.* XXI, v.

BuslMS, 122-124 (e 10 v-f 1 v)

⟨Mechlin, end of 1507, *init.* 1508.⟩

45. — TO SYLVIVS ITALICUS

a This letter, entitled '*Sylvio suo.*', seems to belong to the end of 1507 or to 1508, judging from the place it takes up in the collection, and especially from the contents : the eagerness with which Busleyden looks forward to the possession of a particular chest or cabinet, suggests that he is furnishing his recently built mansion.

b The *Sylvius Italicus*, no doubt a secretary, to whom this letter and *Epp.* 69 are addressed, is not otherwise recorded ; from the second missive it seems that he was a personal attendant, if not the physician, to whom Busleyden urgently recommends the recovery of their common friend Antony. It further is manifest that this Antony, no doubt his employer, became known to Busleyden through Sylvius, who had also undertaken to see that a piece of furniture in his master's possession, should be made over to the Mechlin Councillor. Most probably that *Antonius* is Antony of Berghes, abbot of St. Trudo's, at St. Trond, and of St. Bertin's, at St. Omer, who since the middle of 1501 had been Councillor of the Archduke, and Sylvius, a secretary and possibly a physician ¹), was one of Busleyden's fellow-students at Padua, or at least an acquaintance of the Italian days. Through him Busleyden knit up a hearty friendship with the Abbot Antony, whom he just may have met during the life of his brother the Archbishop. Maybe on a visit to St. Bertin's, he saw the *armarium* which exactly answered his wishes and his plans of decorating the rooms of his new mansion, and thus became the occasion of this letter.

c Antony de BERGHES, born on July 14, 1455, was the fourth son of the powerful John de Berghes, 5th Lord of Glimes and Bergen-op-Zoom, who died on September 7, 1494, and the brother of the Bishop of Cambrai, Henry de Berghes, 1480-Oct. 7, 1502, who was Erasmus' protector. Through the influence of his family he secured the dignity of Abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Mont-Ste. Marie in Burgundy (*GallChrist.*, xv, 306) ; in 1483 he was elected 57th Abbot of St. Trudo's, St. Trond (*GallChrist.*, III, 964-5). This Abbey suffered greatly during the troublesome years marked by the slaughter of Bishop Louis of Bourbon, August 30, 1482, and the subsequent revenge on William de la

¹) In the correspondence (1499-1501) of Erasmus with his friends James Batt and Antony of Luxemburg, steward of the Abbot Antony, reference is made to the town-physician of St. Omer, Ghisbertus Hessel : Allen, I, 95, 11, 161, 58, 288, 132, IV, 1211, 120. He became Charles of Austria's 'chirurgieon' in January 1504 (Gachard, I, 364; Le Glay, II, 132 ; &c.). As he was also the physician of the Abbey, it is quite possible that he had been replaced, at least for a time by Sylvius, who may have been engaged as a kind of secretary or special attendant of the Abbot. By 1512 Ghysbert had returned to his practice in St. Omer, as Erasmus refers to his testimony on February 6 in his letter to the Abbot : *quemadmodum optime nouit D. Ghisbertus, medicus tuus* : Allen, I, 252, 13.

Marck, Lord of Lummen; as Antony had helped the bishop John de Hornes, his abbey was ransacked by the Arenberg troops, and he himself imprisoned by Liège revoltors (1486); he recovered his freedom only on the payment of a heavy ransom. As for a good while his abbey could not afford the wherewithal to keep up the state of a princely abbot, he settled in Louvain, where he pretended studying at the University: Allen, III, 761, 50; he was provided for, in part, by his brother John de Berghes, Lord of Walhain, until, at the death of John de Lannoy, on November 27, 1492, his other brother, Bishop Henry of Cambrai, and Philip the Fair managed to have him appointed in July 1493 as 67th Abbot of St. Bertin's, at St.-Omer (*GallChrist.*, III, 505).

d In that rich abbey he is said to have composed a History of the Order of the Golden Fleece, in which several members of his family had distinguished themselves (*BibBelg.*, 62). For certain he adorned St. Bertin's, completing in 1520 its church, of which only most imposing ruins remain. — In May and June 1500 he received there Philip the Fair, and was appointed his Councillor: on September 26, 1501, he was one of the personages who witnessed the agreement of the marriage of Margaret of Austria and Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, in Brussels, and who signed the deed (Henne, I, 36); he also accompanied the bride on her way to her bridegroom through Burgundy. In December he was one of the envoys who negotiated the treaty with Louis XII, signed at Blois on December 12, 1501 (Henne, I, 38). On November 7, 1503 he received most sumptuously Philip the Fair at St. Trudo's on his return from Spain (Gachard, I, 336); he resigned the dignity of abbot there, in 1516 in favour of William Bollart, or Bollais, of Brussels, who had been the secretary of his brother Henry the Bishop: cp. *Epp.* 76, *b-d*. — With his brother John, he continued to take, a large share in public events, thus influencing the policy of his Princes, until his death on January 12, 1532. Peter de Ponte, of Bruges inscribed to him his *Bertinias*, a poem on St. Bertin's (Paris, 1510).

e Erasmus, who no doubt knew Antony from the time that he was in his brother's service, wrote to him in September 1500 at the suggestion of his friend James Batt, and accepted to find a preceptor for his brother Dismas (Allen, I, 130, 105, 137, 12, 31-62, 71-78). He wrote again to him on January 14, 1501, praising him for his handsome figure and his attractive character, and related to him the story of sacrilegious sorcerers of Méung-sur-Loire and Orleans (Allen, I, 143); two months later, he refers again to necromancers, and announces his joy in studying Greek (Allen, I, 149). He evidently wanted the rich Abbot to take an interest in his work, but, although on July 30, 1501 he wrote a letter for him to John de' Medici, the future Leo X, who had been his guest at the Abbey (Allen, I, 162), and although he had even a friend in his service, his steward Antony of Luxemburg (Allen, I, 137, *pr.* &c.), he did not succeed. He may have occasionally called at the Abbey, as results from his letters of Febr. 6, 1512 and March 14, 1514, in which he inveighs against warfare (Allen, I, 252, 288); in April 1515 he stayed a few days at St. Omer with the Abbot and dated from there his *Enarratio in Primum Psalmum* to Beatus Rhenanus, on April 13 (Allen, II, 327, 332, 4-5; still he failed to get the help he sought.

f On December 13, 1517, Erasmus wrote to the Abbot to vindicate his *Moriæ Encomium*, which had caused displeasure : Allen, III, 739 ; on January 14, 1518 (Allen, III, 761), he recommended to him a theologian appointed through the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts to a *sacerdotium* which lay in the Abbot's gift, and which had already been bestowed by him to another : Erasmus requested him to approve of the agreement made between the two candidates, out of love for his old *nutrix*, the *Alma Mater*, who was just then taking care of two of his nephews. With one of those, Antony, Vives' pupil, Erasmus was on friendly footing, as results from his letter to the nephew and from that to the uncle : Allen, III, 760, 761, 51 ; Daxhelet, 247-48, 16, &c. To the latter, Erasmus mentions, as further ties, his *alter ego* Thomas More, who had been a guest in St. Bertin's ; as well as the Abbot's successor at St. Trond, William Bollart, of Brussels, who had been his fellow-servant in Bishop Henry de Berghes' family, and was then residing in Louvain (Allen, III, 761, 1⁵, 40 ; 671, 672, 720 ; *MonHL*, 475). — Cp. *MorinckMS.*, 179 v-183 r ; Daris, v, 147 ; de Laplane, *Les Abbés de St. Bertin* : St. Omer, 1854-5 : II, 59-88 ; *GoethHist.*, I, 85-94, 38 (for Antony's share in the chronicle history of St. Trond) ; Allen, I, 143, *pr* ; *MonHL*, 476 (where, — owing to the dropping of one line of the text when printing, — is wrongly stated that Antony spent his last years at Corsendonck : that detail refers to Arnold a Domo, a monk, Antony's steward at St. Trudo's, who was discharged with an ample pension).

A CCEPI tuas candoris, pietatis et officij plenissimas litteras, quibus inter cætera iucunda, hoc unum iucundissimum agnoui, spem illam certam quam me pascis, potiundiscilicet armarij tantopere a nobis desyderati, cuius desyderio iam tot
5 dies laborantes anxij adhuc prope conficimur. Nosti satis quam uel brevis morula (euentu dubio pendentibus) longa uideatur atque ingrata : quo fit te non tam licentius quam sæpius interpellem ; qua in re necesse est impudentiam fateor meam quæ sic temere frontem perfricuit et pudorem (si quis
10 fuit) posuit. Quam quidem, qualiscunque fuerit, tuæ in omnes obuiæ humanitati condonabis, huic quæ causam dedit, fomitem ministrauit. Sed de ijs sat superque.

Tentaui ea de re, mentem tuam Antonij, quam non usquequaque ut speraui nostro huic uoto præsentem atque fauentem comperi : causantem inprimis nescio quid impensæ reconcinando dicto armario factæ. Respondi quicquid eam in rem impensum esset, id me ei quantumcumque fuerit resarturum.

17 -sum esset &c.] on p. 123

13. Antonij] no doubt Sylvius' *rium* ; he is further mentioned on master, and owner of the *arma-* II. 31-37.

Tandem ait, etsi satis frigide, se curaturum apud fabrum aliud
armarium æque pulchrum et elegans nobis confici, at hoc
20 quod haberet mihi daturum. Cui responso (quia minus placuit)
nil duxi replicandum, sed solum in te uno cuius fidem multi-
facit, spei reliquum locandum: quod quidem ita nunc præ-
stare apud me certum est. Interim tu uale.

Cura simul et prospice ne mea me spes fallat, et magna tui
25 apud me concepta existimatio turpiter ludat. Mitto Pæana
Deiparæ Virgini dicatum a Carolo Brugensi cæco, Oratore et
Musico suæ ætatis clarissimo, editum; cui de paupere uena ac-
cessit carmen tale quale nostrum: quod ne nil agas, legito,
magis ut rideas quam probes, tum maxime ubi bonas horas
30 male collocare uoles.

Antonius heri uesperī apud me diuertit: quem comiter (ut
alias semper) excepi. Hodie quartana sua oppressus, lectulo
decumbit. Accerso medicum; pharmaca porrigo; iacenti ad-
sto; dolenti condoleo; tristantem solor; minus speranti ani-
35 mos addo. Vide quantum is mereatur, ea qui omnia laboranti
amico, non tam officiose quam pientissime impendit: quod
uni tibi dictum sit. Vale.

25 Pæana] 31 apud] *chd into ad* 36 tam &c.] *on p. 124*

25. Pæana] most probably a manuscript copy of a poem.

26. Carolo Brugensi cæco] this Charles Fernand was born in Bruges about 1450; he promoted in Paris, where he lectured in the University on Terence and on the Latin Poets; he became the first musician of the Chapel of Charles VIII; he visited Rome in 1484 with the embassy of obedience. In 1489, when Robert Gaguin published his poem *De Mundissimo Virginis Mariæ Conceptu adversus Vincentium de Castronovo* (Paris, 1489: BB, G, 268), Fernand enriched it with sixty pages of commentary. He was Rector of

the University in 1492. On November 13, 1492 he entered the abbey of Chezal-Benoît, left it for St. Vincent du Mans, and died there on June 10, probably 1517; he wrote several poems, treatises on monastic life and letters. His five years younger brother John, who was blind, also taught in Paris, and has passed on the epithet *cæcus* to Charles: *BibBelg.*, 120-21, 500; Renaudet, 118-20, 133, 189, 272, &c.; Imbart, II, 350, 365, 378-79, 435; Goet*Lect.*, I, 33-37; *BrugErVir.*, 23, 24, 50; *Budé*, 19-22, 25, 42; Polain, II, 2405, 1471; Trit., 391-92.

28. carmen] *Carm.* VI or X.

BuslMS, 125-127 (f 2 r-f 3 r)

⟨Mechlin, Spring of 1508⟩

46. — TO JAMES LEFÈVRE D'ETAPLES

a This letter, headed '*Iacobo Fabro Stapulensi, phō.*', which renews an old friendship and invites the great French erudite to spend some time in Busleyden's mansion, was evidently written very soon after the house was furnished and adorned : its constructing having lasted till 1507, it may be safely assumed that this invitation was sent out in the spring or summer of 1508. Cp. NèveBusl., 33.

b James LEFÈVRE, born about 1455 at Etaples, in Picardy, *Faber Stapulensis*, studied in Paris, and seems to have taught at the College of Cardinal Lemoine. He applied himself to the various branches of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, trying to reach the exact meaning and doctrine of Aristotle. By 1490 he went to Italy to study under Hermolaus Barbarus, the great authority on Aristotle, and to be initiated in Pico della Mirandola's mystic interpretation of Plato. On his return he started editing treatises on the seven *Artes*, which show an admirable advance by a constant desire to do away with all unnecessary comments, to realize correctness and precision, and to explain Aristotle by Aristotle, interpreting his philosophy by his fundamental principles. He also attempted editing unquestionable texts, but as his knowledge of Greek was superficial, he had to rely on the translations of Leonardo Bruni, Argyropoulos, or Bessarion, which he, at times, had the audacity to alter, evidently without due authority, and to which he often joined the vulgate mediæval rendering, as if he were afraid to bewilder students. Those defects provided weapons to his enemies ; still his good innovations were readily accepted by many disciples who hailed him as their leader, and upon whom he exercised a great influence. If not in Italy, where about 1500 also Tunstall made his acquaintance (cp. before, § 26), Busleyden met him in Paris, and attended some of his lectures.

c Lefèvre entered the service of Bishop William Briçonnet about 1504, and, after acting for a time as his secretary, was allowed to study. He then resided first in his Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés ; and, from 1520, at Meaux, his patron's new see. Since long he had left Aristotle for Holy Scripture : in 1509 he published a *Psalterium Quincuplex* ; in 1512 a Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles ; in 1521, one on the Gospels, after which he made a French translation of the Bible printed in Antwerp from 1524 to 1532 (Nijkron, II, 2503-04). He was hardly qualified for those Scripture studies, as he had not had any training in theology : his insufficient knowledge of Greek, not to mention Hebrew, naturally exposed him both to the criticisms of Erasmus (*BB*, E, 298-300), and to the attacks by the Sorbonne. Several of his comments were condemned by the Paris divines for Lutheranism in 1521 and 1523 ; fortunately he was shielded by Bishop Briçonnet and by King Francis ; he died in 1536. Cp. *Budé*, 45-54 ; Renaudet, 130-159, &c. ; *BB*, L, 560(-598) ; Allen, II, 315 ; FG, 351-52 ; Imbart, III, 109-153, &c. ; *Cran.*, 173, a-c, &c ; Polain, I, 294, II, 1457-59, 2306-7, 2323 ; *BudÉRép.*, 21, 30, 31, 45, 59, 88, 190 ; Trit., 411-12 ; &c.

- d That Busleyden took a great interest in his friend's writings follows from the fact that on April 18 <1511>, he made a present of his *Quincuplex Psalterium... cum Commentariis* (Paris, 1509), to the St. Matthias Abbey at Treves, as results from the manuscript copy of the library catalogue started in that abbey in 1525; it adds: *ex dono domini Jheronimi Buysleidi*, with the, evidently wrong, year-date 'MDCXI': Archives of Treves Archbishopric.

INTERMISSAM diutinam hanc nostram ad te scriptionem, satius aliquando quam nunquam, uel hac breui Laconica resartiendam duxi, præsertim oblata hac tabellarij occasione, cuius fides tam olim tibi spectata quam integritas iamdudum
 5 mihi cognita: facile coram aperiet pietatem in te meam, simul et uisendi tui cupiditatem incredibilem, vtpote nil magis in uotis ducens quam te dulciter amplectendo, antiquæ nostræ nusquam obliterandæ consuetudinis adhuc semel meminisse, scilicet hic tecum in ædibus Buslidijs, tam tuis ac meis.
 10 Quid meis? quin magis tuis, quas studiosorum omnium litteratorum (in quorum albo tu unus occurris nominatissimus) conciliabulum dicaui: quod aduentanti tibi adplaudens ut hospiti amico, patebit etiam ut patrono. Quod quum ita futurum sit, te per contractam inter nos semper uicturam amici
 15 tiam sanctissime adiuro, quum primum licuerit, huc concedas: illam quam iamdiu expectamus fruendi tui facturum potestatem, futurus certe nobis hospes inter iucundos omnium iucundissimus. Quod ita præstando, præstabis sane rem te dignam, mihi gratam, et communibus amicis desyderatissi-
 20 mam, quibus omnibus in tua uerba mecum iuratis atque in te tanquam in suum scopum tendentibus, tu unus bene beateque uiuendi normula superes. Quam sic aliquando utinam ex sententia assequamur, adeo ut tua signa sequentibus, tibi ornamento, illis gloriæ accedat, te auspice inprimis atque duce
 25 uirtutis summum tenuisse. Vale.

1 Intermissam &c.] on p. 126 2 quam nunquam] before quam is a sign possibly meaning that uel... Laconica should precede 18 Quod ita &c.] on p. 127

1. Intermissam... scriptionem] besides making Lefèvre's acquaintance, Busleyden had even been in correspondence with him for some time.

9. in ædibus Buslidijs] cp. before, §§ 38, sq.

9. tam tuis ac meis] Cp. before, § 166.

10-12. studiosorum omnium... conciliabulum] Cp. *Epp.* 47, 8-9.

11. in quorum albo] cp. *Epp.* 47, 64, 58, 41, 60, 8, 64, 16, 70, 7; *Orat.* E, 11. Cp. Erasmus: *Non eras in hoc albo*: *ErAdag.*, 275, 2, sq.

18. præstabis &c.] cp. *Epp.* 3, 2-3, &c.

BuslMS, 162-168 (g 10 v-h 3 v)

<Mechlin, first months of 1508>

47. — TO LUIGI MARLIANO

This letter is addressed '*Aloysio Marliano Principis Medico.*' : a later hand added in black ink : *Mediolanensi* after *Marliano*. — Busleyden had repeatedly invited Marliano to a meal after his mansion was made ready, as he evidently wanted to show its wonders to the famous erudite. Although '*toties amice vocatus*', the physician had not answered the invitation : no doubt this letter followed *Epp.* 38 after a not too long delay, as tone and style amply suggest : it may be ascribed in all probability to the beginning of 1508. It seems to have been written about the same time as *Epp.* 46 with which it has a clause in common : *in quorum albo tu unus occurris nominatissimus* : 46, 11, 47, 64-65.

QVOD congressu honestissimo et expetenda consuetudine tua sæpius ac uolo caream, faciunt hoc utriusque nostrum legitimæ occupationes : quæ partim te, uirum inprimis medicum, ualetudini Principis intentum ; partimque
 5 me et ciuilibus et forensibus actionibus implicitum, a mutuo nos cultu et alterno officio auocant ; quod alioqui molestum, esto minus hinc ægræ feram, nescio tamen quid præterea potissimum incusem, quod ad mensam nostram (hospitum amicitiarumque conciliabulum) toties amice uocatus, nusquam
 10 compareas. Quod tamen temere a me nimis aut arrogantiae aut alicui (ut ita dicam) morositati adscribere sat foret iniquum, tametsi iam aliud nil habeam quod ob hoc inprimis incusem, nisi forte illud unum, scilicet mensam te nostram propterea uitare, horrere, quod forte tibi barbara, sordida, ni
 15 misque plæbeia uideatur, utpote Theutonica ; præsertim cuius nitorem (si quis sit) nidori, odorem poedori, suffimenta graueolentiae, delitias offis atque pulmentarijs haud iniuria uelis æquare : quæ quidem omnia tibi facile possent anagyrim, ut aiunt, mouere, illorum fastidio tanquam, ut ait Satyricus,
 20 repetita crambe nauseabundo.

7 ægræ &c.] on p. 163

8-9. hospitum... conciliabulum] cp. *Epp.* 46, 10-12.

13. mensam... nostram] about fifteen years later, Vives often expressed in his letters his disgust at the Brabant and Flemish fare : *Cran.*, 8, 38-40, 13, 59-62.

18. anagyrim... mouere] Eras-

mus : *Anagyrim commoves* : *ErAdag.*, 52, A.

19. Satyricus] Juvenal, *Sat.* VII, 154 : Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

20. repetita crambe] Erasmus : *Crambe bis posita mors* : *ErAdag.*, 196, D.

Quod si hæc excusas quæ a nostra te mensa arceant, facile tibi cedo, tam iustam excusationem haud ægre admitto. Iampridem satis superque expertus uestras latiales, honestas, frugales, nitidas cœnas, quibus id inprimis sat est quod satis
 25 est : non tam ad opinionem cuiusque quam ad necessitatem naturæ : hinc certe multum discrepantibus a nonnullorum nostratium profusissimis coenis, quas satius meras euiscerationes, ingurgitationes, comessationes dixeris, vtpote sole nonnunquam occidente ad orientem usque productas. Quibus
 30 coenis præsumunt helluones, imperant epulones, regnant lurchones, adsunt bibuli tam semper sitibundi quam semper ebrij, nusquam ieiuni, sobrij, sani, abstemij Auroram spectantes ; quorum pars magna non aliud uiuere quam bibere, non aliud uitæ præmium intelligit quam deum ventrem suum pro-
 35 be curare, genium et gulam suam non defraudare, et tanquam ad perdenda uina geniti, ea pateris spumantibus exhaustire, quasi illa effundi non possint nisi per humanum corpus. O prodiga rerum luxuries ! O monstrosa ingluuies ! O portentosa libido ! Ebrietatis iucundum nefas, quæ tandem assecclas ad-
 40 sertoresque suos eo malorum protrudit, ut bibendi consuetudo augeat auiditatem, adeo ut Parthorum more quanto plus ebiberint, eo magis sitiant. Proinde ob unum solum (cui dediti sunt) uentrem, deinde ob gulam, popinam, culinam instruendam longe pluris æstimantes unum uel Apitium uel Lucullum
 45 quam totam illam classem quorumuis Scipionum, Curiorum, Fabriciorum, Catonum ; quibus itaque helluonibus nil æque in uotis est quam aliquando uel frui ipso collo gruis, quem (ut tradunt) Philoxenus tantopere affectauit, vel pollere tam insigni ingluuie qua inprimis fretus Nouellius Tricongius Medio-
 50 lanensis, uno impetu treis congios epotauit, spectante Tyberio principe.

Quod sane dijs inuisum genus hominum, modo non magis monstrorum quam hominum nuncupationem mereatur, no-

25 cuiusque &c.] on p. 164.
 32 Auroram] -ur- corr. c 42 cui dediti &c.] on p. 165

41. Parthorum more &c.] Erasmus : *Parthi quo plus biberint* (<eo plus sitiunt>) : *ErAdag.*, 1167, r ; cp. *Epp.* 58, 53-55.

44. Apitium] cp. *Epp.* 58, 25.

47. frui ipso collo gruis &c.]

that is said of Philoxenus of Cythera by the poet Machon, as is quoted in Athenæus' *Deipnosophists*, VIII, 26. Cp. *Epp.* 58, 32.

49. Novellius Tricongius] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIV, 144.

stra qualiscunque sit mensa nusquam receptans ut diras lues,
 55 pestes, harpyias, profanos, abominabiles execratur, detesta-
 tur, exterminat. Contra, illos uel obuios excipiens quos mo-
 destia commendat, temperantia temperat, frugalitas frugales
 facit, non eo se uiuere ratos ut ædant, uerum eos æsse ut
 uiuant; proinde soliti plus olei lucubrando ad lucernam, quam
 60 uini ad mensam hauriendo impendere, homines profecto
 quum ad uirtutem tum gloriam atque immortalitatem nati,
 quam ita tandem et rebus clare gestis et pulcherrimis æter-
 num uicturis monumentis suis sunt cumulatissime adsequuti.
 In quorum albo quum tu unus inter primarios nominatissimus
 65 occurras, qui minime Curios simulat, neque Bacchanalia
 uiuit; cui etiam alicuius lepor in ore plus placeat quam uel
 turdus uel lepus in disco. Dij boni quantum decoris tantus
 hospes, quantum ornamenti tam bellus conuiuia conuiuio nos-
 tro, quantum conuiuantibus ipsis uoluptatis adferret: quo
 70 aduentante non amplius animum in patinis haberent, neque
 alia quæuis bellaria, condimenta, aut gulæ irritamenta ex-
 pectarent, sed solum contenti te uno, a cuius ore pendentes
 excepturi sunt dulcem illum leporem, mellifluum nectar, cœ-
 lestem ambrosiam suauiloquij tui: omnes sane lepores, Atti-
 75 cas ueneres, gratias mirifice redolentis, quibus animum, non
 aluum explorare, mentem, non corpus colere, memoriam, non
 obliuionem augere, prout est expetenda res, ita et summa
 felicitas et incomparabilis uoluptas.

Quam ob rem me terque, quaterque beatum putarem si ali-
 80 quando te hospite amico, conuiuia iucundo mensa nostra esset
 nobilitata: quo honore si conuiuium nostrum quandoque ut
 cupimus honestares, tunc certe illud longe præferendum puta-
 rem tam Lucullianæ coenæ in Apolline paratæ quam fami-

59 lucernam &c.] on p. 166 76 mentem &c.] on p. 167

58. non... uiuere... ut ædant,...
 æsse ut uiuant] cp. *Epp.* 58, 34-35,
 and Socrates' apophthegma: vi-
 vunt multi ut edant et bibant:
 edendum et bibendum ad viven-
 dum: EOO, IV, 160, 6; also Mar-
 tial's *Epigramma* (xiv, 69): *Pria-
 pus Siligineus*.

59. plus olei... impendere (60)]
 cp. *Epp.* 58, 36-37.

62-63. æternum uicturis monu-
 mentis] cp. *Epp.* 58, 37-38.

64. in quorum albo] cp. *Epp.*
 46, 11.

70. animum in patinis] Terence,
Eunuchus, 816; Erasmus: *Ani-
 mus est in coriis*: *ErAdag*, 890, 2.

83. Lucullianæ coenæ] cp. *Epp.*
 49, 117, 58, 23.

geratæ illi comessiononi a Cleopatra suo adamato positæ.
 85 Quod tamen si ita te frui hospite, oblectari conuiua, uti
 doctore, forte (quod dij auertant) non detur, interpellantibus
 occupationibus scilicet, atque alio te uel renitentem auocan-
 tibus, fac saltem, cura, desyderium tui uicarijs literis resartias.
 Præterea non inuidendo mihi, adsertori tuo, docta illa com-
 90 mentaria, quibus res memorabiles a decennio citra gestas,
 acerrimo ingenio, magna dicendi gloria, summa felicitate es
 (ut audio) complexus; quæ quidem salua, tuto loco, inter
 summa rerum mearum ornamenta manebunt recondita, ad
 te denuo ubi iusseris reditura. Quod si ex sententia præstes,
 95 nonnulla et friuola, ineptiæ, gerræ, nugæ nostræ, pudore
 posito, perfricta fronte, te quoque adibunt, fortasse poenas
 quas merentur temeritatis suæ a Vulcano uindice accepturæ;
 aut si mitius cum eis agatur, ab aromatarijs, qui ea noua qua-
 dam methamorphosi in cucullos plicent uertantque condendis,
 100 reponendisque speciebus aptos, vnde obiter prætereuntibus
 non tam se quam authorem suum ridiculos faciant; qua in re
 modo probemur placeamusque, nobis sat erit uel in hoc pla-
 cuisse. Vale.

93 summa &c.] on p. 168 99 methamorphosi]

84. commessiononi a Cleopatra... positæ] Plutarch, *Vita Antonii*, xxvii, xxix; cp. *Epp.* 58, 24.

89-90. docta illa commentaria] probably the fact that Marliano had described in a letter the *Calamitosa Philippi Hispaniæ regis in Hispaniam Navigatio* (Lauchert, 223; cp. *Epp.* 38, b, g, 48, 101, 102, nn.), may have caused the rumour that he had written the history of his times as another Philip de Commynes.

98. aromatarijs &c.] a most interesting piece of information about the use made of books of

poetry or literature as early as the first years of the xvth century by *aromatarii*, or as Thomas Cooper translates (*Thesaurus Linguae Romanæ & Britannicæ*: London, 1573), by 'apothecaries' and 'spicers' selling 'the fruites of certaine herbes and trees, pleasant in sauour and tast: ... as ginger, pepper, nutmegs, &c.' The idea must have been suggested by Martial's second epigram of his third book, *Ad librum suum*: Cujus vis fieri, libelle, munus?... Vel thuris piperisque sis cucullus.

Batavia (1586) : 70-76

⟨Mechlin, first months of 1508⟩

48. — FROM LUIGI MARLIANO

a This letter is quoted as a proof in the chapter headed : *De insularis nostræ Bataviæ felicitate, cultu, deliciis & commerciis ; quibus (veluti quoddam Orbis emporium) omnibus notissima est, in the Liber Secundus of BATAVIA, sive de Antiquo Veroque eius Insulæ quam Rhenus in Hollandia facit Situ, Descriptione & Laudibus ; aduersus Gerardum Noviomagum, Libri Duo: Auctore Corn. Aurelio, D. Erasmi Roterodami olim præceptore... Bonaventuræ Vulcanii opera, nunc primum in lucem edita* : Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1586.

b Marliano's letter is not dated ; in all probability it belongs to 1508, the period when Busleyden's house in Mechlin was just ready for being shown to friends and acquaintances. It is evidently written in answer to *Epp.* 47, although with some delay, as is implied in the reply, *Epp.* 49, 5, *sq.* 11, to explain how the physician both on account of his eagerness for study and his sad experience in life, — no doubt the untimely loss of his wife, — prefers staying at home with his books rather than mixing up with friends and acquaintances.

c Since Busleyden had presumed that his refusal to accept the invitation to a friendly meal, was inspired by his impatience of the food and customs of our provinces, which he himself put far below those of Italy, Marliano replied by a eulogy of the Southern, and more especially, of the Northern, Netherlands. He knew them from personal experience, and whereas Busleyden found fault with the *exoletas & immundas cænas*, he himself, although Italian, was pleased to admire the highest pitch of comfort and neatness reached here. No doubt he had gone to see Holland, to which he may have been introduced by one of the numerous acquaintances at Court originary from the regions beyond Biesbosch. It is not necessary, therefore, to consider this letter as of more recent date than the journey which the Archduke and his Court undertook throughout Holland, leaving Bruges for Sluys on May 11, 1515, and returning by Hoogstraeten on July 19 following (Gachard, II, 15-16).

d Busleyden was, no doubt, pleased with Marliano's letter ; he communicated it in later years to his young friend Martin van Dorp, by whom it was transmitted to a country-man, Cornelius Gerard, of Gouda, one of Erasmus' first teachers (Allen, I, 17 ; BostE, x), working at a *Defensio Gloriæ Batavinæ*, and an *Elucidarium Variarum Questionum super Batavina Regione et Differentia*. Those memoirs, no doubt, were composed for a large part in 1509 or 1510, 'duo lustra geminasque messes' after that, at the request of the Bishop and the Parliament of Paris, he went, with other Austin Canons, to France to reform St. Victor's Abbey, from the autumn of 1497 to the summer of 1498 : *Batavia*, 52-53 ; Allen, I, 78, *pr* ; *Mombaer*, 106-109. By 1515 a controversy was getting acute in Louvain amongst some of the professors and scholars originary from the Northern Provinces, about whether Holland was equivalent to the *Batavia* of Tacitus. It had been occasioned by Dorp's *Opuscula*, issued in the last days of

February 1514, containing Chrysostom of Naples's *Epistola de Situ Hollandiæ*; like Dorp, he considered Holland to be identical with Tacitus' *Batavia*, whereas in another memoir in the same book, *De Zelandia Epistola*, Gerard Geldenhouwer circumscribed it to the *insula Batavica*, the country situated between the Rhine with the Lek, the Waal and the North Sea: Iseghem, 246-47; *MonHL*, 287-89, 333. Alard of Amsterdam applied for a solution to the erudite Austin Canon Cornelius Gerard, who then was at work at Lopsen on the Chronicle of those provinces (1517: *NijKron*, I, 613-14), with the request to refute Geldenhouwer's negative opinion (*Batavia*, * 8 v; *Geldenh.*, 55-59; *Cran.*, 27, 10). In reply Cornelius arranged the chapters written a few years before, and composed *De Situ et Laudibus Bataviæ Libri Duo*, to the second of which Dorpius provided Marliano's letter (*Batavia*, 48, 69-70, 70-76). His work circulated amongst the *Lovanienses*; and Geldenhouwer argued against it in his *Lucubratiuncula de Batavorum Insula* (Antwerp, Michael Hillen, Sept. 19, 1520: *NijKron*, I, 978); still it was not printed before 1586 when Bonaventura Vulcanius edited it in Antwerp (Chr. Plantin), with a biographical sketch, some of Cornelius' letters, besides his *Diadema Imperatorium* and extracts from Geldenhouwer's *Batavica*. Bibliographers mention as one of Marliano's publications "*de Bataviæ Laudibus*: Lugduni Bat., 1511. 1586" (Lauchert, 223), which, maybe, only refers to Vulcanius' edition with the approximate date of its composition.

ALOYSIUS MARLIANUS D. HIERONYMO BUSLIDIANO
ARRIENSI PRÆPOSITO SALUTEM

RECTE feceris, mi Bullidiane, si meam solitudinem &
raram cum amicis cœnandi consuetudinem in bonam
accipies partem; naturæque id meæ dederis aut fortunæ.
Naturæ, quæ vſque ab incunabulis ita me instituit, vt studiis
5 potiffimum delecter meis, neque maiorem vllam iacturam
putem quam temporis: Fortunæ, quæ me adeu per vltima
quæque exercuit, vt tandem satis latere mihi non videar,
si etiam intra me ipsum latuero. Contineo igitur me apud me,
& mihi viuo, cum veteribusque amicis, hoc est cum libris, quo-
10 tidie magis in gratiam redeo; ex quibus non mediocrem
fructum percipio, quum præteritæ fortunæ solamen, præſentis
confilium, & futuræ remedium libri afferant, doceantque non
magis me lætæ nunc fortunæ credere, quam docuerunt aduer-
ſam æquo animo ferre. His studiis, his amicis delector, mi
15 Bullidiane, qui me apud te minime ambitioſe excuſant.

Caue autem poſthac ea vti mecum ironia, dum exoletas

ARRIENSI] 6 adeu] 9 amicis &c.] on p. 71

i. meam solitudinem &c.] cp.
Epp. 47, 6¹⁰.

16. exoletas & immundas cœ-
nas] cp. *Epp.* 47, 13, sq.

& immundas cœnas veltras narras. Iamdudum profecto ad
 Rhenum & Mosam Syrus Orontes decurrit ; tantaque facta
 est ciuitatum, hominum & morum immutatio apud Germa-
 20 nos, Belgas & Batauos, vt noua hiftoria indigeant. Quo fit, vt
 cum hæc mecum repeto, & cum præteritis præfentia confero,
 adducar Aftronomis credere, Æthiopiam apud vos quandoque
 futuram. Quo enim priſci illi mores Germani & Belgæ ? quo
 ardua & tetrica illa virtus, quæ mercatores vinum, nec aliud
 25 quicquam quod viriles eorum animos emollire poſſet, impor-
 tare prohibebant, iuere ? Tacite in Galliam Belgicam & Ger-
 maniam commercio omnium gentium diuitiæ irrepſere : ap-
 plaudente Germanis grauidis metallo, montibus natura, &
 vtriſque Rheno, Moſa & Oceano, continuatoque ſibi nauiga-
 30 tione pene toto orbe Europa, Aſia, nuper Aphriſ & Indis com-
 mercio domeſticis factis, orbis emporium & pene vmbilicus
 facta eſt terrarum Gallia Belgica : cum diuitiis et regina pecu-
 nia, omnes gratiæ ac veneres pleno copiæ cornu venere in feli-
 cem Belgicam ; cui nihil prorſus ad ſummam felicitatem
 35 deeſt, ſi non priſca virtus cum paupertate emigravit. Nitidi
 idcirco mundiſque & elegantes ſunt Belgæ, ſi omnibus conſeras,
 præterquam Batauis. Ego enim eam inſulam ſatis admirari
 non poſſum ; ſive rerum nouitate, ſive pulcritudine, ſive
 omnium rerum felicitate. Quid enim nouum magis, quam
 40 videre Oceanum cum terris luctantem ? terrasque ſolo paleæ
 intextæ & nodatæ ſcuto contra Oceanum tutas & victrices ?
 Quid ventos, dum rotas agunt flatu ſuo cum aquis quotidie
 pugnantes, & quo velint aquas deriuatas ? Quid denique ad-
 mirabilius videri poteſt, quam vno gelu totam concretam
 45 hyeme inſulam cernere ? vltroque citroque huc illuc virorum,
 fœminarum, puerorumque examina ferreis neſcio quibuſdam
 pedibus tam rapide ferri, vt multos Icaros volantes putes &

29 Moſa &c.] on p. 72

18. Syrus Orontes] Juvenal, *Sat.* III, 62 : iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes... : referring to the many Syrians in Rome.

22. Æthiopiam apud vos... futuram] that country was famous for its riches.

24. mercatores vinum] Tacitus, *Germania*, XXIII : proximi ripæ

<viz., Rheni> et vinum mercantur.

32. regina pecunia] *ErAdag.*, I44, D-I45, F, quoting Horace, *Epist.* I, 6, 37.

42. rotas] no doubt the wind-mills pumping out water.

46-47. ferreis... pedibus] the skates.

Dædalos ? Redeunte autem anno, & apparente vere, quid est
 ea infula formosius, quid viridius, quid herbofius, quid deni-
 50 que floridius ? Spirant vndique opoballama venti ; prata ha-
 bent pascua, nemora, campos ; tenent armenta prata ; pascua
 nemora ; feræ syluas ; lætæ & luxuriantes fegetes campos.
 Complet autem cælum vndique omnigenum auium concentus.
 Scatet enim omnium auium genere, quas aut tellus pariat aut
 55 aqua nutriat.

Hæc felix infula, cum ad ciuitates peruentum est (libet ciui-
 tates, non oppida appellare), offert se oculis tanta elegantia,
 vt sit non minus difficile, quo male diuertas quærere, quam
 facile fortuitum & optimum hospitium inuenire. Immundi
 60 quicquam importari vetat ianitor, asperso fabulo vestibulo.
 Intus omnia sunt summe elegantia. Muri tabulati ex ligno
 quod sponte fluctuantis maris vndas æmulatur, vestiuntur.
 Supellex ingens : argenti, æris, metalli, tapetis et picti est
 plurimum. Lineæ telæ niues candore vincentes plus quam dici
 65 potest. Vis dicam vno verbo elegantiam omnium ? Expuendi
 locus non datur. Vnde sæpe mecum cum in ea infula essem
 egi, natam ibi eam anilem fabulam : Cum duo amici cœnarent
 loco tam picto vt nefas videretur sputo aliquam particulam
 obtinere, in malefactam locij faciem, natura forte somniantem
 70 dum eam faceret, expuisse. Vnde commoto altero, Parce in-
 quit, respondisse, Amice nihil facie tua turpius hoc in loco
 obuuium oculis meis fuit. Est præterea nihil vîquam quo hu-
 mana vita carere non debeat præstantius quam ibi.

Mirum est, quicquid beata hæc infula parit tam pulchrum
 75 est, vt matre Venere editum putetur. Dij boni, quales homi-
 nes, quales fœminas, quos equos, quæ cerera armenta, quæ
 pecora parit ! vltra vero mirari hanc soli felicitatem, accedit
 quod cumulationem fortunam faciat copia rostratarum nauium
 tanta, vt pene Germanici, Britannici, & Gallici Oceani domina
 80 dicatur, quibus ad assidua quæ cum omnibus gentibus exercet
 commercia vitur. Infuper tanta est lanificij cura, vt ambigere
 quicquam possit, dicatamne putet Mineruæ hanc infulam,

48 quid est &c.] on p. 73 69 -ctam socij &c.] on p. 74

67. anilem fabulam] Quinti-
 lian, I, 8, 19; Horace, *Sat.*, II, 6, 77.

76. quos equos, &c.] Guicc.,
 179, sq.

78. copia... nauium] Guicc., 180.
 81. lanificij &c.] Guicc., 178-79.

an Veneri ? Lineæ autem preciosæ telæ Ochemeniis telis præ-
 lata summa est pretium. Et ne terrarum benignitati &
 85 summæ arti mare cedere videatur, tam piscosum & beatum
 est, ut piscando Bataui plus argenti & auri veniant, quam
 extremis laboribus alij effodiant. Ad summum delectantis est
 opus naturæ, & ut poëtæ ferunt Dædalea est hæc insignis
 Batauorum insula : quæ si ea forma prisca temporibus fuisset,
 90 amplam fabulæ materiam dedisset. Hanc profecto posthabita
 Cypro, Gnido, Papho, Cytherea Venus incoluisset. Sed quorum
 feror ? quid infanio ? Noctuum Athenis ostendo, dum tibi
 Galliam Belgicam & Batauorum insulam pingo. Verum non
 infanio, non casu sed consilio ad hæc litora delatus sum. Accu-
 95 ratius hæc percurri, ne posthac ironica nominis tui figura in
 nos feraris, dum vestris plus æquo detrahis, & Italis nostris
 eadem figura plus æquo tribuis. Nisi semper velis nos irridere,
 & in Italicum fletum irrumpere, nobisque exprobras quod
 Troës fuimus : fuimus equidem Troës ; nec est quicquam
 100 quod forte nos futuros prohibeat.

Petis a me, ut tibi Historiæ meæ copiam faciam. Mihi autem
 tantum otij nunquam fuit, ut possem historiam conari. Dices
 inquam, Ne vixisti. Vixi equidem. Scripsistine ? Scripsi. Cur
 non edis ? Non eadem est ratio scribendi & edendi. Scribere
 105 quocunque tempore possumus ; edere autem nisi oportune.
 Accedit, difficilior esse emissam rem reuocare, quam edere.
 Victus tamen tuo iudicio, breui ad te studiorum meorum
 degustationem mittam. Sed caue ne te requisiti officij, & con-
 tra me suscepti negotij pœniteat. Vale.

89 -tauorum &c.] on p. 75 108 officij &c.] on p. 76

83. Ochemeniis telis] no doubt, for *Achemeniis telis*, Persian tissues, named after the first independent king of a Persian province, Archæmenes.

92. Noctuum Athenis] Erasmus: *Ululas* (or *Noctuas*) *Athenas*: *ErAdag.*, 72, 1-2; cp. *Epp.* 60, 31.

95. ne posthac ironica... figura] cp. before ll 16-17, and *Epp.* 47, 14, sq, 26, sq, and especially, 52, sq, 49, 133.

99. Troës fuimus] Virg., *Æneis*, II, 325; *ErAdag.*, 352, 2.

101. Historiæ meæ] cp. *Epp.* 47, 89, sq.

102. historiam conari] Probably

Marliano did not want to write a history of his times, but merely to communicate his own impressions of the events he was a witness of, — such as that of the voyage to Spain, in his *Epistola de Calamitosa Philippi Hispaniæ Regis in Hispaniam Navigatione*, — which is said to have been printed at Strassburg and at Vienna in 1514: Græsse, *Trésor des Livres Rares et Précieux*: Dresden, 1863: IV, 404; M. Denis, *Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte*: Vienna, 1782: 114; Lauchert 223. A document by such a man is as a vivid piece of history; cp. *Epp.* 38, b, g.

BuslMS, 175-186 (h 7 r-i r v)

<Mechlin, first months of 1508>

49. — TO LUIGI MARLIANO

This letter, entitled '*Aloysio Marliano, Principis Medico*,' answers *Epp.* 48, and was probably written soon after that was received : no doubt in the first months of 1508.

I AM tandem uideor aliquid esse, aliquid me præstare posse, nonnihili mihi ipsi (ut Curruca) placere, vbi tu, uir omnibus numeris absolutus, extra omnem ingenij aleam positus, me unum de Bauiorum ac Meuiorum grege doctissima epistola
 5 dignaris : qualem sane successum, qualem fauentem fortunam tam expetendi beneficij iam ferme prorsus desperaueram, longiori illius desyderio iam prope confectus. Jn quo si quid forte plus moræ ac uoluisssem intercesserit, nihil tamen inde nobis deperiit. Cæterum (quæ tua liberalitas est) ex tam luculenta
 10 rescriptione ultra expectatam sortem, multum etiam insperatæ usuræ accessit, adeo ut mora ipsa, quæ alijs sæpe dispendium, summum nobis compendium attulerit : quo uno beneficio quantum me (qualiscunque sim) demerueris, facilius est me iam commemorare quam præstare : esto non ignorem quid
 15 sibi uelit uetus uerbum *Ἀντιπελαργαν*, quod, quum ut tu merearis, ego cupio, non possum præstare. Ne ergo interim apud te agam hominem ingratum, habebis inter tot tua alioqui nomina, me nomen primum.

Interea redeo ad singula tuæ epistolæ capita : jn cuius pri-
 20 more fronte pluribus mecum contendis, haud ægre feram solitudinem tuam, raramque cum amicis coenandi consuetudinem ; orando præterea id partim naturæ, partimque fortunæ

2 Curruca] 3 ingenii &c.] on p. 176 14 esto...cupio (16)] *er by a line rubbed off afterwards* 15 *Ἀντιπελαργαν*] 20 feram &c.] on p. 177

2. Curruca] this passage alludes to the place in Juvenal's *Satura*, referring to the small bird that hatches the cuckoo's eggs : in the modern editions it is called *uruca* : 'tu tibi tunc, uruca, places fletumque labellis/exsorbis... : *Sat.*, vi, 276.

4. de Bauiorum ac Meuiorum grege] Bavius and Mævius were the malevolent poetasters who attacked the poetry of Virgil and

Horace : Virgil, *Bucolica*, *Ecl.* iii, 90 : Qui Bavius non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi. Cp. *Epp.* 73, 53 ; Martial, *Epigramm.* x, 76, xi, 46.

15. *Ἀντιπελαργαν*] viz., return the care of parents and teachers, symbolized by storks, *πελαργοί* ; cp. Erasmus : '*Ἀντιπελαργεῖν* : *ErAdag.*, 367, D, sq.

19. primore fronte] *Epp.* 47, 1-10, 48, 1-15.

condonem tuæ. Naturæ, scilicet, quæ te ita a teneris instituit,
 bonas literas, quibus te solis dederis, solas amares ; jllarum-
 25 que cultu ductus, nullius æque rei parcus ac solius temporis
 esses ; fortunæ uero, quæ ita te uarie nunc in portu, nunc in
 salo exercuit, ut uel tibi non satis latere uidearis, etiam si
 intra te latueris : duo profecto, non modo argumenta, cæterum
 uel calcaria plus quam urgentissima quæ me uel reluctantem
 30 manibus pedibusque in tuam trahant sententiam : mihique
 ut tibi eandem persuadeant solitudinem, perpetuamque ab
 amicorum coenis cessationem. Quis equidem tam aut uecors
 aut supinus sit qui nesciat quam ualidum sit, quam potens,
 quamque sanctum naturæ imperium ? Quamue efficax, ur-
 35 gens, ineuitabile fortunæ decretum ? Vtpote quorum ambo-
 rum (ut ita loquar) antesignanorum ductu auspicijs, res huma-
 næ, actiones, cogitationes, consilia destinata metiuntur suc-
 cessum, sortiuntur euentum ; alioqui contra illius negata
 frustra eniti, contra huius edicta quicquam uelle moliri non
 40 solum temerarium, uerum et maximum extremæ dementiæ
 foret argumentum. Quo fit, non possum non summopere lau-
 dare tam honestum quod tibi a natura est institutum, tamque
 legitimum quod fortuna posuit præscriptum ; quibus tam
 sancte, pie, recte (ut facis) parendo, ignobilis et profani uulgi
 45 commercia declinans, secessum amas, latibula quæris, tecum
 ut quietius habites, accuratius te colligas, expeditius uiuas,
 totum te tuis suauissimis tradendo studijs, quæ tibi inprimis
 notionem Dei, deinde tui, demum rerum omnium (quæ sub
 sole sunt) causas, rationem, scientiam insinuant. O laudabile
 50 institutum ! O expetendum ab omnibus propositum ! O solitu-
 dinem omni sotietati præferendam ! qua ita latitas solitarius,
 nusquam minus solus quam quum solus : nullius rei rationem
 prope maiorem, minorem iacturam faciens quam temporis :
 quo esto nil sit carius, tamen nihilo secius, ut uile quiddam
 55 illud passim prodigimus : quasi reditura, quæ semel præ-
 terierint, sint tempora ; vel quasi a natura nobis fuerint repro-
 missa longiora (quam aut coruis aut ceruis concesserit) sæ-
 cula.

38 sortiuntur &c.] on p. 178 54 carius &c.] on p. 179

23. Naturæ] *Epp.* 48, 3-6.

26. fortunæ] *Epp.* 48, 6-8.

30. manibus pedibusque] Er-

Adag., 157, 2 ; cp. *Epp.* 59, 1-2.

52. nusquam minus solus &c.]

cp. *Epp.* 27, 22.

Quæ quidem omnia etsi ita sese habeant, idque ego sic
 60 facile concesserim, nolim tamen eo adduci aliquando conce-
 dam : te qui annos iam multos in Aula uersaris medicum prin-
 cipalem agens, clarum isthic nomen adeptus, ita te contrahas,
 ita solitudini studeas, ita te studiosis inuideas ut nusquam
 sit copia, fruitio, congressio tui ; præsertim cuius consuetudo
 65 non minus posset placere multis quam prodesse plurimis : id-
 que tanto magis quanto hic rariores in eo albo occurrant qui
 id recte possint ; uel si possent, utique uellent. Memineris
 præterea hominem, iuxta Stoicorum sententiam, hominum
 causa esse generatum ; quod ita minime obuenerit si quisque
 70 seorsum habitando, suæ dumtaxat rei sollicitus, nullam alte-
 rius aut rationem aut curam habiturus fuisset. Adde hominem
 ipsum (ut tuo Aristoteli placet) esse animal sotiale plus quam
 omnis aut apes aut gregarium ; cui præ cæteris una cum ra-
 tione, etiam pulcherrimum eloquentiæ donum sit additum,
 75 quo uno, homo hominem interpolare, reficere, ornare, iuuare
 posset atque sciret. Postremo accedit, atque inprimis ad rem
 præsentem facit, quod nonnunquam uel ex medicorum sen-
 tentia necessario sit coeunda sotietas uiro cuius literato atque
 studioso, atra (ut sæpe euenit) bile laboranti : cui nil noxius
 80 solitudine, nil (ut ita dicam) præsentius carorum sotietate,
 æqualium congressione, quorum conuiujs honestissimis, dul-
 cissimis colloquijs, ægri animi, ægrota corpora mirifice refi-
 ciuntur, probe curantur. Quod si nihilominus his non obstan-
 tibus, homini philosopho probro das conuiuia celebrare, ne-
 85 quicquam diuus Plato, philosophorum facile princeps, diui-
 num opus suum tam celebri ac frequenti philosophorum
 conuiuio adornasset ; nequicquam Assuerus Rex (ut Sacram
 obiter Scripturam citemus) tam nobile, splendidum conui-
 uium tanta impensa, sumptu, cura suis parasset ; nequic-

72 -stoteli &c.] on p. 180 89 tanta &c.] on p. 181

68. iuxta Stoicorum sententiam] Cicero, *De Fin. Bon.*, iv, ii, 4.

72. sotiale] Seneca, *Epist.* 95, 52; *De Benefic.*, vii, i, 20 : si sociale animal et in commune genitus mundum ut unam omnium domum spectat... semperque tamquam in publico vivit &c.; *De Clementia*, i, iii, 2 : hominem so-

ciale animal communi bono genitum videri volumus.

79. atra... bile laboranti] Cicero, *Tusc.*, iii, 5, 11 ; Plautus, *Amphi.*, ii, ii, 95 ; *Captivi*, iii, iv, 64 ; Seneca, *Epist.*, 94, 17 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 176, xxv, 150, xxxi, 64.

85. Plato] no doubt an allusion to his book *Convivium*.

90 quam saluifer Christus (a quo omnis nostra institutio) con-
 uiuium in Cana Galilææ constitutum tam raro ac memorabili
 miraculo illustrasset, si sanctis, si studiosis, si doctis, si bene
 moratis uiris conuiuia interdicta forent. Quod si adhuc in tua,
 perstes hæresi : dic age, si hoc non liceret, an recte discipuli in
 95 Emaus Dominum ad conuiuandum secum coegissent ? Præ-
 terea ad quid Christus Saluator, Dominus, se ipsum, nil tale
 expectante Zacchæo, ad conuiuium eius inuitasset ? Quod si
 minus daretur conuiuia parare, aliquando conuiuiam esse aut
 quempiam ad illud admittere sub specie honestæ (quam tute
 100 præfers) solitudinis, futurum quandoque esset magna pars
 ciuilis atque receptæ hospitalitatis euanesceret, quam tamen
 ius diuinum atque humanum ab omnibus præscribit colen-
 dam fore.

Quod si adhuc tuam sententiam tueri uelis, naturæ tuæ
 105 instituto, ac fortunæ (cuius meminimus) decreto, falleris pro-
 fecto totaque aberras uia, quando uel illis permittentibus, ha-
 bita inprimis ratione locorum, delectu conuiuiarum, occasione
 temporum, uiro graui aliquando sic, aliquando non liceat con-
 uiuiam agere. Quod si addas : literas omnino improbe prose-
 110 quor, a quarum prosecutione cessando tempus prodigo,
 præsertim interessendo epulis, inmorando dubijs amicorum
 coenis : si modo alia quæ te remorentur a coena mea non
 habeas, haud est quod propterea aut labores aut excuses,
 quando coena mea talis futura esset qualem tu curandam
 115 præscriberes : tam scilicet simplex, tam composita, tam
 breuis, tam protracta, tam certa, tam dubia, prout statueres ;
 quæ (ut paucis me absoluam) uel coenam Luculli in suo Apol-
 line, uel Diogenis in dolio uersatili probe repræsentare posset,
 modo utram malles rescirem ; qua quidem coena tu, ornatissi-
 120 mus conuiuium, nusquam (ut uereris) tempus prodegeris : cæ-
 terum interea tuo suauiloquio pendentes ab ore tuo mirifice
 pasceres, plus inde sumentes saporis, succi, dulcedinis quam
 ex quibusuis ambrosianis dapibus nectareisque poculis appo-
 sitis : vbi tum maxime exploratum haberes te esse non solum
 125 tibi, sed magis patriæ, parentibus, amicis natum, quod ita

95 Emaus] 106 totaque &c.] on p. 182 122 succi &c.] on p. 183

106. totaque aberras uia] Er-
Adag., 47, r.

117. coenam Luculli in suo
 Apolline] Cp. *Epp.* 47, 83, 58, 23.

satius in commercijs hominum quam solitudine præstare potes. Quando iampridem sat tibi operam dederis, sat superque teipsum excolueris, te aliquando nosceres : reliquum nunc est alios identidem moneas, dirigas, iuues, nedum oratione, 130 uerum et actione : quæ satius sibi theatrum ac coronam hominum expostulant quam aut solitudinem aut secessum : alioqui scire tuum nihil est : nisi te scire, hoc sciat alter.

Porro quod jroniam illam (cuius in nostra ad te epistola meminera-
135 modo unum hoc prius sis monitus : me illa, non eo studio usum esse, exteros probarem, nostratibus detraherem. Verum satius eo consilio ad eam me adductum, ut tempora, ut mores nostros, in maligno, pro dolor, positos magis referendo defle-
140 rem, quam aliqua ex parte notiores redderem ; qui longe magis ac uellem iampridem passim increbrescentes inualuerunt, quando in ijs iamdudum omne in præcipiti uitium steterit. Quam jroniam nostram, quod minus admittas atque probes, facit hoc inprimis genuinus candor tuus ; deinde quod sis uir ad omnes (ut aiunt) horas natus, qui nihil humani a te alie-
145 num putans, hominum mores (qualescunque sint) nosse quam odisse malis, susque deque ferens quid de ijs alij, tu modo bene sentias. Magnum sane facilitatis tuæ atque comitatis argumentum !

Præterea quæ inprimis de Batauorum cultu, nitore, mun-
150 dicia, elegantia, deque illorum insulæ situ, cælo, solo, ubertate, rerum copia perscripseris, mirum placuere, præsertim qui tam ad unguem illam expresseris quam nunquam ipse oculis usurpaui : cuius nunc maiori uisendi studio quam antea ducor ubi eam tanto eloquio tuo illustratam, tam gra-
155 uissimo iudicio laudatam teneo : hinc facile in animum indu-

139 notiores &c.] on p. 184

131-132. scire tuum &c.] Busleyden here expresses the humanistic principle that study should not only benefit the scholar, but the community, and the whole of mankind — contrary to the mediæval conception. Cp. § 159.

133. jroniam] *Epp.* 47, 14⁶³, 48, 16¹⁷, 95, *sq.*

144. ad omnes... horas natus] Erasmus : *Omnium horarum ho-*

mo : *ErAdag.*, 144, ^a; cp. *Epp.* 27, 44⁴⁵.

144. nihil humani a te alienum] Terence, *Hauton Timorumenos*, 77 : Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto; Seneca, *Epist.*, 95, 53.

149. de Batauorum cultu &c.] *Epp.* 48, 16, *sq.*, 56¹⁰⁰.

152. ad unguem] *ErAdag.*, 216, ^r.

cens eam parum aut nihil cedere Atlanticis illis (quas Beatas appellant) Insulis, tantopere ut nosti, a poetis olim decantatis. Quare terque, quaterque felix ipsa Insula, te tantum sui præconem nacta : eo tibi maiora debebit quanto prius minus
160 de te merita fuerit. Quæ quidem utinam, citra tantam affluentiam rerum abs te memoratarum, tantum etiam faceret proventum clarissimorum ingeniorum.

Postremo quod in calce epistolæ hystoriæ tuæ copiam efflagitanti inuideas, excusando, non eandem esse tibi scribendi
165 atque edendi rationem ; qua in re, agis quidem tu non minus recte quam ipse egerim temere, tam impudenter illam efflagitasse : quando iam satis inde teneam, ideo non tibi esse eandem scribendi quam edendi rationem, quod editio illarum exactiora iudicia, maiora ingenia, delicatiores aures (quam
170 nostræ sint) maneant. Quid enim cum fidibus graculo ? quid cum amaracino sui ? Jta et mihi : ad quid tantæ tuæ hystoriæ ? Certe nihil, quod quidem fateor ingenue. Quando non ex omni ligno (ut aiunt) fiat Mercurius, esto aliquando olitor sit oportuna loquutus. Quare ne te suscepti, meque (ut scribis) re-
175 quisiti, negotij magis peniteat, te hac leuo sponsione, libero sollicitudine, eas satius his relinquens quorum imagines lambunt Hæderæ sequaces. Mihi autem sat sit meis me friuolis,

157 appellant &c.] on p. 185 170 maneant] 173 fiat &c.] on p. 186
177 Hæderæ] *chd. into Hed-*

159. eo tibi maiora debebit &c.] Marliano's unbiassed opinion and spontaneous eulogy were greatly appreciated, as Cornelius Gerardi Aurelius points out in his *Batavia*, 69, 76.

160. de te merita &c.] Marliano may have been blamed or criticized or harmed by some Dutch people.

163. in calce epistolæ] *Epp.* 48, 101, sq.

170-171. Quid... cum fidibus graculo ? quid cum amaracino sui ?] these two expressions represent two *adagia* which in Erasmus' collection follow one another : [cccc] xxxvii. *Nihil graculo cum fidibus.* xxxviii. *Nihil cum amaracino sui* : *ErAdag.*, 165, 166, c. It proves that Busleyden used Erasmus' book, as other-

wise it would be hardly possible to explain the coupling of these two sayings in both instances. Cp. §§ 151, 163 and *Epp.* 50, 53, where two other *adagia* follow as well in the letter as in Erasmus' work.

172. non ex omni ligno... fiat Mercurius] Erasmus : *Ne e quovis ligno Mercurius fiat* : *ErAdag.*, 566, v.

173. aliquando olitor sit oportuna loquutus] Erasmus : *Sæpe etiam est olitor valde oportuna loquutus* : *ErAdag.*, 220, r.

174. ut scribis] cp. *Epp.* 48, 107-108.

176. quorum imagines... sequaces] Persius Flaccus, *Prologus ad Satiras*, 5-6 : 'Heliconidas... Illis remitto, quorum imagines lambunt/Hæderæ sequaces.

nugis et gerris plus quam Syculis oblectari, atque interea si non datur ture, saltem sale aut farre dijs litare posse. Vale.

BuslMS, 186-192 (i 2 v-i 5 v)

⟨Mechlin, first months of 1508⟩

50. — TO LUIGI MARLIANO

This letter bearing as title '*Aloysio Marliano, Princip. Medico.*', was written in answer to a reply to *Epp.* 49, in which Marliano protesting against Busleyden's praise, seems to have prescribed a way in which to judge a friend's work, whereas the Councillor claimed complete freedom not only to blame, but also to extol and eulogize. It probably dates of the first months of 1508.

VIDEO lubens, lego lubentius quæ tua sunt, Marliane. Si
causam roges ? Jn promptu quidem est : jllam modo no-
bis per te explicare liceret ; quod tamen ne ita præstem inpri-
mis uetas tua ad me proxima epistola, legem præscribente
5 mihi qua posthac utar ad te quid scribere destinans : scilicet,
finem faciam, receptui canam tuis laudibus. Quod si prorsus
ita iubes, estque certum tibi : nequicquam sane expectes
oportet quidnam causæ sit quur tam lubens uideam, luben-
tius quæ tua sunt perlegam. Quando me huiusmodi lege tua
10 plane alterum ut aiunt Harpocratem feceris, quod quam ægre
ac inuita Minerua sic præstem ipse sat scio, te uelim cogi-
tare : quid equidem ægrius ? Quid amabo molestius quam eum
non posse pro libidine laudare quem nemo non bonus, non
doctus prædicat ? Ab eius laudatione abstinere quem uel si
15 uellem, sat nusquam laudare possem ? Quod si ita est, fare
age, ad quid eam legem tuleris, non sat teneo : quandoquidem

179 posse [over line G 5 mihi &c.] on p. 187

178. gerris plus quam Syculis]
Erasmus : *Siculæ nugæ, gerræ* :
ErAdag., 526, A.

179. si non... ture, saltem sale
aut farre dijs litare] allusion to
Horatius, *Ode ad Phidylum*, stating
that a pure heart pleases the
gods better than rich gifts (*Car-*
mina, III, xxiii, 3-4) :

Si thure placaris, et horna
Fruge Lares,
and more especially (*Carmina*,
III, xxiii, 17-20) :

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,

Non sumptuosa blandior hostia,
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente mica.

4. proxima epistola] no doubt
the reply to *Epp.* 49.

6. receptui canam] *ErAdag.*,
848, A.

10. alterum... Harpocratem]
Erasmus : *Reddidit Harpocratem*
(viz., imposuit silentium), from
Catullus, *Epigr.* : *Ad Corneliū*,
4 ; *ErAdag.*, 981, B.

11. inuita Minerua] *ErAdag.*,
44, A.

si me (ut puto) intus probe et in cute nosti, quid respuis laudes cogniti ? Si me dudum spectatum habes, quur detractas iudicium spectati ? Si me amicum, ut facis, probas, quare tanto-
 20 pere deprecari laudes legitimi amici ? Amicum, scilicet, qui nusquam ridet, circumuenit, palpat ; neque si id posset, aliquando uellet : cui satius hæ sunt partes in utranque partem de amico libere proloqui quod de eo sentit libere. An te fugiat nil æque firmam amicitiam decere, nil magis legitimos amicos
 25 probare una pulchra libertate ? Qua cuique (quoties res postulat) liberum, integrum sit præclaras amicorum artes, studia, mores, gesta in cœlum pleno ore efferre ? Aut contra, in probra, uitia, peccata illorum stilum uertere, genuinum acuere, accusationum fulmina, Philippicarum tonitrua emit-
 30 tere ?

Quod si forte dixeris : Vera, inquam, mi Buslidiane, nar-
 ras ; pulchrum esse ab amico amice laudari, si non tam sæpe
 (ut fit) cæcutiret atque hallucinaretur iudicium amici. Ad
 quod respondens fateor, tunc illud facile neque falli, nec
 35 quempiam fallere, quando in idem coeunt, consentiunt, astypulantur iudicia bonorum, suffragia doctiorum, puncta candidorum. Quod si nec adhuc ijs contentus obiter obijcias pulchrum esse laudari, id modo fiat a uiro laudato : proinde ego uiderim utrum is sim qui recte te possit laudare, uel cuius
 40 tu laudes debeas agnoscere. Vrgens profecto huiusmodi interpellatio tua : verum haud eo urgens, ut aut a causa cadam, aut uela (ut aiunt) uortam : age ergo, esto non sim tam spectabilis, tam laudatus, a quo tua (quæ sunt optima) auspicari fidem, mutuari laudem possent : quum iuxta uetus ada-
 45 gium : Vino uendibili, suspensa nil opus sit hædera : nolim tamen (quod citra arrogantiam dixerim) me ipsum adeo humi repentem, inglorium, illaudatum uirum existimatum iri, a quo turpe, indignum putes tua nonnunquam legi, lau-
 dari, mirari ; maxime quem semel tua dignum amicitia (qua
 50 nil antiquius), tuarum honore literarum (quibus nil gratius)

20 qui nusquam &c.] on p. 188 37 candidorum]-at- exp 38 esse &c.] on p. 189

17. intus... et in cute] *ErAdag.*, 362, v.

38. <laudari> a uiro laudato] *Cp. Epp.* 18, 9, sq.

42. uela... uortam] *Erasmus* :

Vela uertere : *Horace, Od.*, I, 34, 3 ; *ErAdag.*, 356, v.

45. Vino uendibili... hædera] *ErAdag.*, 589, c.

honestandum duxeris. Quæ duo, non tam occasionem quam uel materiam præstiterè mihi, quod sic frigide tua laudando tentauerim facibus solem iuuare, redundanti mari guttas infundere : quod tamen non eo consilio esse a me factum existimes, os tibi sublinerem, caput demulcerem, vel tibi (ut aiunt) cristas adderem ; cæterum eo ad id adductum me studio, ut tua sic uero laudando atque in ore habendo, ego aliquando conarer assequi quæ in te tantopere suspicerem. Quare recte, candide feceris, si ijs (qualiacunque sint) a nobis
60 in medium adductis, posito supercilio, boni consulas ; quod ut sic facias, te tam oro quam qui maxime.

Præterea quod (ut scribis) literæ nostræ mirifice placuere, gaudeo sane maxime, idque tanto magis quod placeant tibi ipsi, arcem (ut dicunt) tenenti, in eo propter quod illæ placeant.
65 ceant. Facit præterea ad gaudium nostrum tritum illud proverbum, esse scilicet pulcherrimum athletam Herculi, minimum Roscio placere. Proinde non detrecto tantum testimonium ; non deprecor tantam laudem tuam, quæ me si uera est ornat ; sin falsa, castigat : aut id quod suum Cyrum laudauit Xenophon : non quod tunc talis esset, sed qualem futurum optabat, admonet.

54 quod tamen &c.] on p. 190 64 propter quod] between two upward strokes
72 admonet &c.] on p. 191

53. facibus solem iuuare] Erasmus : *Lumen soli mutuas*, from the Greek τὸ φῶς ἡλίῳ δαίτεις ; also *Solem adiuuare facibus* (a quotation from Pope Anacletus in Gratianus, *causa* vi) : ErAdag, 284, c, 1128, c.

53. mari guttas infundere] Erasmus : *In mare deferre aquam*, and *Mari a fossa aquam* : ErAdag, 284, c, 762, d ; this adagium is quoted by Erasmus under the title *In Sylvam ligna ferre* (DCCLVII), which is immediately followed (DCCLVIII) by *Lumen Soli mutuas*, which close vicinity, both in Erasmus' collection and Busleyden's letter, like that of two other proverbs on Epp. 49, 170-171, — is almost certainly due to the influence of the *Adagia* ; — from his studies on Gratian, Busleyden substituted another shape to the second expression, which

was only inserted into Erasmus' series in the edition of March 1533 (Ad. MMMDCCCXXV : BB, E, 101). Cp. §§ 151, 163.

55. os tibi sublinere] Erasmus : *Os sublinere* : Plautus, *Mil. Glor.*, II, 1, 32 ; *Poen.*, V, iv, 23 ; *Epid.*, 6 ; ErAdag., 200, d.

55. caput demulcerem] *Demulcere caput* : ErAdag., 725, d.

56. cristas adderem] Erasmus : *cristas detrahere* : ErAdag., 324, d.

60. posito supercilio] Erasmus : *Supercilium ponere* : ErAdag., 317, a.

64. arcem... tenenti] probably allusion to the principles of contemporary strategy.

66-67. prouerbium... pulcherrimum athletam Herculi, minimum Roscio placere] Erasmus. *Roscus* : ErAdag., 1114, r-1115, a.

69. suum Cyrum laudauit Xenophon &c.] *Cyropædia*, I, sq.

Porro quæ de dubio rerum statu, malignitate temporum præ sagis, tot et tantis astris, signis, monstris, portentis, malum undique omen mortalibus portendentibus : id ita futurum
 75 esse ut tu times ; identidem ipse timeo ; flagicijs nostris iram uindicem deorum lacessentibus, quando non tam olim Aphrica tot monstris quam uel nunc nostra quam incolimus Europa scatet : quo fit ærumna ærumnas, calamitas calamitates ad se (non secus ac Cæcias, ut aiunt, nubes) trahet ; adeo
 80 ut facile hinc augurer, nisi me sententia fallat (quæ tamen utinam falleret) tempestatem illam capitibus nostris iam prope imminentem, non solum quid aduersi minitantem, cæterum uel ipsam (quam uocant) malorum Lernam esse allaturam. Quam ut uitare possimus, offensus a nobis Deus
 85 est supplicationibus, expiationibus, sacrificijs in tempore placandus : alioqui tarde nimis ut Phryges sapimus.

Postremo quod in umbelico literarum tuarum studiorum tuorum primitias nobis tam liberaliter offeras, habeo iam

84 offensus] e indist. by blue paint 88 offeras &c.] on p. 192

73. tot et tantis astris, signis, monstris, portentis] The first decennium of the xvith century was marked by several disasters which were supposed to have been announced by astronomic portents : whereas the winter of 1506 was extraordinarily mild, that of 1507 was hard and long : it still snowed in June 1507. On August 23, 1504, an earthquake was felt from Brussels to Antwerp : Torfs, II, 50, 57, 151, 190. Epidemics made many victims in 1507, the number of which was enlarged by the ruthless incursions of the *Snaphanen*, the black Ghelderland raiders. Zeeland, Holland and Friesland suffered heavily from floods in 1502, 1503, 1506, 1507, and especially, 1508 and 1509 : Torfs, I, 69, 289. — In his *Chronica Ducum Brabantiae*, Barlandus relates for 1506 : Mortem Philippi <the Fair : Sept. 25, 1506 : *Epp.* 29, 3> stella crinita præcessit, quæ mense Augusto <1506> per dies ferme octodecim visa est. Ego fabulosum esse existimo, quod quidam scripsit per idem tempus accidisse apud Hollandos in pue-

ro, qui materno adhuc conclusus vtero, dies plus quam duodecim fleuerit. Quo prodigio demonstrata sint mala, quibus Hollandiam postea Gelrus afflixit : *Barl-Hist.*, 207; cp *Chron.Mét.*, 114-15.

76. olim Aphrica tot monstris] no doubt an allusion to the proverb quoted by Erasmus : *Semper Africa novi aliquid apportat* (*ErAdag.*, 886, 1), which he attributes to Aristoteles and Pliny who refer by it to new kinds of beings ; it probably was an adaptation of *Semper adjfert Libya mali quippiam* : (*ErAdag.*, 885, 1, alluding to the shady characters of the men coming to Rome from the North of Africa. Cp. the Colloquium *Diversoria* : EOO, I, 716, 1 ; Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, 2266 (in *Quarto* ; *Folio* 2241).

79. Cæcias... nubes) trahet] *ErAdag.*, 206, 1.

83. malorum Lernam] *ErAdag.*, 122, 1.

86. tarde nimis ut Phryges sapimus] Erasmus : *Phryges sero sapiunt* : *ErAdag.*, 37, 1, 206, 1.

gratiam : eam tunc propensius acturus ubi me tanto honore
 90 dignatus fueris : quod ex animi sententia ocysus fiat, in tua
 manu est. Quare uelim fac ne illorum me spes uel demum
 fallat, aut longior mora diutius conficiat ; alioqui re ipsa, ali-
 quo uel magno malo tuo probaturus quam sim exactor durus,
 creditor intractabilis. Interea bellissime uale, Marliane mi
 95 suauissime, et epistolas iam nostras ad te treis qualescunque
 sint, candidus lege, boni consule ; quas non ut uel tibi ob-
 streperem inconcinnus anser, uel crabrones irritarem, uel
 auram popularem captarem, exarauerim : sed magis quo ali-
 quando in gratiam redirem cum Musis atque literis politiori-
 100bus, quas dudum a lumine salutans (ueluti e Nilo canis)
 degustaram. Jterum uale.

BuslMS, 202-205 (i 10 v-k 2 r)

<Mechlin, first half of 1508>

51. — TO JOHN BECKER, OF BORSELEN

This letter, inscribed '*Ioanni Borsalo...*', was written after Busleyden had heard of the complete failure of his attempt at making his nephew Erdorf take any interest in studies and in his own training. Indeed the young man, who had already disappointed his uncle as a student in the Lily (*Epp.* 30, 31), once more did so in the house of Henry Viruli, where he had an excellent preceptor, John Becker (*Epp.* 32), possibly even a companion in Francesco Friscobaldi (*Epp.* 33). That Busleyden took the matter to heart, follows from the way in which he represents the boy's indolence and his lack of all character, referring to it as a *morbus pestifer* (ll. 38, 41), as an *interitus præsente-
neus* (l. 35), which is entirely in his humanistic conception of studies and literary education ; — whereas the boy was probably of a weakly constitution, and may have lacked all physical power and endurance, which explains his untimely death (*Epp.* 67, 3). Cp. before, § 11.

SALUE PLURIMUM MI IOANNES

INDIGNATUS totus, doloreque iusto undique percitus, quo
 me uortam ? quidue scribam, aut consilij capiam, prorsus
 nescio, quando quod tantopere uerebar et toties ueridicus

98 auram]

93. quam sim... creditor in-
 tractabilis] cp. *Epp.* 24, 14, sq,
 38, 10-14, 58, 6.
 93. exactor durus] cp. *Epp.* 38,
 12-13, &c.
 95. epistolas... treis] viz. *Epp.*
 47, 49 and this one.

97. obstreperem inconcinnus
 anser] cp. *Epp.* 2, 30, 41, 1.
 97. crabrones irritarem] Eras-
 mus : *Irritare crabrones* : *ErAdag.*,
 50, D.
 100. e Nilo canis] Erasmus : *Ut
 canis e Nilo* : *ErAdag.*, 361, c.

(utinam falsus) præsagierat animus, jđ iam, proh dolor, acci-
 5 disse intelligam. Quo factum est, prioribus literis tuis respon-
 dere hucusque distulerim, sperans acerbitatem accepti doloris,
 accessione temporis lenire, simul proteruum illum perditissimi
 adolescentis animum interim resipiscere posse. Verum et hoc
 ipsum uotum fallax illa et toties uana spes mea plane luit,
 10 adeo ut nisi rursus falli me et decipi uelim, necesse sit omnino
 expes posthac perstem, hac in re unam meam atque tuam
 incusando uicem, quibus is puer formandus obuenerit, jñ quo
 formando, instituendoque oleum perdentes et operam, pro
 gloria uerecundiam, pro gaudio dolorem, pro fructu damnum
 15 reportaremus. O pietatem male recognitam ! O insignem in-
 gratitudinem ! O inconsultam, cæcam, perditam iuuentutem
 cui nihil (præterquam animus) defuerit: cætera omnia abunde
 quidem et affatim suppetierint, quæcunque illum, modo
 uoluisset, quum studiosum, tum literis et moribus præstan-
 20 tem reddere potuissent. Quæ tamen perditus ille misellus,
 inconsultus, sui oblitus, degener, maiorum suorum uestigijs
 minus hærens relinquit, posthabet, flocifacit.

Quod quum ita sit, quam altum hinc pectori meo uulnus
 insederit, non possum litteris iam consequi, te id tamen mente
 25 et cogitatione uelim complecti. Quod quidem poteris facile,
 modo nostram in hunc curam et pietatem plus quam exube-
 rantissimam ante oculos ponas : quæ quantum in illum pro-
 pensa, quamue de eius institutione et salute semper fuerit
 sollicita, anxia, tu ipse inter cæteros complures locupletissi-
 30 mus occurris testis ; jtem et hospes ille tuus, uir candidus :
 adeo ut eius receptum et plenum fidei testimonium non sit
 nisi et pietati nostræ maximam fidem et illius proteruitati per-
 petuæ infamiæ notam allaturum. Verum ut ijs querelis (ne-
 quicquam profuturis) interim posthabitis præsens remedium

4 dolor] lo over line S 5 intelligam &c.] on p. 203
 21 degener &c.] on p. 204 22 flocifacit]

8. adolescentis] Cornelius Er-
 dorf : cp. *Epp.* 31, 34.

11. expes] viz., disinteresting
 himself completely from the
 bringing up of his nephew : cp.
Epp. 30 to 34, 36.

13. oleum &c.] Erasmus :
Oleum et operam perdididi: *ErAdag.*,
 171, E.

30. hospes] Henry Viruli :
 cp. *Epp.* 30, *pr.*

31. testimonium] Soon after
 Erdorf had entered Viruli's house,
 Busleyden received a *commenda-
 tio... haud contemnenda* from the
 host, to which he referred in
Epp. 31, 17.

35 cogitemus, quo pereuntem adolescentem ab interitu præsente-
taneo ad uitam reuocemus. Super quo cogitanti mihi, quum
nullum aliud hoc tempore occurrat quo illi adsim, velim
hospitem tuum, uirum consultissimum, super illius morbo
consulas ; quo sic consulto una cum adolescente ad nos te
40 ocyus conferas, simul uisuri, consulturiquam maturius, quali
pharmaco aut quo antidoto morbus ille pestifer non corporis,
sed male sanæ mentis ac deprauati animi demum (si qua spes
sit) curari possit. Vale.

BuslMS, 263-265 (3 r-4 r)

⟨Mechlin, middle of 1508⟩

52. — TO ADRIAN HERBOUTS

Antwerp Pensionary

This letter, entitled '*Adriano Herberio Pension'rio Anuerpi.*', was written to acknowledge the receipt of a bow which Herbouts sent as a present to his friend who wishes to know whether he has to use it in the service of Cupido, or in that of Mars ; or imitate the use which Diana makes of hers. From the place in the collection it seems to belong to 1508, although no clue is given either by the contents, or by the allusion to Philip de Beuckelaer's recent marriage.

ADRIANE, AMICORUM OPTIME, SALUE

ARCUM illum (ut ita dicam) Herculeum quo me hodie do-
nasti, gratus accepi, vtpote munus tam te donante
dignum quam mihi donato gratissimum ; longe tamen gratius
tunc futurum ubi tandem abs te doctior euasero utri potissi-
5 mum hoc arcu militem, pharetratone Cupidini ? an sanguina-
rio Marti ? aut magis utrique ? Vel (quod rectius putauerim)
ipsi Dianæ ? Quæ quidem inprimis studio castitatis ducta,
luxus, illecebras, otia Veneris, deinde horrida cruenta bella

39 consulas &c.] on p. 205 4 tunc] over line S

38. morbo] no doubt, his obstinate refusal to study, possibly his insolence and want of respect towards the well-deserving preceptor that Becker was. The boy's weak constitution may explain his aversion from earnest work : he died prematurely : cp. *Epp.* 67, 3, sq. Yet there was as yet

no real illness, — as Busleyden clearly points out further (*ll* 39-40), for the boy was summoned before the Uncle as soon as Viruli would have suggested what to do in the occurrence.

2-3. munus... gratissimum] cp. *Epp.* 3, 2-3, &c.

Martis auersata, mauult suo arcu et iaculis armata per deuia
 10 quæque ferarum lustra passim inerrare quam inconsyderata
 nimis, aut ipsi Cupidini inseruire, aut Marti militare. Cuius
 Dianæ studium institutumque quum ego (ex ordine suscepto,
 continentiam professus, arma auersatus) maxime probem ;
 malim (tu modo identidem sentias) Dianæ hoc arcu meam
 15 qualiscunque sit operam locare, quam uel temere huius signa
 sequi, uel in illius uerba turpiter iurare : quorum alter, sicut
 nonnunquam mortalium corpora conficit, ita et alter sæpius
 illorum animos, alioqui masculos, eneruat effoeminatque, prout
 ipse quandoque expertus, periculum non sine periculo feci.
 20 Quare si in hoc consilium nostrum, simul et institutum tibi
 probetur, lubens id amplectar : sin minus, auide expecto quid
 contra sentias : quod quidem ita ubi uoles, probe præstabis,
 quando iampridem utriusque militiam tu professus, atque
 signa sequutus, sat superque tenes quantum præstat alter
 25 alteri ; deinde quid præmij adsertoribus et asseclis suis uter-
 que tandem rependat. Interea uale.

Philippum Buclerium, communem nostrum indiuiduum
 amicum, plurimum meo nomine saluere iubebis : quem intelli-
 go nuper uirginem tenellulam, lepidulam, moratam, præsta-
 30 bili familia ortam, fortunis pollentem, duxisse uxorculam.
 Quo nuntio ego mirifice recreatus Deum obtestor, id sibi
 bene uortat: illumque pulchra prole lætum parentem reddat.
 Rursus uale.

Raptim Mechilinæ.

9 armata &c.] on p. 264
 12 institutumque] tu *over line S* 24 alter &c.] on p. 265

12. ex ordine suscepto] Busleyden was a priest.

15. huius] evidently 'Martis': 'illius' referring to Cupid.

19. periculum... feci] cp. *Epp.* 71, 32. Nothing definite is known of this incident in Busleyden's life, except perhaps the item in the execution of the will about 'lijsken

van bruessel' should refer to it : cp. before, §§ 30, 84.

23. utriusque militiam] it shows that Herbouts had served in a war.

27. Buclerium] Philip de Beuckelaer, Antwerp business man : cp. *Epp.* 24, b.

BuslMS, 132-134 (f 5 v-f 6 v)

<Mechlin, Summer of 1508>

53. — TO JOHN GORITZ, OF LUXEMBURG

Agent in Rome

- a* This letter, entitled '*Ioan. Coritio, gentili suo Romæ agenti.*', was probably written in the summer of 1508, two years after Busleyden's return from Rome, where he, no doubt, had visited his countryman, who was, or may have been entrusted already before, with a lawsuit which he and his brother Valerian were pursuing in behalf of their nephews. The latter can hardly have been any others but Cornelius Erdorf and his one — possibly more — sisters.
- b* John GORITZ, *Coritius*, or rather *Senex Corycius*, as his over-erudite friends called him, alluding to Virgil's half verse <*memini me*> *Corycium vidisse senem* (*Georg.*, IV, 127), was born in Luxemburg; he studied arts and law, after which he entered James Wimpfeling's service as *familiaris*, until, on his master's advice and with his help, he went to Rome (*WimpfLeb.*, 176; *Trit.*, 387). He entered the *Curia*, May 1497, and served six popes, from Alexander VI to Clement VII, as protanotary and *familiaris*: J. Burchard, *Diarium*: Paris, 1883-85: II, 377, 482, 539; *BalanR*, 325. Under Julius II he was secretary of the *Memoriali*, which caused him to be identified with the personage in black walking besides the Pope on his *sedes gestatoria* in Raphael's stanza, representing Heliodorus chased from the Temple (*Pastor*, III, 867), and he was amongst the four of Adrian VI's countrymen branded by Berni as being barbarous even in their names: 'Copis, Vincl, Corizio e Trincheforte' (Berni, *Rime*, edited by Virgili: Florence, 1885: 132; *FuggRom.*, I, 231). He also was *receptor supplicationum*, juridical agent and procurator for all who applied to him: thus his fees are recorded for his share in a lawsuit against the Duke of Saxony for Liège diocese in 1517 (*LiègeDoc.*, II, 9, 38), whereas, in September 1516, Gilles de Blocquerie, in another suit, addressed his *substitutum*, a Sebastian Leymerlin '*in domo d. Jo. Coritii*' (*LiègeDoc.*, I, 421-429; *AléaLiège.*, 159-61, 322; cp. *KkMiltiz.*, 67). By that time (*viz.*, between Dec. 1, 1505 and March 19, 1513), he had secured the deanery of Bernkastel, in Treves diocese (*FuggRom.*, I, 40), and, like all his country-men in Rome, he had contributed about 1511 towards the building of the church of *Sta. Maria dell' Anima* (*FuggRom.*, I, 204).
- c* His fame is chiefly based on his generosity to literators; he was the 'Father and Maecenas of all poets'; Hummelberger, Aperbach, Ursinus Velius, and all other German literary men who came to Rome, found a most cordial welcome in his house (*Pastor*, IV, I, 447; *Anima*, 257-58; *Nolhac*, 71; *Bauch*, *Kaspar Ursinus Velius*: Buda-Pest, 1886; *Mameran.*, 16). He was a member of the *Romana Academia*, and, following Angelo Colocci's example, he invited all the members to celebrate their patron-saint, St. Anne, by a solemn Mass and by a sumptuous feast. On such annual Festivals he gathered — both in his house, enriched with most splendid works of antique art, and in his *Vigna*, or vineyard, near Trajan's Forum, — men like Pietro Bembo and

James Sadoletto, Jerome Vida and Baltasar Castiglione, Paolo Bombasio and Celio Calcagnini, Gilles of Viterbo and Polydore Vergilio (Pastor, III, 751-52, 782, IV, i, 380, 429; Burckhardt, 231, 239; Symonds, 409; *Aléandre*, 113-114; Fr. Güldner: *Jacob Questenberg* : Wernigerode, 1905 : 1-5). Thus, when in June 1516, Aleander reached Rome, he was invited to the *annalia*, which were celebrated by Coricius according to custom; he recorded that he took part in the *saliari cæna in hortis suis, magno doctorum et clarorum virorum conventu*, and that he had amongst his neighbours Colocci and the younger Beroaldo (*Aléa Jour.*, 17; J. Paquier, *De Philippi Beroaldi junioris Vita & Scriptis* : Paris 1900 : 35, 77, sq). Writing in 1529 to Angelo Colocci, James Sadoletto sadly deplores that no feast is held any longer, and he recalls, amongst other sweet memories, the '*dulces... Corycii iracundias*' : SadolE, 247; Burckhardt, 239; Prowe, I, 283.

d In honour of their patron-saint Goritz had caused the sculptor Sansovino to adorn the chapel he had erected in the church of St. Augustin, with an altar, and the artist created a beautiful group representing St. Anne with her daughter and her grand-child (A. Schönfeld, *Andrea Sansovino und seine Schule* : Stuttgart, 1881 : 21, sq; Pastor, III, 783). That group and the *Ara Coryciana* became the subject of many Latin poems by friends who availed themselves of the opportunity to praise their generous host; the example of the papers with Latin verses affixed to the statues, was followed with so many Italian poems that the group had to be protected by a railing, as Hummelberger related in February 1515 (*HumSchwab.*, 267; Burckhardt, 231, 506). A few years later, in July 1524, the poet Blosio Paladio edited the Latin poems as *Coryciana* (Rome, L. Vicentinus, 1524); that bundle, the oldest Roman 'Müsenalmanach' as it has been called, contains, besides a letter from Goritz himself, verses by men like Bembo and Castiglione, by Vida and Flaminio (Geiger, in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literatur der Renaissance* I, 1886 : 145-61, 523; Pastor, IV, i, 429, ii, 152; Burckhardt, 231, 506; HutO, III, 271-76). In St. Augustin Raphael painted for Coritius the gigantic fresco of the prophet Isaias with two angels (Pastor, III, 860).

e With all that, Goritz enjoyed a great renown of prudence and experience : with James Questenberg, he was one of the procurators whom the Cologne Dominicans entrusted by 1520 with the mission of obtaining from Leo X the settling of the Reuchlin case in full amiability, so that neither party should feel hurt, as Cochläus announced to Pirckheimer on June 12, 1520 : Heumann, 48, sq; ; HutE, I, 358-59; Reuchlin, 449; H. Horawitz, *Zur Biographie und Correspondenz Joannes Reuchlin's* : Vienna (*Sitzungsberichte*, 86), 1877 : 7. Unfortunately the glorious career ended miserably at the *Sacco di Roma*, when Coritius' wealth hardly sufficed to buy his life; he escaped to Verona where he died from grief by the end of 1527 in utter poverty : the gold even which he had buried in his garden, had been found and stolen by the Spanish soldiers : Pierio Valeriano, *De Infelicitate Literatorum* (edited by Mencken), 369, sq.; *Aléandre*, 113; Symonds, 444; Cp. G. Roscoe & L. Bossi, *Vita e Pontificato di Leone X* : Milan, 1816, sq; VII, 211, sq, VIII, 214, sq; F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* : Stuttgart, 1896 : VIII, 227, sq., 285, 296, sq, 324, sq, 328, 595; D. Gnoli, *Storia di Pasquino* : Rome, 1890 : 69, sq.; Allen,

v, 1342, 326; *ADB*; Pastor, III, 751, 782-3, 860, IV, i, 429; *Anima*, 274.
 f Erasmus made Coritius' acquaintance on his first stay in Rome, in February 1509, at the same time as that of the Hungarian ambassador James Borsody Piso, who afterwards wrote to Goritz from Vilna on Sept. 26, 1514, describing his negotiations on Leo X's behalf between the King of Poland and the Duke of Muscovy, as well as the battle of Smolensko; probably Goritz communicated that letter to Erasmus who published it in *Iani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X de Expeditione in Turcas Elegeia* (Basle, J. Froben, August 1515: Allen, I, 216, *pr*). On February 1, 1523, in his letter to Marc Laurin, Erasmus enumerating the friends he made in Rome in 1509, named *Coricius, vir candidissimi pectoris*; on August 31, 1524 he again mentioned him with two other Roman acquaintances, Sadoletto and Alcyonius, in his letter to Hajo Herman Hompen Frisius: Allen, V, 1342, 326, 1479, 170.

SALVE DECUS MEUM

TUUM istud biennale quo mecum agis silentium, nescio
 quam in partem accipiam, bonamne an malam. Quod
 si recte de eo suspicari liceret, quem semel probaueris et cuius
 fides magis spectata quam facies fuerit cognita, certe certe
 5 hoc tuum Pythagoricum silentium improbarem. Verum enim-
 uero quum haud facile quiuis ueniat iudicandus amicus, neque
 semel talis iudicatus, haud leuiter suspicandus, nolim ani-
 mum ad ea inducere quæ aliquando nostram de te conceptam
 læderent opinionem: quin satius si quid hoc in officio fuerit
 10 peccatum, id totum qualecunque sit arduis tuis donare occu-
 pationibus, quas inuitum te ac reluctantem ab amicorum
 cultu euocare, malim prorsus credere quam in aliquo dubitare:
 in eadem sententia constanter duraturus, modo tandem tam
 diuturnum silentium resartias desyderata copia tuarum lite-
 15 rarum.

Quod sic iuxta uotum ocyus præstes te obtestor: & si pateris
 per dulcem (quæ teque meque tulit) patriam, sanctissime
 adiuro ijs tuis literis Valerianum tuum atque me certiores
 faciendo quo in statu, spe et expectatione consistant causa

1 mecum agis] *corr. from magis* S 4 certe certe] 14 resartias &c.] *on p. 133*

1. biennale] Busleyden, after having met Coritius in Rome in the winter of 1505-6 (cp. *Epp.* 27, a), may have written to him about arrangements taken there which had to be approved of by his brother and possibly by their

sister; the lawsuit in question most probably had been entrusted already then for some time to the Luxemburg agent in the *Curia*.

18. Valerianum] Busleyden's youngest brother: cp. before, §§ 8, 9, 10.

20 et controuersia nepotum nostrorum, tuæ iampridem fidei
 commissa. Sat superque tenes quot iam annos sub iudice lis
 pendeat; quot in illa labores, uigiliæ, curæ exanclatæ; præter-
 ea quam grauis et profusissima a nobis facta impensa : quæ
 omnia ipsis miseris nepotulis incomparabile dispendium, et
 25 Valeriano mihiq̃ue iustum dolorem sunt paratura, si tu unica
 (post Deum) spes nostra, firma anchora, unicum præsidium
 defueris : idque eo magis quanto pars aduersa maioribus qui-
 bus pares non sumus nititur patronis, qui quot qualesque
 sint, tu quidem uel me tacente, probe nosti. Quare tui car-
 30 doris et fidei erit, tanto audentius contra niti atque durare,
 quanto hinc gloriosior te manebit triumphus, hostibus tam
 strenue repugnantibus quam ignaue cedentibus partus. Quod
 quum ita sit, magna me spes fouens, magnos mihi animos
 facit te hac in causa tam pia, pauperculos pupillos nusquam
 35 deserturum, maxime quorum patronis et iustis uindicibus
 coelum futura sit patria atque post cineres gloria debeatur
 æterna. Vale.

BuslMS, 107-110 (e 3 r-e 4 v) <Mechlin, February 15/28, 1509>

54. — TO BERNARDINO LOPEZ DE CARVAJAL
 CARDINAL 'SANCTÆ CRUCIS'

a This letter is entitled 'BERNARDI. CARDI/NALI SANCTAE. + ./
 LEGATO APL'ICO.'; it is a reply to a message from Carvajal announc-
 ing his arrival in Rome, which he reached on January 12, 1509. It
 follows that, allowing for a few days' space between arriving and
 writing, this letter was probably dated by the middle or in the latter

31 tam] *over line* 32 cedentibus &c.] *on p. 134*

20. nepotum] reference cannot
 have been made here to any of
 Ægidius de Busleyden's children,
 who had their father as natural
 protector, but to the children of
 their youngest sister Catherine,
 who had married an Erdorf, and
 was already a widow by 1505. She
 had a son Cornelius, of whose
 education Jerome took charge
 (cp. *Epp.* 31, *b, c*), besides one,
 possibly more daughters, who
 soon lost their mother; they were

no doubt the *pupilli* for whom the
 uncles took up a lawsuit.

34. pupillos] at the time of this
 letter, Catherine de Busleyden,
 who had been a widow for some
 years, probably was no longer
 alive, judging from the complete
 absence of any mention of her in
 Jerome's letter about her son's
 break-down in 1508 : cp. before,
 § 11; *Epp.* 31, *b, c, 36, 30, sq.*
 and 51.

half of February 1509. — When Adrian of Utrecht was elected Pope on January 9, 1522, the news reached Charles V in Brussels in the morning of January 18, and the official letter on January 21 : Pastor, iv, ii, 24 : such speed can hardly have been used here.

b Bernardino (or Bernaldino) LOPEZ DE CARVAJAL, born at Plasencia, in Spain, about 1457, — was probably a relative of the noble-hearted and most venerable Cardinal Juan Lopez de Carvajal, created in 1446 by Eugene IV : Pastor, I, 276, *sq.* ; II, 548, III, 65. In his youth he had defended the authenticity of Constantine's Donation against Lorenzo Valla in a long memoir, which entailed his voyage to Italy, where he served Sixtus IV as chamberlain (Maurenbrecher, 103). He was provided with several preferments, amongst them the see of Carthagine granted by Innocent VIII. He was Bishop of Sigüenza, when, at the opening of the Conclave after Innocent VIII's death, on August 6, 1492, he pronounced a most earnest and impressive sermon on the miserable state of the Church and on the duty of the electors (Pastor, III, 290; Trit., 442). In May 1493 he took a leading part in the arrangement by which Spain and Portugal were to share the newly discovered territories (Pastor, III, 518 ; Mourret, 220-21 ; *DébAgMod.*, 56) ; on September 20, 1493, at King Ferdinand's request, Alexander VI created him Cardinal in reward of the eminent services he had rendered, which made his career more and more glorious every year : Pastor, III, 319 ; his title was first that of SS. Marcellinus and Peter ; it was changed on Febr. 2, 1495 for that of *Santa Croce de Jerusalemme*. He was a very learned man and a favourer of literature ; his ability as diplomatist made him be used on several occasions : on May 11, 1495 he was sent with Cardinal Pallavicini to discourage Charles VIII from entering Rome ; on August 31, 1496, he welcomed Maximilian I as Legate in Milan and made up with him a lifelong friendship (Pastor, III, 357, 368). At Alexander VI's death, on August 19, 1503, he became the leader of the Spanish Cardinals, and in the days, when several of his countrymen were persecuted in Rome out of hatred of the deceased Pope, he sheltered them in his own palace (Pastor, III, 529, 551). Although in the Conclave of September, 1503, he gathered at one turn twelve votes, he could not stand against the French Cardinal George d'Amboise and Giuliano della Rovere, nor against Francesco Piccolomini, who became Pius III (Pastor, III, 555, *sq.*).

c At his accession to the Papal See on November 1, 1503 as Julius II, Giuliano della Rovere bound himself to convene a General Council within two years, and at once made use of Carvajal's services, who, with Cesare Borgia and the Spanish party, had greatly contributed to his election. In February 1504, the new Pope sent him as his confidential helper to see to his interests in his strife against Venice (Pastor, III, 563, 596, 909), and, at the same time, in his quarrel against Cesare Borgia (Pastor, III, 587-89). When the latter surrendered the fortresses which the Pope claimed, Carvajal let the dangerous man go free, which greatly disappointed Jules II (Rossbach, *Leben des... de Carvajal*, 84, 89-90). From then on Carvajal was distrusted by the Pope, although he was granted several preferments, and sent as Legate to Maximilian of Austria on August 4, 1507 : *Aléa Jour.*, 10 ; *FuggRom*, I, 50). He met the Emperor at Innsbruck in the middle of September 1507, and stayed for several months at his Court, in order to bring

him to accede to Julius II's wishes : thus he was to prevent him to come to Italy with an army to be invested as Emperor ; and was to offer him to be anointed by two Cardinals who were to be sent on purpose as Legates to Germany ; Maximilian, however, stood on his being crowned on the other side of the Alps. Carvajal was further commissioned to induce Maximilian to enter a league against the Turks, as well as against Venice, which implied friendship with France ; he reached his aim, in so far that, after having been proclaimed Emperor-elect on February 4, 1508, by his great councillor Bishop Matthew Lang, of Gurk, Maximilian started attacking Venice. Carvajal was then at Bozen in Tyrol, preparing an understanding between the Emperor and France against Venice, which developed into the *League of Cambrai* on December 10, 1508. In the shaping of that League Margaret of Austria was one of the responsible and subscribing parties, for which the Emperor had given her full powers in his letter dated from the Castle of Turnhout, Oct. 1508 : Th. Juste, *Charles V et Marguerite d'Autriche* : Brussels, 1858 : 41-47. It brought Carvajal to make a lengthy stay in Mechlin, and to become acquainted with the Lady Regent, who, by 1510 wrote to him to request his protection for Prince Charles's preceptor Adrian of Utrecht (Bergh, I, 226-27 ; *Epp.* 21, g). The Legate had returned to Rome on January 12, 1509, but had failed to give satisfaction to the Pope, who meanwhile had realized that the conclusion of the League of Cambrai was to bring foreign powers as rulers and masters to Italy : Pastor, III, 626-629 ; *MargvOK*, 257, 266, 286-89, 303, *sq.* 312, *sq.* 327, *sq.*

^d When in the following year 1510, the French army invaded Italy, it was hailed by many as the herald of the new times, as a means of the reform which Julius II had promised, but delayed executing : the General Council seemed to be completely forgotten, and yet was, day by day, felt more and more to be indispensable. By the middle of October, Carvajal had joined the party that saw a saviour of the Church in Louis XII, for he had set his mind on a Council, and possibly aimed at the Pope's dismissal to gain the mastery over the North of Italy. At any rate with the Cardinals Briçonnet, de Prie, Sanseverino and Francesco Borgia, Carvajal broke the unity of the Sacred College ; on May 16, 1511, with three more colleagues, they called together a Council, which was to meet at Pisa on September 1 following : Pastor, III, 655-668 ; Maurenbrecher, 103, *sq.*

^e As the oldest of the Cardinals so grouped, he became the head of the dissident party, and thus seconded Louis XII in his aggressive policy and in his protection of slanderous libels against the Pope (Pastor, III, 674). Their schism was doomed to be a failure : for Julius II, by a stroke of policy, decided to fight them with their own weapons, convening on July 18, 1511, a General Council to be held in Lateran from April 19, 1512 ; he also sentenced the promoters of, and the adherents to, the Pisa pseudo-council, to the ecclesiastical penalties. Things took a bad turn for Carvajal : King Ferdinand deprived him of his bishopric of Sigüenza in June 1511 ; Julius II, recovering from an illness, which in August 1511 had seemed to become fatal, took away from him all chances of ever becoming Pope, although Amboise had disappeared ; and by forming the Holy League with Spain and Venice, on October 4, 1511, the Holy Father got the ne-

cessary assurance to proceed against his rebelling Cardinals : he deprived Carvajal, Briçonnet, de Prie and Borgia of their dignities in the Consistory of October 24, 1511 (*Aléa Jour.*, 13), even before the actual opening of the Pisa Council, against which Maximilian finally expressed his decided opposition (Pastor, III, 679, 683, 685 ; *Ximenes*, 409, *sq.*). It was attacked by authors like Thomas de Vio, *Cajetanus*, whereas even several bishops under the French King refused to partake in it. Angelo de Vallombroso earnestly warned Carvajal not to break the Unity of the Church like a Lucifer or an Antechrist (Pastor, III, 693). Although seconded by the Italian poet Zaccaria Ferreri, the leader of the Pisa synod did not feel convinced : he was for certain tempted by his ambition, by his wish to outshine all others in riches, pomp and state and he could not forget that he once had nearly secured the tiara. He quarrelled with Briçonnet, and he estranged many adherents by his unreliable, weather-vane-like character ; realizing the unpopularity of his scheme, he even tried to reconcile himself with Julius II, who, however, stood on a personal request for pardon in Rome, from which Carvajal's pride recoiled.

f It thus happened that he could not but preside the scantily attended pseudo-council at Pisa from November 5, 1511, in which he acted as pope, declaring Julius II's decrees void of any value. Riots broke out on November 9 before his house, where he had gathered his adherents, so that he had to transfer the council to Milan under the protection of the French. On entering that town on December 7, he met with no better success : it was found that he and those who pretended reforming the Church, might begin reforming themselves ; meanwhile general disfavour clung to the sect ; the Pope took more stringent measures at the Consistories of January 17 and 30, 1512, whilst the superiors of the religious orders proceeded against men like Ferreri : Pastor, III, 693, *sq.*, 701, 930. A flicker of hope sparkled at the victory of the French under Gaston de Foix at Ravenna, April 11, 1512 (Pastor, III, 703-707), and the pseudo-council declared Julius II suspended from all spiritual and temporal administration ; yet at that very time Louis XII admitted that the whole to-do was no more than a farce to frighten Julius II, and when the Cardinal de' Medici, who had been taken prisoner, was brought into Milan, the people of the town fell on their knees to ask his absolution from all censures incurred by their war against the Pope : Pastor, III, 708. Most successfully the Council of Lateran started on May 10, 1512, with spokesmen like Cardinal Cajetano (Pastor, III, 709-13), and the rout of the French army in May and June 1512 ruined the *conciliabulum* : '*Papa Bernardino demandato Martino VI*' was obliged to remove with his adherents to Asti on June 4, and further to Lyons, where the schism died out by itself : Pastor, III, 714-5 ; Maurenbrecher, 102-107 ; Renaudet, 530-556. — On December 10, 1512, after Italy had been freed by the Liga, the Lateran Council pronounced the interdict on France, and summoned her clergy and people to appear within sixty days to hear their sentence about the Pragmatic Sanction : before the day was up, on February 20/21, 1513, Julius II died : Pastor, III, 724, *sq.* ; Renaudet, 666.

g Carvajal tried to obtain through Maximilian for his companions and for himself the right to enter the Conclave, which was not only

made impossible by the decision of the Sacred College, but even by the close guard kept on land and sea by the Spaniards (Pastor, iv, i, 12). With Sanseverino, Carvajal was taken prisoner at Florence, and Leo X offered them pardon and the restitution of their lost dignity, on condition they should humbly submit themselves and start by abandoning all the signs of the rank they had lost. For want of contrition, things went very slowly, and only at the last session of the Council of Lateran, on June 17, they sent word that they publicly repudiated the Pisa Council; they recognized that of Lateran as the only righteous one and they asked for pardon. On June 27, 1513, they came to the Vatican as simple clerici and, after asking the Pope's forgiveness, and after reading a solemn revocation of their past errors, they were reinstated as Cardinals (Pastor, iv, i, 30, 37-41, ii, 678-79; *Ximenes*, 475-76). Cp. *MarckBrust.*, 35-36; Enders, i, 328, 332; Imbart, ii, 138, 152, *sq.*, 158-167, 455-57; Jourdan, 75; *DébAgMod.*, 158.

h From then onward, Carvajal resumed his old life at the Curia: he announced on April 15, 1514 to Margaret of Austria that Pope Leo was sending the Golden Rose to her nephew Charles (*BCRH*, ii, xi, 217); he also went as Legate to France on May 28, 1514, to conclude a final agreement with the Holy See (Renaudet, 576), and he was made a member of the congregation of the Crusade in November 1517 (Pastor, iv, i, 152, *sq.*; *KkLuRPFfor.*, 113); he meanwhile ordered beautiful alterations in his church *de Santa Croce* (Pastor, iv, i, 394, ii, 710; *KkLuRPFfor.*, 130). As during his former stay in Germany, he had been a guest of James of Hoochstraeten at Cologne, he was applied to by Reuchlin's adversaries, and considered their chief protector. He liberated Hoochstraeten from the excommunication incurred for repudiating the sentence passed at Speyer on March 29, 1514 (*BeitFried.*, 24); and when the cause was submitted to the Pope, and Leo X appointed as arbiters the Cardinals Grimani and Accolti, every endeavour was tried to have Carvajal added as a third (ReuchlE, 234-41; HutOS, ii, 308). Adrian of Utrecht repeatedly appealed to him in the matter (April 21, 1514 and May 16, 1515: *BeitFried.*, 108-112; HutOS, i, 150-152); whereas Reuchlin mentioned to his friend Nicolas Ellenbog his rather hostile attitude (*EllenbE*, 127-128), to which refers also at least one of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* and the *Hochstratus Ovans*, adding that Carvajal had formerly also condemned Peter de Ravenna: HutOS, i, 219-20, 263, 472-73, ii, 307-308; Pastor, iv, i, 219-222; Reuchlin, 306, *sq.* — A few years later, in 1520, Carvajal took part in the proceedings against Luther (Pastor, iv, i, 273, *sq.*): in the preparation of the bull *Exsurge*, he objected to the insertion of the clause which called the appeal from the Pope to the General Council the heaviest charge against the Wittenberg professor (*ActAcLov.*, 86-88; Pastor, iv, i, 274; P. Kalkoff, *Zu Luthers Römischem Prozess*: Gotha, 1904: 120, *sq.*). John von der Wick must have sent word about it to Luther, who in August 1520, wrote to ask Carvajal's intercession for a composition, protesting his readiness to accept all conditions, except palinode and the blame of heresy, adding that, far from being afraid of censures and violence, he was prepared to defend himself, and was seconded by many others: the contents of that letter, which is not known to be extant, was communicated to Spalatin on August 23, 1520 (Enders, ii, 464-65; the preceding missive to

Spalatin is dated August 10 : *ibid.*, 458 ; KkLuRPFor., 42 ; KkLuRProz., 42 ; KkErasPol., 35 ; KkLuthEnt., 171 ; Jourdan, 218).

- i* At Leo X's death, Carvajal was the dean of the College of Cardinals ; his candidature was proposed, but was not any more accepted than that of any of the other cardinals present. When finally de' Medici proposed the absent Adrian of Utrecht, and Cajetano highly recommended that solution of what had become an inextricable entanglement, Carvajal prided himself to have brought out the last decisive vote, — which is also attributed to Cardinal Cupis : *AdriHöf.*, 89, *sq* ; *AdriBurm.*, 107, *sq.*, 144, *sq.* ; Pastor, IV, ii, 7, 11-12, 17-18). — Carvajal sent his chamberlain Antonio de Studillo to announce the result of the election to the new Pope, and to inform him of the share he had taken in the event, as well as of the opposition of the Imperial Orator in Rome, don Juan Manuel, which led to his revocation and to the appointment of don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza : *AdriE.*, *xix-xxx*, 47-58, 69, *sq* ; *AdriLep.*, 181, *sq* ; *AdriHöf.*, 230-32. As dean of the College and as Bishop of Ostia, Carvajal welcomed Adrian VI on his arrival in the Papal States on August 29, 1522 (Pastor, IV, ii, 47-48 ; *AdriBurm.*, 183, *sq.*, 192, *sq*). He continued taking part in public affairs during the new reign: he worked with Cardinal Cibo about the canonization of Bishop Benno of Meissen, proclaimed on May 31, 1523 (*KkLuRPFor.*, 75), and in April 1523 he was appointed, with two colleagues, to superintend the lawsuit of Cardinal Soderini : Pastor, IV, ii, 98, 128, 733. He proved ready at any time to proffer as well the benefit of his experience (*AdriHöf.*, 529 ; Janssen, II, 307) as of his own commodities : in the oppressively hot days of August (4-5) 1523, he was at San Marcellino the host of the Pope, just before the illness started that proved fatal. On that occasion Adrian VI is said to have remarked, when noticing that the animals to be used as food were brought alive in the kitchen for fear of poison : 'Indeed you were a Pope in Julius II's days !' (*AdriHöf.*, 529 ; *Ximenes*, 414). In the Conclave of October 8, 1523 Carvajal at first gathered eleven votes (Albergato, II, 14, 24, 37, *sq* ; Pastor, IV, ii, 164) ; still his chances, just like his lifetime, were at an end : he died a few weeks later, on December 16, 1523 : A. Ciaconius, *Vita et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et... Cardinalium* : Rome, 1677 : III, 170-7 ; *AdriBurm.*, 23-24 ; &c. Cp. H. Roszbach, *Das Leben und die Politisch-Kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal, Cardinal von S. Croce in Jerusalem in Rom, und das Schismatische Concilium Pisanum* : Breslau, 1892 ; HutOS, II, 307-308 ; &c. — Cerda y Rico announced in 1781 in his *Clarorum Hispanorum Opuscula* that he intended publishing some letters and tracts by Carvajal in a second volume : it has never appeared (M. Bataillon, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, xxxi : 202).

- k* Cardinal Carvajal was not a stranger to Jerome de Busleyden : the latter had studied in Padua with his nephew Roderico Carvajal, 'prothonotarius', mentioned as one of the witnesses of his promotion to Doctor of Laws on February 8, 1503 (*PDoct.*, 107). No doubt he had made better acquaintance during his stay in Rome in the winter of 1505-6, when sent to congratulate Julius II on his accession (cp. before, § 37 ; *Orat. A.*, *pr.*). In the spring of 1508, Carvajal, as Papal Legate in Germany, was working to bring about a league against Venice, which Maximilian had started attacking ; he wanted to

interest Spain and France and the Netherlands in the plan, which made him decide on visiting Margaret of Austria. He did not neglect the spiritual interests of the countries where he stayed as guest : thus by a bull made up at Memmingen on December 15, 1507, he had united unreformed convents to the body of the Saxon Augustinians under vicar-general John von Staupitz : Scheel, II, 483, 485, 661.

l When journeying northward, he passed through Cologne and Maestricht, from where the news of his presence reached Erard de la Marck, prince-bishop of Liége, who met him at Saint-Trond on his way to Louvain and Mechlin (*MarckBrust.*, 28, 35-36 ; *MarckHalk.*, 49, 89). He reached the latter town in the beginning of August and met with a brilliant reception : the town authorities came to greet him, and in the name of Prince Charles of Austria, Jerome de Busleyden wished him a hearty welcome at the gates of the town (*Orat. D, pr*; § 65). As the Emperor Maximilian was then in Holland, managing the defence against, and the attack of, the troublesome Charles of Egmont, Margaret of Austria had planned an interview at Dordrecht on Assumption day ; writing from Leyden on August 13, Maximilian expressed his regret that he could not meet her and the Legate, as he was fully engaged in the siege of Weesp (Bergh, I, 137-138). Still it did not last long before the Emperor returned to Brabant : it is recorded that a great solemnity brought together Maximilian and Margaret, Prince Charles and his sisters, and the whole Court in St. Rombaut's, where Carvajal officiated and delivered a sermon which was greatly admired : Moeller, 41-42 ; *ll* 27, *sq.* of this letter. — Hugo de Assendelff, who welcomed Maximilian, Aug. 16, at Haarlem, and followed him to Mechlin, was thurifer at that function, and recalled in 1531 a prophetic sentence of that sermon : *Nihil proficiet inimicus in eis*, &c : *MemAss.*, 228, 234.

m The Legate, who had accepted Busleyden's hospitality (*Epp.* 69, 43), found the time to make the acquaintance of many great men, such as the Dean of Louvain, Adrian of Utrecht with whom he stayed, probably on his journeys, and whose plan of founding a college in his house he greatly praised (*AdriBurm.*, 23-24, 90) ; he recommended him so warmly to the Pope on his return that the earnest scholar was invited to come to Rome (*AdriBurm.*, 24-25). He further befriended the Bishop of Arras, Nicolas Ruterius, who was then engrossed in the founding and endowing of his College in Louvain, and granted him several diplomas : one signed on September 1, 1508 in Brussels, approves of the foundation and gives the permission of building a chapel where Mass can be said daily and a bell sounded for that Mass and for the *Angelus* (FUL, 2237). On September 13 following, he granted an indulgence to all those who should visit that chapel on Assumption Day, on the feast of the Finding of the Cross, and on those of St. Gregory and St. Nicolas, and contribute to its repair or its conservation ; by another diploma, also given in Brussels on the same day, another indulgence is granted on the same conditions for the feasts of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of St. Bavo (FUL, 2238). A few weeks later, on October 6, he gave the permission to transfer to that chapel some relics from Cologne, Treves and Liége (FUL, 2238) ; moreover having been ascertained of the agreement of the parties and authorities interested, he incorporated into that College, on August 11, 1508, a pension of 30 florins on the provosty of Haarlem and on

September 15, 1508, the *personatus* of St. Michael's at Brecht (FUL, 2394, 2395; de Jongh, 43, 91; *Anal.*, xxxv, 476; *Epp.* 17, e).

- ⁿ The visit of the Legate, called Bishop of Tusculum in those deeds, lasted several weeks : before leaving for Cambrai, Margaret of Austria wished to have her nieces confirmed ; that ceremony took place in the chapel of the Palace soon after October 8. On that day Maximilian wrote from Schoonhoven to Margaret that he had given order to take his grandson Charles, who then was at Lierre, his, the grandfather's, chief residence, to Mechlin to receive that Sacrament with his two sisters (Moeller, 41-42) ; on that occasion the Prince addressed to the Pope Julius II a letter of thanks written in his childish round hand (Cartwright, 6-7). Cardinal Carvajal left Mechlin in the last days of October, and, in answer to the invitation made on his arrival into the Netherlands, he paid a visit to Bishop Erard de la Marck at Liège, where he was gloriously received by the entire population on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude : *MarckBrust.*, 28 ; *MarckHalk.*, 49, 89 ; *MarckChartr.*, 33, 44. Cp. *NijKron.*, 11, 2226.

LITTERIS tuis ex Agrippina Romanorum Colonia acceptis, mirifice sum recreatus, quod te eo uenisse cum uniuerso comitatu saluum nuntiarent. Hodie uero quum te felici progressu illam tuam toties desyderatam, caput orbis
 5 Romam tenere intelligebam, incomparabili sum gaudio affectus : quando citra omnem malignantis fortunæ casum Deo Optimo Maximo duce, peregrinationem difficilimam in tanta coeli inclæmentia et temporis incommoditate absolueris, tot asperissima Alpium superando iuga, donec tandem beatissimi
 10 mam illam altricem tui, uideres Urbem, te quidem ad se reducem, lætitia tanta et gratulatione excipientem quanto olim et moerore et dolore dimiserat abeuntem. Quod identidem præstitit gloriosissimus ille sacer Cardinalium Senatus, una cum triumphanti Apostolici ordinis curia aduentanti tibi obuius,
 15 te animis festiuissimis mire gratulantibus, intra alma moenia

6 fortunæ &c.] on p. 108

5. Romam tenere] Carvajal reached Rome on January 12, 1509 (Pastor, III, 627), having crossed the Alps in winter time, as Busleyden did in 1505.

8. coeli &c.] *ChronMét.*, 115.

13. Cardinalium Senatus &c.] that may have been part of the regular reception of a Legate returning from his mission ; at any rate it is recorded that Carvajal, who had already been appointed on July 16, 1507 as Legate to

meet the Emperor on his way to Italy, was only proclaimed publicly as such by Julius II at the *Consistorium* of August 4 ; the Pope said the customary prayers over the new Legate, who then resorted to the Convent of S. *Maria del Popolo* : 'Ibi fecit prandium et in aurora sequenti arripuit iter' : *Diarium* of Paris de Grassis, *MS.Lat.* 140 of Munich Library, f 113^a-114^b ; Pastor, III, 626.

Romæ reducens, summa in terris Christi Vicario præsentauit, a quo (quod illius iuxta uotum accepto Legationis munere præclare functus esses) pietate propensiore, profusissima gratulatione diceris exceptus. Quod quum ita sit, Deo Optimo
 20 Maximo immortales gratias ago qui tandem hac pulcherrima Legatione abs te honorificentissime functa, non solum te tuæ iamdudum optatæ Romæ, uerum et te ipsum tibi, quieti tuæ et sanctissimo diu intermisso otio reddidit; otio, scilicet suauissimis Sacrarum Scripturarum studijs, in quibus te iam-
 25 pridem supremum eminentissimumque locum uendicare, passim hic uulgata tua doctrina multifaria locupletissime testatur, præsertim Homelia tua luculentissima in æde diui Rumoldi abs te dicta, Cæsare Augusto Maximiliano, Serenissimo Castellæ Principe, Diua Margarita Cæsaris inclyta filia astantibus, una cum frequenti deuotissimi cleri et splendido tot Principum Procerumque ordine, arrectis omnium auribus, sanctos monitus doctrinæ tuæ salutiferæ haurientibus. Quæ quidem Homelia utinam (prout te facturum receperas) in litteras foret relata, qua maxime hic doctiorum turba, non dicam ego,
 35 tam alta etsi anhelanti, nondum tamen attingenti, ueluti coelesti cibo satiati, terrestrium rerum famem deponerent, et aquam salutarem e perenni fonte ore plenissimo haurirent. Quod ut adhuc demum sic præstes, te obnixius obtestamur, quandoquidem hoc ita præstando, non solum abs te super-
 40 stitibus, sed quod longe pientius est, consultum erit et posteris, quos uel hoc uno immortalis beneficio haud mediocriter demereberis : adeo ut ex hoc te quum pie uixisse, tum pie docuisse arguent : quo uno ab omnibus expetendo testimonio qui ornati extiterint, tum primum per gloriam æternum ui-
 45 uent ubi exuta hac umbratili momentanea uita, humanis adempti fuerint. Interea uale.

24 Scripturarum &c.] on p. 109 42 quum &c.] on p. 110

27. Homelia] there does not seem to be any indication as to the date of that solemnity : the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross suggested in (*NèveBusl.* 31,) Moeller, 42, might be prompted by the title of Carvajal's cardinalate. Still it is rendered highly improbable, if not impossible by the fact that, on that day, September

14, Maximilian was at the castle of Turnhout where the answer of Louis XII reached him; that answer caused him to give full powers to Margaret to discuss the terms of a treaty of peace which the French King declared himself ready to consider : Henne, 1, 194. The solemnity must have taken place between September

BuslMS, 149-151 (g 4 r-g 5 r)

<Mechlin, 1509>

55. — TO WILLIAM DE HEDA, PROVOST OF ARNHEM

- a* This letter, entitled '*Guil. Hædæ, Præpositi Arnemeñ...*', seems to belong to 1509 judging from the place it occupies in the collection, although no evidence can be derived from the text or the allusions. Cp. NèveBusl., 27.
- b* William de HEDA, a native of Alphen, near Leiden, on the Old Rhine, ALFINIUS, studied arts and promoted Bachelor of both Laws, most probably in Louvain : he may have been related to the Raso de Heda, who was elected dictator of the University there on August 30, 1471, and remained in that office until the spring of 1473 (VAnd, 50 ; ULDoc., I, 313). Heda entered the service of Maximilian of Austria as his secretary ; he afterwards was employed by Philip the Fair in that function. He thus got the occasion to secure several preferments : on November 23, 1496, Alexander VI granted him the *personatus* of St. Bonifacius in his native village Alphen, as well as the curacy 'de Hogenwittis', possibly Hoogvliet (Brom, I, 639) ; also on April 2, 1500, through the resigning of William of Enckenvoirt, the deanery of St. Gertrude's, Bergen-op-Zoom, and on October 13, 1501 and June 4, 1502, the rectorship of St. James's, Utrecht (Brom, I, 647, 518, 519) ; he obtained, besides, that of Edam (Henne, I, 319). On January 2, 1506, Jules II granted him Simon de Slusa's prebend in St. Saviour's, Utrecht, and gave him on February 5, 1508 the privileges which papal *familiares* enjoy for the obtention of ecclesiastical benefices (Brom, I, 658, 660). He is also recorded as Dean of St. John's, Utrecht from 1509 on (Hoyneck, III, I, 268). Still the most important of his offices was that of Provost (and Archdeacon) of St. Walburgis', at Arnhem, which title has clung to his name (SweMon., 28).
- c* He took part in several public events, such as the agreement between the Chapter of Our Lady's at Antwerp and the Augustines of that town, on July 20, 1514, at which he assisted both as adviser and as witness, which afterwards gained him a canonry in that church

4, when the Emperor returned to Brabant, and September 13 or 12, which would allow him to reach Turnhout on his journey back to Holland to continue the war : indeed, on Sept. 4 he had been informed by Margaret that Louis XII had sent word that he was going to help and assist Charles of Gelderland (Henne, I, 193-194). It follows that the most likely occasion for the pontifical Mass and the Homily would be the feast of Our Lady's Nativity, on Friday, Sept. 8, or the following Sunday, Sept. 10, in the Octave of that feast. A sermon on either

of these days would give ample occasion to prove a *doctrina multifaria* gained from the *Sacrum Scripturarum studijs*, which Busleyden refers to (II 24, 26), more than would have done the 'Exaltation of the H. Cross', if the solemnity was strictly adhered to. — Moreover, if Carvajal had had to officiate at Mechlin on Sept. 14, he certainly would have had to journey to that town on the 13th ; yet on that day he dated from Brussels two diplomas for the Bishop of Arras (cp. *pr*, *m*), — whom he was sure to meet at the ceremony.

(*AntvDiercx.*, III, 288, sq; *AntwHist.*, IV, 29). A few months before, in March and April 1514, he had been sent by Margaret of Austria with a mission to Utrecht (Bergh, II, 92-93). In 1517 he also was present at the ceremony during which Philip of Burgundy, appointed Bishop of Utrecht, took possession of his church and see. In the last years of his life, Heda had a quarrel with that Bishop on account of the administration of the Sacraments at Arnhem, to which Philip claimed the right: it started on March 5, 1524, and was going to be settled by arbitrage before the papal commissary in Louvain, at one of the academic law-courts (FUL, 6203, &c), when the Bishop died on April 7, 1524. Heda only survived him one year and a half: he departed this life on November 3, 1525, in the fine house which he had had built at Antwerp, where he was buried in Our Lady's Church: *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 18; *AntwHist.*, IV, 29; *AntvEpisc.*, 107.

d Heda was considered as one of the best historians of Holland with Renier Snoy and Cornelius Aurelius, to whom he was recommended in 1515 by Alard of Amsterdam in the controversy against Geldenhower about the exact meaning of 'Batavia' (*Batavia*. *6 r, * 8 v). He wrote a chronicle of Holland and of the bishops of Utrecht, which were edited first at Franeker in 1612, and again, with the author's biography, at Utrecht in 1643 (Paquot, I, 176, 179, III, 136). He is rather severe on Philip of Burgundy, which has been attributed to the controversy that divided them in the latter years of their lives, although it seems more likely that Heda, who was frankly orthodox, spoke out his opinion rather plainly. If judged sternly, and probably rightly, by Heda, Bishop Philip is certainly represented in a dubious and untrue light by Gerard Geldenhower¹⁾ who was evidently biased by the wish of throwing on his master the greater part of the responsibility of his own shady behaviour (*GeldColl.*, ix, liii, liv, 246; *Geldenh.*, 47, sq, 143; *AdriBurm.*, 288-290.; *Cran.*, 240, e; Ullmann, II, 308-9). William Heda also is said to have composed a genealogy of the House of Austria, dedicated to his first masters Maximilian and his son Philip, and to have written a history of the Saints who christianized our provinces: unfortunately the manuscripts of those works seem to have perished: *BibBelg.*, 318-19; *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 18; Hoyneck, III, i, 268.

e Busleyden's letter to Heda is a most interesting document illustrating the historian's method of working on undubitable evidence, as well as the Mæcenas' earnest desire to save and preserve all literary treasures (cp. § 160). A letter of Heda dated from Mechlin, March 2, 1523, addressed to the dean or vice-dean of the Chapter of Our Lady's, at Utrecht, shows, on the other hand, the influence which he enjoyed at Court, and which he placed at the disposal of his friends and acquaintances: for he did not merely obtain for them the power they wanted, but also the means to extend and to renew it later on if they wished; and instead of making them pay the expensive fees required by the imperial chancery, he had applied for them already with the help of Laurent du Blioul, the audienciar, to Charles V personally, so that the expenses would only consist in a gratuity for the secretary:

¹⁾ Geldenhower mischievously called *Alphenus* one of the *scurræ* of his *Opusculum Satyricum* (Louvain 1515), and connected him with Arnhem: *GeldColl.*, 159.

Gabbema, 29-31. It appears moreover that it was Heda who, in January 1522, sent to Utrecht Chapter and town authorities, the news of Adrian's election as Pope : *GeldColl.*, 26.

f In his letter Busleyden replies to Heda's suggestion to make a common friend, *Balistarium nostrum*, explore and inventariate the rich libraries of Treves, so as to get an idea of what old and venerable *codices* they contain : cp. ll 14-21. It is most probable that this *Balistarius* of Treves is identical with the 'Baltasar Trieueris clericus dioc. Trieferens.' who matriculated on 'xii. Julii' 1487 in Freiburg, and the 'Baltasar Balistarius ex Treveri', who promoted there Bachelor of Arts in 1488-89 : *MatriFreib.*, 86. He apparently made the acquaintance of Busleyden and of Heda during his further studies, possibly in Louvain, either before or after he had become Master of Arts in the University of his native town Treves, on May 11, 1490. He is further recorded as professor of the Faculty of Arts there, and as Dean of that Faculty in 1499, 1506-7, 1509-10 and 1515-16. Nothing seems to have been preserved of his activity as bibliographer, or of the work suggested in this letter.

TVAS nuper accepi admodum nobis iucundas literas, tum quod tuæ essent, nostri scilicet amantissimi, tum quod suaues, cordatæ, elegantes, uiri scilicet doctissimi, cuius nescio utrum magis probem multifariamne doctrinam, an
5 potius obuiam in quosuis humanitatem. In quo ita recte dijudicando quum suspensus hæream, malim interim utrunque simul ex æquo probare quam alterum tantum, idque fortasse minus bene, si modo is sim qui etiam ubi id sic uellem, recte quidem præstare possem : hac in re conscius inprimis inpe-
10 ritia simul et ignauia meæ, quorum unum minus nouit, alterum minus potest (quod ad hanc rem attinet) æquam censuram facere.

Verum his interea posthabitis ad tuas redeamus, quibus inter cætera multa tantopere contendis Balistarium nostrum
15 aliquando excitem locupletissimas Treuirorum bibliothecas maiestate uetustissimorum codicum uenerabiles accuratius excutiat recenseatque, si quos forte eo loci antiquos, pios, idoneos authores offendat, eorum nobis indice aliquo sua manu exarato quandoque nomenclaturam faciat, maxime illo-
20 rum quorum nos ipse putet neque titulos, neque nomina un-

16 maiestate] *after it uestor is cr.* 16 codicum &c.] on p. 150

14. Balistarium] i. e., a common friend and collaborator both of Busleyden and Heda as searcher for manuscripts and valuable books (cp. *pr. f*).

quam accepisse tenuisseue. Quo quidem honesto desyderio
 tam ego cupiens gratificari quam uel eo ipso aliquando egomet
 potiri, eam (mihi crede) nauabo curam, ut demum facile spe-
 rem id et nostro studio et illius opera procul dubio assequi,
 25 adeo ut nihil erit quod hoc in negotio aut fidem nostram
 aut diligentiam iure possis accusare. Interea tu modo uideris
 id identidem tu ipse præstes, ne tandem quod tam enixe a
 nobis flagitas, importunius abs te expostulem, tuam accusando
 quam a me requiris fidem : uidelicet quamdiu isthic tuos
 30 apud Batauos agas, passim bibliothecas perlustrando indaga-
 turus si ibi rari aliquot et hucusque reconditi authores ia-
 ceant, cum scombris et blattis in tenebris digladiantes, uinculis
 mancipati, multo situ obducti ; qui si aliquando te uindice
 possent ad eruditorum manus non tam uenire quam in eorum
 35 euolare sinus, o dij boni, quantum tibi deberent, te quantum
 suspicerent, vtpote cuius incomparabili beneficio, posito
 squalore nitorem, exuta seruitute libertatem tandem quasi
 postliminio recepissent. Quod ut sic demum præstes, nec
 opus est te pluribus moneam : quando equo per se acri, et ad
 40 metam sponte properanti, non sint addenda calcaria ; præ-
 terea quod talium rerum sis, semperque fueris, ne dicam uena-
 tor, sed uel magnus (ut sic dixerim) uorator helluoque. Vale.

BuslMS, 268-270 (5 v-6 v)

Mechlin, December 29 < 1509 >

56. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

a This letter, entitled '*Martino Dorpio Naldiceno*.' (*MonHL*, 356), bearing only as date 'December 29', no doubt belongs to 1509 ; it could not be 1508, as the College of Arras (*l* 3) was not then in existence yet (cp. *Epp.* 17, *c-e*) ; nor can it be 1510, as there is no allusion to Dorp's *Oratio* in praise of Aristoteles' philosophy of that year, which is mentioned in *Epp.* 58. The preferment referred to, evidently situated in Holland, cannot have been the parish of Overschie, which Dorp obtained in August 1511, through the resigning of John de Noortich, canon of The Hague, on Abbot Man of Egmond's interference : *MonHL*, 314-15.

29 isthic] *before it hic or hig is cr.* 33 qui si &c] on p. 151 35 euolare]-*a- corr.* C
 41 uenator] -*na- corr.* C 42 uorator] *first o corr.* C

32. cum scombris &c.] cp. *Epp.*
 20, 9, *sq.*
 39. equo &c.] Erasmus : *Cur-*

rentem incitare : *ErAdag.*, 88, *n*,
 913, *Λ* ; *Calcar addere currenti* :
ErAdag., 89, *n*.

^b Martin van DORP, a native of Naaldwyk, studied in the Lily, Louvain, and was placed the fifth at the promotion of the Faculty of Arts in 1504. He then started the study of theology, whilst teaching Latin in his pedagogy with so much success that he had Plautus' comedies publicly played by his students. He was appointed professor of philosophy, and gained the fame of being one of the foremost amongst the favours of humanism; on October 1, 1513, he was entrusted with the inaugurating oration of the academical year. As he advanced in his studies of divinity, he became more and more influenced by some of his masters, who, in September 1514, made him write a letter to his friend Erasmus to warn him for the bad effect of his *Moria* and for his partiality to Greek, besides discouraging him from his attempt at correcting the text of the Bible. In that criticism of the great humanist, he was backed by the professors of theology, who after his promotion to doctor, had him appointed as their colleague, as well as President of the College of the Holy Ghost in September 1515; it led to an unequivocal apology of Erasmus and of humanism by no less a person than Thomas More, on October 21, 1515. After some time Dorp veered, and proclaimed, in an inaugurating lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul, in the first days of July, 1516, his full agreement with the principles which he had criticised. In the ensuing struggle against the *Trilingue*, he stood by Erasmus, notwithstanding the difficulties caused to him by his colleagues; still a period of calm and quiet peace soon set in, and he fully availed himself of it to study theology according to the new method, and to teach it with growing success. Unfortunately his health gave way, and he died long before his time on May 31, 1525: *Cran.*, 24, a, b, 152 a, b, &c.; *MonHL*, 63-408.

^c In the first years of his career, Dorp took the decision to devote his life to study and instruction: — so he tried to secure the material means to bridge over the long years which separated him from a definite academic appointment. He therefore applied to Busleyden, to whom he had been introduced and recommended about 1508 by his former master and late colleague at the Lily, John Becker of Borselen, with whom he shared a great interest and proficiency in Latin language and literature; a few years afterwards, in 1513, when dedicating to the Mechlin Councillor his *Tomus Aululariæ Plautinæ adjectus*, Dorp recalls that, with other verses, it was sent to him by Becker soon after it had been written, and that it had opened the gates of mutual friendship: *Epp.* 72, 28-36; *MonHL*, 314, 326-28, 330.

DEDI nudiustertius negotium ornatissimo adulescenti cui nomen C<onradus> Luceburgensis, agenti isthic in

2. C Luceburgensis] no doubt Conrad Wecker, *Vegerius*: cp. *Epp.* 63, b-e. He may have been for a time the head of the College as the eldest bursar, whereas John van den Poele, Chaplain of

St. Peter's, was the accountant: *FUL*, 2333; the first proper president, John de Lyra, started his management only in 1511 or 1513: *ULDoc.*, III, 159.

Gymnasio Atrebatensi, te coram certioraret me illum quem probe nosti D , a Batauis tandem reducem, in rem
 5 tuam pluribus conuenisse ; qui demum super ea multis a me interpellatus respondit : se in negotio illo nequicquam amplius præstare posse, quando facultate hac in parte olim sibi tradita qua prius pollebat, iampridem renuntiasset ; præterea neque alium quempiam isthic agentem qui eadem polleret, rescire.
 10 Quo sic accepto, totus hinc certe indignatus obstupui, haud mihi sat conscius quidnam aut quomodo posthac de hominis aut fide aut candore recte sentirem, quem adeo male sibi constantem, ne dicam uarium, offendissem. Proinde hominem ipsum paucis dimittens, illi pessime sum imprecatus, qui tam
 15 diu ita insigniter et fidem meam et spem luserit tuam. Vides ergo, mi Dorpi suauissime, quam nusquam sit tuta fides, maxime apud aulicos ; adeo ut mea quidem sententia, hodie non minus scite dici possit, Exeat Aula qui uult esse fidus ; ac olim uere dictum fuerit : Exeat Aula qui uult esse pius.
 20 Quare profecto is recte miser et est et habetur, qui spem ponit in homine, faciens carnem brachium suum.

Reliquum est huiusmodi uersipelles et fide, ut aiunt, plus quam punica pollentes, haud secus ac nauita scopulum declinantes, alia uia summam uoti nostri prosequamur. Quænam,
 25 qualisue siet, si roges ; paucis ego et tuus totus Decanus Mechiliniensis aperiemus : scilicet ubi certum tibi erit idque mihi innotuerit quantum pensionis annuæ pro destinato sacerdotio luendum duxeris : tunc statim, eo a me cognito, fratrem possessoris ipsius sacerdotij, litteris meis interpellandum
 30 fore, virum a secretis apud Cæsarem agentem, a quo breui

15 ita &c.] on p. 269 30 apud &c.] on p. 270

3. Gymnasio Atrebatensi] the College founded by Nicolas Ruterius, bishop of Arras, which had started in September 1509 : cp. *Epp.* 17, e.

4. D] probably Jerome Dorpius, van den Dorpe, originary from Holland, who was appointed member of Mechlin Council by letters patent of January 22, 1504, and who died in 1532 : he occupied the sixth lay seat : *MalConM*, 47 r. On account of the identity of the name Martin

Dorpius may have made his acquaintance through Busleyden, if not through countrymen or relatives. Cp. Bergh, II, 21.

18. Exeat Aula &c] cp. *Adagia*, 358, a : Aulicatri.

20-21. is recte... suum] JEREMIAS, XVII, 5 : Maledictus homo, qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium suum.

22. fide... punica] *ErAdag.*, 309, A.

25. Decanus Mechliniensis] John Robbys : cp. before, § 35.

rescire mihi persuadeo quid aut quantum spei in re tantopere
desyderata et ponere et expectare constanter debeamus.
Interea uale, spera, patere dura rebus te seruando sequundis :
eo tibi tunc cariora (ni fallar) obuenturis quanto fuerint abs te
35 expectata ægrius et operosius parta. Jterum uale.

Tumultuarie Mechilinæ, iiij. Kal. Jañ.

BuslMS, 215-217 (k 7 r-k 8 r) <Mechlin, first months of 1510>

57. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

This letter, entitled '*Martino Dorpio phō*,' (*MonHL*, 356-57), was written some time after *Epp.* 56, as Busleyden had to wait for the arrival of the imperial secretary. He advised Dorp not to purchase that preferment as it was burdened with too heavy a pension, which most probably would have to be paid during a long period since the usufructuary was hardly ten years older than Dorp : cp. *MonHL*, 314-15. This letter was inserted into the collection at the end of a series : cp. before, §§ 112, 115.

QUOD tibi succæssum cræditi negotij særius forte ac
velles significarim, non eo vllam occupationem no-
stram excuso, cæterum magis longiorem illius absentiam qui
cum id nobis negotij intercædebat ; quo tandem aduentante
5 hominem jncunctanter adio, aditum super ijs sollicitus &
anxius compello. Quæ tam juxta sententiam tuam quam et
opinionem meam, visa sunt ad negotium facere, jn ræm præ-
sentem conferre, scilicet qualitatem facultatis procuratoris,
quantitatem luendæ pensionis, modum adsignationis illius,
10 præterea ætatem resignantis, postremo diem statam, locum-
que auspicandæ et confitiundæ ræi. Ad quæ omnia, vt sigil-
latim et ordine respondeam, accipe primo : procuratorem con-
stitutum hac in parte, pollere quidem libera, mera, absoluta
facultate ræsignandi (pro libidine) sacerdotij, annua tamen
15 pensione librarum quas uocant grossorum duodecim jnterce-
dente ; præterea, ætatem ræsignantis haud vsque quaque (vt

4 aduentante &c.] on p. 216 5 adio] 6 et] cr. ; quam written over line S
8 facultatis] first t over line

3. illius] no doubt the brother of the *clericus* who wanted to negotiate a preferment somewhere in Holland, namely the secretary of Maximilian who acted as the

intermediary: *Epp.* 56, 28-32, (maybe James de Bannisiis: *Epp.* 39, c), for Busleyden called the *possessorrem sacerdotii* a : *Burgundionem, agentem nunc apud suos* : ll. 19, sq.

cuperes forte) prouectam, verum longe minorem, utpote
 iuxta adsertionem procuratoris adhuc annum sextum atque
 trigesimum nondum attingente ; hominem esse natione Bur-
 20 gundionem, agentem nunc apud suos, virum (vt aiunt) æccle-
 siasticum professum ; deinde locum pensionis adsignandæ :
 eum sat superque ipsi placere, quem tu tuis ad me proximis
 literis destinasti ; postremo diem locumque jneundæ et trac-
 tandæ ræi illi jndifferentem esse atque ubicumque is status
 25 fuerit, susque deque ferre.

Habes itaque ijs paucis, suauissime Dorpi, tenorem succæs-
 sus ræique summam totius : qua quidem sic (vt vides) explo-
 randa, tentanda, tractanda, næscio an dexteritas aut jn-
 dustria nostra, cæte fides, propensissimum studium nus-
 30 quam defuit. Interea tu uide, dispice, consule quid potissi-
 mum fæceris quando ræs agitur tua, tibi que (vt aiunt) luditur ;
 preterea extet vætus (idque fræquens) dictum, eum frustra
 alijs sapere, qui sibi ipsi non sapit. Super quo, si nihilominus
 nostram roges sententiam, eam lubens (qualiscunque sit)
 35 dixerim : scilicet pensionem postulatam, si tenuitatem re-
 signandi sacerdotij spectas, grandiolem, si florentem ætatem
 ræsignantis, esse (quam par sit) grauiorem. — Tenes iam (vt
 puto) sententiam nostram : quæ si tibi probetur, gaudeo ; si
 minus, prosequar (te jubente) cœptum negotium ; hac in
 40 accæpta semel prouintia, nil vsquam temere commissurus jn
 quo vel fides spectati amici periclitari, vel offitium candidi
 viri posset aliquando desiderari. Interea vale, nostræ delitiæ,
 Dorpi svauissime.

18 procuratoris] possibly -torum
 24 atque &c.] on p. 217 24 atque] after it quocunque is cr.
 29 nostra] over line S 32 extet]

32. vætus... dictum] the maxim
Sapiens in primis sibi ipsi sapiat
 is ascribed to Hippias major.
 Erasmus in his *Apophthegmata*
 ascribes to Alexander the Great
 this remark about Callisthenes,

whom nothing pleased at his
 court : *Sapientem ego odi, qui sibi*
sapit nihil : EOO, IV, 201, A ; cp.
 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, XIII,
 viii, quoting the poet Afranius.

BuslMS, 143-148 (g 1 r-g 3 v) <Mechlin, middle of December 1510>

58. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

This letter entitled '*Mart. Dorpio Philosopho.*—' (*MonHL*, 357), dates, no doubt, from the middle of December 1510 : on the 3rd of that month Dorp delivered the Oration on Philosophy in Louvain (*MonHL*, 131 ; cp. II 4, 60, 65), and, no doubt, had it copied at once, and sent to Busleyden, who was too enthusiastic to leave that letter long unanswered, and the *Oratio*, long unpraised. In the composition of this letter he reproduced several passages from his letter to Marliano, of the beginning of 1508, *Epp.* 47, of which he, for certain had kept the rough draught.

QVEM LITTERÆ BEANT BONÆ,
MORES HONESTANT OPTIMI,
DELITIÆ BUSLIDIJ
MARTINE SALVE CANDIDE.

ARDENS olim tuarum desyderium, multo tandem fœnore compensando (quæ tua liberalitas est) leuasti, quando non solum doctissima epistola (qua uel sola id poteras), sed copia quoque luculentæ Orationis tuæ, celebri eruditorum
5 corona habitæ adfatim præstitisti. Hac in re beneficio nos maiori demerens quam possit aut duri exactoris rigor extorquere, aut legitimi amici aliquando sperare pudor. Quo fit ut hinc nimium me fortunatum putem, cui ultra tantillum expectatæ sortis tantum uel inopinatæ usuræ accesserit, id-
10 que receptæ, nullisque patrum sanctionibus aut principum

4. copia... Orationis] on December 3, 1510 Dorp had delivered an *Oratio* to the University professors and students '*in laudem Aristotelis*'; in that speech he attacks the views of Lorenzo Valla, who advocates the excellence of Plato, whereas by arguments of authority he shows that the Peripatetic Master is praised and followed by all great men of Antiquity, even including Plato. He recommends the exclusion of all other philosophers, especially in the training of priests and theologians, so as to avoid all storms and clouds and tempests, and bring the vessel guided by

one commander into a safe port. He closes with an urgent appeal to students to investigate his philosophy, and to defend it against all barking 'canes' : *MonHL*, 131, 318 ; Renaudet, 81 ; Mestwerdt, 53-4, 321, 328-31. That *Oratio* was printed on February 18, 1514, with the *Concio de Diue Virginis Deiparæ in Cælum Assumptione* (Louvain, Th. Martens : *Epp.* 75 ; *MonHL*, 317 ; Iseghem, 245-46 ; NijKron, I, 736).

6. duri exactoris] cp. *Epp.* 38, 12-13, &c.

9. usuræ &c] cp. E. van Roey, *De Justo Auctorio* : Louvain, 1903 : 2-8.

damnatae rescriptis : qualis eorum est quibus lucri bonus odor omnis, quique Auri sacra fame perciti, loculos miserorum exenterantes aurum gratius ac solem intuentur.

Quibus interea explosis, et ultra Sauromatas proscriptis,
 15 ad tuam (unde digressi sumus) dictionem redeamus, cuius splendidæ opiparæque lectionis sapor conditissimus, adeo nostrum (insuetum talibus) palatum tenuit ut terque, quaterque gustatus acriorem sui adpetentiam relinquens, esto mirifice recreauerit, nondum usque satiauit. Fauus siquidem
 20 distillans labia tua, et eloquia casta ori meo dulcia, æsurienti ambrosiam, sitienti nectar miscuere, pascentia me suis incomparabilibus dapibus, bellarijs, mensisque secundis. Non quibus coena Luculliana in Apolline parata, aut phamigerata comessatio perditæ Cleopatrarum adamato suo posita, nitebat ;
 25 aut quarum nidorem iuncta Apitij spirabat popina, perniciose profecto gulæ irritamenta. Sed satius ijs quas liberales artes, ingenuæ disciplinæ assecclis atque adsertoribus adponunt suis, non aluum (ut illæ solent) sua grauedine distentantes, genasque rubentes suffarcinantes, mera quidem uitiorum fo-
 30 menta : cæterum animam ipsam ueluti manna coelesti pabulo saginantes, quo alti atque a teneris foti, nusquam gulæ dediti, collum sibi gruis affectant, solliciti magis animum scientia, pietate, moribus nitentem quam cutem habere nitidam : proinde sibi persuadentes, non ideo se uiuere ut ædant, quin
 35 magis eos æsse ut uitam uiuant, honeste, scilicet, pie, sancte. Eam ob rem soliti plus olei ad lucernam lucubrando quam uini ad mensam ingurgitando impendere, quo sese posteris

11 qualis &c.] on p. 144 14 proscriptis] before it ex is exp.

16 adeo] MS ad'o 24 nitebat] corr. from notebat C

29 suffarcinantes &c.] on p. 145

11. lucri odor] Suetonius, VIII, 1, 23; Juvenal, *Sat.* XIV, 204.

12. Auri sacra fame] Virgil, *Æneis*, III, 57.

19. Fauus... distillans labia tua] PROVERBS, V, 3; CANTICLE, IV, 11.

23. coena Luculliana] cp. *Epp.* 47, 83, sq., 49, 117.

23. phamigerata comessatio &c.] cp. *Epp.* 47, 83-84.

25. iuncta Apitii... popina] there were three 'Apicius' famous for their gluttony : one at the time of Sulla ; the second and most renowned, M. Gabius Api-

cus, who 'ate' his fortune ; and the third, contemporary of Trajan, famous for his oyster recipe. Cp. *Epp.* 47, 44.

32. collum... gruis affectant] cp. *Epp.* 47, 47.

34-35. non... uiuere ut ædant..., æsse ut... uiuant] cp. *Epp.* 47, 58-59.

36-37. soliti plus olei... impendere] cp. *Epp.* 47, 59-60.

37-39. quo sese... intermoris monimentis &c.] cp. *Epp.* 47, 54, sq., 61, sq.

aliquando uixisse testarentur : hoc quidem facile tandem
 assequuti perpetuis suis nusquam intermorituris monimentis,
 40 nomen suum æternitati consecrantes. Felices sane, felices in
 hoc albo conscripti, quos adeo

æquus amauit

Iuppiter, et ardens euexit ad sydera uirtus.

Quare beatus ille luxus, opulenta lautities, locuplex appa-
 45 ratus ditissimæ dictionis tuæ, quæ sicuti parens pia et de
 carorum pignorum salute et institutione anxia, foecundis
 uberibus labris infantilibus admotis, dulci aspergine roris sui
 lactei teneros adlactat. Deinde ipsos factos adulescentulos
 solidiori (pro ætate) cibo fouet. Postremo seniores eos iam
 50 ferme bis pueros, et prope (ut aiunt) de ponte præcipitandos,
 uitalibus refocillat alimentis, nusquam sui nauseam admissu-
 ris ; quin satius quanto ex his plus sibi quispiam absumpserit,
 eo acrius ijs rursum incumbit, Parthorum quasi more, quo-
 rum perpetuam tradunt sitim, liberaliori potus haustu reac-
 55 cendi magis, restinguere minime.

Quod utinam nobis identidem per forensia quibus distrin-
 gimur negotia et clamosi strepitus fori liceret : uidelicet ex
 fontibus ipsis disciplinarum lympidissimis, iugem sitim no-
 stram, non dico leuare, sed magis acuere, de te id subinde
 60 canendo : Vbertate Orationis satiasti nos, Martine, et uino
 suauiloquij tui meracissimo inebriasti : quando quidem longe
 præstaret me, hoc non tam imbutum quam disertum, ita
 agere ebrium, quam qui nunc sum, ieiunum perstare et ari-
 dum, ne gutta quidem Castalij fontis, uel torrentis eloquen-
 65 tiæ, uel mannæ, tantopere abs te laudatæ Philosophiæ tuæ
 respersum. Verum enimvero quum haud sit datum omnibus
 habere nasum, neque adire (ut aiunt) Corinthum, tantum de-

48 teneros &c.] on p. 146 66 respersum &c.] on p. 147

41. in hoc albo conscripti] cp. *Epp.* 47, 64, &c.

42-43. æquus... uirtus] Virgil, *Æneis*, VI, 129-30.

49-50. seniores... bis pueros] cp. Alciphron, *Τρίκωπον γερόντων* : Tripuer senex.

50. de ponte præcipitandos] *ErAdag.*, 196, 1-2 : *Sexagenarios de ponte dejicere* : no doubt an allusion to the Roman elections

on the bridge, from which the younger men tried to keep away the older : Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 634 ; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, v.

53. Parthorum... more] cp. *Epp.* 47, 41-42.

66-67. haud omnibus... adire Corinthum] Erasmus : *Non est cuiuslibet Corinthum appellere* : *ErAdag.*, 150, 2, sq.

syderium alioqui molestum, æquius feram necesse est ;
 nescius tamen interim utrum magis ob id incusem fortunamne
 70 meam, an magis ingenium, an simul utrunque, quod satius
 duco, imponendo fortunæ inuidiam suam, ingenio tarditatem :
 quæ, proh dolor, duo ad tam incomparabiles Artium bona-
 rum thesauros nobis præcludere aditum.

Qui si forte adhuc quandoque pateret, tentarem certe denuo
 75 (fortuna aut Minerua quantumuis reluctante) tam expetendas
 sectari diuitias ; quibus solis uere diuites sunt et habentur
 mortales. Quarum quidem opum altissima penetralia si minus
 daretur attingere, attamen pulchrum erit hoc ita uoluisse,
 esto non eo usque perueneris, satius ducens ex ijs obiter non-
 80 nihil, quam semper nihil habuisse. Quod ut ita nonnunquam
 ex sententia contingat, tu multum potes : poteris uero tum
 maxime quum maxime uelis : primo scilicet si Deum Opti-
 mum Maximum exoraueris quod nouercantis fortunæ ma-
 lignitas hucusque inuiderit, id nobis altitudo diuitiarum sa-
 85 pientia et scientia Dei resartiat. Deinde si ingenij nostri hebe-
 tudinem eruditionis tuæ mucrone ueluti ferrum ferro exa-
 cuas, et frequenti scriptione tua (tanquam incussu silicis)
 mortuam quasi scintillam inde citaueris.

Quod longius quam uel destinaueram, uel angustia petit
 90 epistolaris progressus sim, donabis multo in te amoris nostro :
 qui quum exuberans immensus sit et immodicus, nil mirum
 si modum ipsum non curauerit.

95 AMOR MEUS, DORPI, VALE,
 PRECONE QUO TAM NOBILI
 PECTORIBUS MORTALIUM
 INSEDIT AMOR ARTIUM.

83 exoraueris &c.] on p. 148

75. fortuna aut Minerua... re-
 luctante) cp. ll. 82, sq.

78. pulchrum erit hoc ita uo-
 luisse] cp. *Epp.* 6, 39.

81-82. poteris... maxime quum
 maxime uelis] cp. *Epp.* 74, 18-19
 and 40, 22.

86. ferrum &c.] *ErAdag.*, 301, c.

BuslMS, 113-114 (e 6 r, v)

<Mechlin, before October 1511>

59. — TO JOHN LOUIS DE MOSCHERON
Archdeacon of Cambrai

This letter is addressed '*Ioanni Moschoreneo Archidiacono/Cameracesij, in Ecclia Cameracen.*', to which address a son of Gilles de Busleyden added : '*Hic fuit tibi Collega apud S. / Donatianum totus Sanctulus.*' : cp. before, § 122. It refers, no doubt, to a friendly aid which Busleyden gave to his old fellow-student : cp. *Epp.* 15, b. It probably dates from 1511, since it refers to Moscheron's expected appointment to the Great Council of Mechlin, where he was actually nominated on October 16, 1511 to the second ecclesiastical seat, replacing Richard de la Chapelle : *MalConM*, 59 ; *MalConR*, 15 ; cp. *Epp.* 15, b, c.

GAUDEO te amici consilium sequutum, tandem manibus
(ut aiunt) pedibusque in nostram sententiam ijsse ;
iuxta quam modo in auspicando et ad umbelicum deducendo
negotio pergas, magna profecto me spes fouet, uoti quidem
5 compotes nos tandem fore : tu scilicet impetrando quod cupis,
ego autem curando ut cupitum impetres. Qua in re nihil un-
quam eorum prætermittam quæ inprimis possint uel ad rem
ipsam facere uel abs te expectari, uel aliquando a me præstari.
Scis enim quam tuus sum, tui rerumque tuarum studiosus
10 semper fuerim. Interea iubeo te bene sperare, sicque sperando
durare, temet rebus seruando secundis. Quod reliquum est,
ad reique prosecutionem attinet, puero tuo, tibi fidelius
coram relatu credidi : quem uelim audias, et si opus sit,
exaudias. Postremo ubi primum clæmentior aura illuxerit,
15 atque id res tuæ facile patiantur, ad nos aduoles : tum inui-
cem certius consultabimus quid opus facto sit, qui consulendi,
qui ambiendi, quique beneficio aliquo ueniant deuinciendi,
demerendi, redimendi. Nosti tempora nostra, nosti mores :
sat ergo tenes quid uelim. Quare receptui cano. Interim bel-
20 lissime uale.

9 sum] 15 aduoles &c.] on p. 114

1-2. manibus... pedibusque] in *ErAdag.*, 157, B, 931, A, the adage is used with *conari, assequi* — not with *ire*, as it is here. Cp. *Epp.* 49, 30.

18. Nosti tempora &c.] favours

and services from Court and authorities had to be paid : cp. *Epp.* 76, 9, sq.

19. receptui cano] *ErAdag.*, 848, A : cp. *Epp.* 73, 76 ; *Orat.* B, 198.

BuslMS, 110-112 (e 4 v-e 5 v)

<Mechlin, about April 1512>

60. — TO BERNARDINO LOPEZ DE CARVAJAL

This letter, entitled '*Cardinali . s. Crucis Leg. Ap.*', is evidently a reply to one from Carvajal answering a sympathetic inquiry of Busleyden after his disgrace, no doubt after his deprivation of his dignity of cardinal on October 24, 1511; accounting for the time required for the news to reach Mechlin, and that for a message to Italy and its reply, this missive was most probably written in the first months of 1512, maybe in April, so that the first military successes of Gaston de Foix in February (Pastor, III, 702), explain the sanguine tone of Carvajal's reply to Busleyden's anxious inquiry. Cp. *Epp.* 54, e-f.

MIRUM est quanta anxietate et sollicitudine tui, me
leuarunt iucundissimæ litteræ Amplissimæ Dignitatis
Tuæ, simul et fida relatio Ioannis Monteri spectati nuntij,
cuius antiquæ fidei, quæ hic aguntur et de successu tuo pas-
5 sim feruntur, malui committere quam ea temere litteris cre-
dere, maxime hac insigni temporum iniquitate, hodie (proh
dolor) cuncta turbante ac maligne nimis in bonos et quosuis
studiosos grassante, in quorum albo tu unus, idque nomina-
tissimus occurris: ob quod tam acerbe dolent hic omnes boni
10 quantum enixius gaudent maleuoli. Quod quidem quantum
inter cæteros ad te attinet, etsi hucusque grauitèr me anxierit,
tamen quoties (quod sæpe fit) innocens animus tuus ac nulli
obnoxia culpæ mens conscia recti occurrunt, statim quicquid
aut anxij aut solliciti irrepserit, id totum pono atque exuo:
15 hoc unum apud me plusquam uel certum uel confessum ha-
bens, te huiusmodi quantacunque sint, forti aut infracto per-

8 albo &c.] on p. 111

3. Ioannis Monteri] evidently a trusty messenger between Italy and our country, to whom Busleyden confided oral messages as well as the report of how Carvajal was judged by the Court and by his colleagues.

6. temporum iniquitate] no doubt the perplexity caused by the Pisa Council and the animosity of opponents and favourers.

8. in quorum albo] cp. *Epp.* 46, 11; &c.

9. occurris &c.] Carvajal seems

to have made an excellent impression as Legate in 1508, and most of those who, came across him in this country apparently deplored the trouble in which he had involved himself; still his ambitious character must have created some, enemies who revelled in the news of his plight.

16. quantacunque sint] viz., the loss of his preferments and especially of his bishopric of Sigüenza, of which Ferdinand deprived him; also the ecclesias-

ferre animo, obijciendo ijs tutam tuam omnibus notam innocentiam. Deinde uersatilem quam sæpe expertus es rerum uicissitudinem, ac demum (quod maius est) sacrarum litterarum ualidum (quem a teneris appræhendisti) umbonem, eo impenetrabili omnia excepturus quæcunque iam uel nouercans fortuna uel malignans inuidia, intorquet tæla aut iecerit spicula. Interea illud Dauiticum semper in ore et pectore promptum habendo : Jacta in Domino curam tuam ;
 25 Spera in Domino, uiriliter age ; Sustine Dominum et confortetur cor tuum : Ipse enim est qui te enutriet, et non dabit in æternum fluctuorum iusto ; maxime qui solus scit, uult, potest, (ut spero iam faciet) non solum obstruere ora iniqua loquentium, uerum eruere insontes animas de manu canum
 30 et a phramea inimicorum. Verum de his satis, ne uidear ego sus Mineruam docere ; aut (quod aiunt) noctuas Athenas deferre : hoc tantum addiderim ut scilicet memineris qui hucusque alijs philosophatus fueris, iamiam incipias philosophari et tibi, idque eo exactius quanto magis fortunæ tempestas te
 35 suis fluctibus obruere conatur ; nunquam committendo, aliquando aduersis succumbas qui prosperis elatus non fueris. Quare, ut paucis omnia complectar, spera, abstine, patere, etc. : jnnocentia tua, jntegritas, candor animi, probitas te tuebuntur, pro te in aciem descendant et manus conserent ;
 40 clara tandem trophæa, hostibus nominis tui deuictis, relatúra, aspirante Deo inprimis Optimo Maximo, bonorum tutore et malorum uindice. Jnterim uale et uiue, ad maiora (ni fallar) natus a candidisque omnibus (quicunque te colunt) destinatus...

27 maxime &c.] on p. 112 32 tantum] MS t̄m̄ (poss. tamen)

tical penalties, and the displeasure of Jules II, who dispossessed him of all his dignities on October 24, 1511 : Pastor, III, 679, 683.

24. Jacta in Domino] PsALM LIV, 23.

25. Spera in Domino] Ps. XXXVI, 3, XLI, 6, 12, XLII, 5.

25-26. uiriliter age... tuum] Ps. XXVI, 14 : Expecta Dominum, uiriliter age : et confortetur cor tuum, et sustine Dominum.

26. Ipse enim est... iusto] Ps. LIV, 23 ; ipse te enutriet : non dabit in æternum fluctuationem iusto.

29-30. eruere... inimicorum] Ps. XXI, 21 : Erue a framea Deus animam meam : et de manu canis unicam meam.

31. sus Minervam] ErAdag., 43, A : cp. Epp. 73, 76.

31. noctuas Athenas deferre] Erasmus : *Ululas Athenas* ; ErAdag., 72, A ; cp. Epp. 48, 92.

BuslMS, 130-131 (f 4 v-f 5 r)

⟨Mechlin, Summer of 1512⟩

61. — TO ADRIAN SANDELICUS

Dean of Antwerp

This letter, entitled '*Hadr. Sandelico Antuerp. Dec.*', probably dates from 1512 when the illness that caused Dean Sandelicus' death on November 18, 1512, was already on him, in so far that the rumour of it had spread; Busleyden evidently did not think that it was serious, as his friend was not very advanced in age: cp. *Epp.* 39, b, c.

SI uales, gaudeo, idque eo magis quod mihi sis alter ego. Audio iam dies aliquot tibi male esse: quod tamen an ita sit, haud satis teneo, quando illud nobis increbruit rumore incerto, authore innominato. Malim tamen, utcunque sit, in-
5 certo solum hærere quam certo et plane confesso angî atque turbari. Interea belle uale, vtranque curans ualetudinem, scilicet seruando bonam, auertendo aduersam. Iterum uale.

BuslMS, 131 (f 5 r)

⟨Mechlin, Autumn of 1512⟩

62. — TO ADRIAN SANDELICUS

Dean of Antwerp

This letter, entitled '*Hadr. Sandelico Antuerp. Dec.*', seems to be the reply to an acknowledgment of the preceding one, accompanying a present, — maybe meant as a valedictory souvenir from an old fellow-student realizing that he was failing fast.

ACCÆPI munus splendidum, haud secus te donante dignum, ac mihi pergratum. Qua in re tu quidem facis quod semper es solitus, scilicet in remunerandis amicis fertiles imitando agros, accepta quidem uel multo cum fœnore
5 reddentes. Quo sane commercio grandem fateor fecisse usuram, si magis nostras tuis impares fortunas quam gratum animum expenderis: quod tamen haud sic te facturum spero. Vale.

3 haud &c.] on p. 131
(62) 5 sane] corr. over sancto

(62) 1-2. munus... pergratum] cp. *Epp.* 3, 2-3, &c.

BuslMS, 199-201 (i 9 r-i 10 r) <Mechlin, latter months of 1512>

63. — TO CONRAD WECKER, VEGERIUS

- a* This letter, entitled '*Corrado suo...*', was written certainly after 1511 when Vegerius entered Charles of Austria's Court as secretary : allowing for the time during which he was expected to get acquainted with his office-work, this copying and correction can hardly have been requested before the greater part of 1512 had passed.
- b* Conrad WECKER (Weicker), *Vegerius* (*Veccrius*, *Vecerius*), a native of Luxemburg, went to study in Louvain, where he matriculated on August 31, 1503, as a student of the Falcon : 'Conradus de luxemburgo, filius nicolai veker, traiect. dioc.' (*LibIntIII*, 106 v). After having promoted in Arts, and studied literature thoroughly, he started laws, so that, when his friend Gerard Geldenhouer dedicated to him his *Satyrae Octo*, on December 18, 1514, he addressed them 'Jurisconsulto eloquentissimo' (*GeldColl.*, 152). In his pedagogy, he had made the acquaintance of Francis de Cranevelt, with whom he afterwards kept up a regular correspondence (*Cran.*, 12, 17, 68, 73, 77) ; and, possibly through him, that of John Becker of Borselen (*Epp.* 32, *b-e*) and that of John de Fevyn (*Cran.*, *xv*, *sq.* ; 12, 47-48, 17, 28, &c). No doubt he was — or soon became — known to his countrymen Jerome de Busleyden and Bishop Nicolas Ruterius (*Epp.* 17, *c-e*), in so far that, a little while before the latter's death, when his faithful friend the Dean of Mechlin John Robbyns started the College of Arras (*Cran.*, 17, *a*), he was entrusted with the care of the incipient foundation. In all probability he was made a bursar : as the eldest inmate of the beginning community, and moreover as a countryman of the founder, he filled the function of manager, as was done also by the senior scholar for the College of Houterlee (*MonHL*, 412-13 ; *Clen-Hum.*, 8, 19) and for the College of the Holy Ghost in the first years of their existence (*Epp.* 21, *b-c*) ; that is, no doubt, why in *BuslMS*, *p* 39, a hand noted to his name '*primus prefectus Collegii Attrebatensis*'. One of the chaplains of St. Peter's, John van den Poele, was *receptor* and accountant, and his reports for the periods Sept. 27, 1509-Sept. 30, 1510 and Oct. 1, 1517-Sept. 30, 1519 are still extant (*FUL*, 2245, 2333, 2334).
- c* Most probably Vegerius stayed in the College until, in 1511, he entered the Court as secretary of Maximilian and Archduke Charles, apparently thanks to Busleyden's recommendation : *MonHL*, 356. He was replaced in Arras College by the first actual President, John West, de Lyra, who in that same year took the managing in his hands : *ULDoc.*, III, 159. — It was during the time that he served at Court that he was requested by Busleyden to copy, and especially to overhaul, polish and correct his poems, letters and orations : in the course of a few months the *Lusus* were written out neatly on various quires (cp. before, §§ 109, *sq.*). The kind help thus offered was duly acknowledged by four letters, of which this one is the first ; whereas, in answer, the '*Librarius*' added to the quire kept apart for the poems, four elegant verses expressing his gratitude and his wishes to his protector : *Carm.* xxvii.

d By October 1521, Vegerius had left the Emperor's service : he was then secretary to John, Marquis of Brandenburg, who at the solemn meeting of the Golden Fleece in Brussels, in October 1516, had been created knight (Henne, II, 170; *GeldColl.*, 22, 126). Vegerius followed his master to England (Brewer, III, 2333, 6), and from there to Spain in 1522, along with the Court. In the beginning of 1523, he left his generous employer, and went to Rome to become Adrian VI's *familiaris*, arriving in the Eternal City on June 1 (*Cran.*, 68, 14, sq). At the Pope's untimely death he pronounced the funeral Oration, of which he sent a copy to his friend Cranevelt on October 15, 1523, along with a justification of the disappointing lack, not only of all customary praise, but even of any due appreciation, — calculated to assuage the hostile audience: *Cran.*, 77, 50, 81, 18, 82, 2; Albergato, 14¹). A few months later, he entered the service of Gerard de la Roche, imperial councillor in Spain, and returned with him to Rome : unfortunately his new master, who was to act there as ambassador, died in the very first month of his arrival in Italy, August 31, 1524 : *Cran.*, 114, 10, sq. Vegerius was then admitted into Clement VII's family (*Cran.*, 130, 20), and preached the sermon on Ash-Wednesday, March 1, 1525, in the Papal Chapel²). Soon after January 5, 1527, he fell a victim to the pest in Rome (*Cran.*, 225, a, 9).

e From this letter, it appears that, already by 1512, Vegerius had brought out some of his works (*ll* 9-11). Besides his two sermons in Rome, which were printed, he wrote, — and possibly published, — in 1522 a relation of Adrian VI's voyage to Rome (*Cran.* 17, 9, 33, 15; *AdriBurm.*, 144), and a report of Magelhães' and Elcano's voyage to the Moluccas (*Cran.*, 68, a, 58). His friend and pupil in Louvain, Claud Chansonnette, *Cantiuncula*, announced to Boniface Amerbach, August 21, 1529, that he contemplated editing the works and letters of the great erudite Vegerius, which he had acquired with great pains and at a considerable expense. On October 8, 1529, the letters were being copied, and by April 28, 1530, they were being made ready to be handed to Froben for publication (*CantE*, 47-49, 53, 54). Unfortunately, notwithstanding the great encomium which *Cantiuncula* gave to his friend's memory, and notwithstanding the interest of that correspondence for the period ranging from 1510 to 1522, on account of reports and judgments on men and events, and of the description of some rare books and documents on which Vegerius had lighted during his many travels, the letters were not printed, and even seem to have disappeared; of eight sermons delivered between 1510 and 1522, nothing seems left. Five of his letters are preserved in Cranevelt's correspondence³); and fortunately his historical work, apparently his favourite pursuit, is not entirely lost: he helped Geldenhouwer in

¹) An edition appeared without date or name of printer; another came out in Cologne in 1523.

²) ORATIO. / HABITA. IN. / DIE. CINE/RVM (on A r): in -4°, without date or name of printer; the text, from A ii r to B iii v, begins with: Conradi Vegerii Oratio habita Romæ Die Sacro/rum Cinerum In Sacello Palatino Co/ram S. D. N. Clemente vii. / Pont. Max. Anno. s. / MDXXV.

³) *Cran.*, 12, 17, 68, 73, 77.

describing the Batavian Isles (*Geldenh.*, 55, *sq.*), and his biography of a Luxemburg emperor, *De Vita & gestis Henrici VII Imperatoris Libellus*, as well as a *Historia de duabus Seditionibus Siciliae*, were edited at Hanau in 1531 : *BibBelg.*, 141 ; *Guicc.*, 291 ; *SaxOnom.*, 156. Cp. *Cran.*, 12, *a-d*, 225, *a-b*.

GAUDEO te, ut scribis, improbe instare scriptioni operis
auspicati ; quod tamen inferea uellem, non tam mature
exscribundo ad umbelicum deducas, quam uel prius ipsum
acri lima multifariae doctrinae tuæ politius et elimatius reddas,
5 quando opus ipsum (modo talem nomenclaturam mereatur)
multam ab authore barbariem contraxit, quam nusquam nisi
obelo et asterisco tuo emaculari posse putauerim. Quos ut
in eo passim exerceas, ac per uersus singulos putando super-
flua, reponendo necessaria libere distringas : non est operæ
10 precium te multis moneam, qui nihil unquam edere atque emit-
tere sis solitus in quo non semper inter se et accuratissima
diligentia et exactissima doctrina de gloria æquo, ut aiunt,
Marte contendant. Quod identidem in hac quam nobis condi-
cis opera spero præstabis : jñ qua tamen si nihilominus alterum
15 (quod non puto) desyderandum foret, malletem te doctum, ter-
sum ut ita dicam emaculatorem, quam aut industrium aut
exercitum notarium probare. Vale.

BuslMS, 205-207 (k 2 r-k 3 r)

⟨Mechlin, last months of 1512⟩

64. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

a This letter, addressed '*Martino Dorpio, phō...*' (*MonHL*, 371), is evidently posterior to *Epp.* 58, and was most probably written in 1512, certainly before the end of December 1512, provided the *Valascus* referred to on ll 28-29, is rightly identified.

b That VALASCO, or VELASCO, de LUCENA, of Mechlin, was most likely the *magister hospitii*, and also the *orator* and councillor, of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, and of her great-grandson Charles. He was well acquainted with Louvain, where his mistress had lived for some time in her mansion in Mechlin Street, and where she had effectively taken in hand the reform of the Great Hospital (*Mol.*,

1 Gaudeo &c.] on p. 200 16 industrium &c.] on p. 201

4. multifariae doctrinae tuæ] Vegerius was well versed in Latin language and literature, as results from his letters ; also in

history, law and philosophy ; what he had published by 1512 is pointed out as proof of his ability : ll. 10-13.

344; *LouvEven*, 211, 282, 645-46). Imitating her generosity towards that institute, he founded, by his will of Nov., 21, 1512, a daily Mass which was to be said by an inmate of Standonck College in the chapel of the Hospital which he had rebuilt for a large part, and which he adorned with a picture of Our Lady by Simon Marmyon: *Mol.*, 798-99, 870. He also founded a weekly Mass in Standonck House, as well as a scholarship in favour of the Carmelites studying at the University; he, moreover, bequeathed his books to the Faculty of Arts, on condition of having two anniversary Masses celebrated; he died on December 31, 1512; *ActArtVI*, 13, quoted in *ActArtInd.*, 2 (1511); *Mol.*, 628, 799; *FUL*, 779, 2070. — His connection with Louvain and with the University makes it most consistent that he should have known Dorp; a 'Nobilis Dominus valascus de Lugena colinbrië dioc.' matriculated in Louvain on September 13, 1512 (*LibIntIII*, 186 v); no doubt, he was a relative, and the occasion of the acquaintance of the great Courtier with the young professor ¹⁾. — A Ferdinand de Lucena († January 31, 1512) was third lay member of Mechlin Great Council in (1473 and) 1504, when he was succeeded by his son Tristan (Decem. 30, 1504-1523: *MalConR*, 11-14; *MalConM*, 44, 52; *Cran.*, 106, 1). The Philiberta Gentil, who died on March 10, 1638, and was buried in St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, was the wife of Don Diego Fernande de Velasco, Lord of Steenberghe, &c, general major-domo of the King of Spain: which makes it look as if the post of *magister hospitii* was hereditary in the family: *MalInscr.*, 165.

DOCTA illa et cordata (qua me dignatus es) epistola
 mirum me adfecit, recreauit, tenuit; qua inprimis
 (quod antea multorum fide et constanti fama acceperam) sum
 mirifice, uel supra fidem expertus, scilicet quotus et quantus
 5 tu unus inter candidatos politioris literaturæ uiros, iamprim-
 dem emineres; qualem ne inter illos principem tibi locum mea
 quidem sententia uendicare. Qui si forte uirtuti tuæ ac
 doctrinæ multifariæ nondum datus, cæterum adhuc in primo
 a proximo, uel quouis alio infra secundum subsistas. Nihil sit
 10 uelim quod propterea labores, quando hoc unum satis super-
 que sit receptorum morum, bonarumque literarum fastigium
 tenenti, longo post se interuallo complures reliquisse; qui etsi
 tum ingenij, tum doctrinæ excellentia famigerati, non nihil
 iam nominis sint assequuti, tamen te certe unum nihilo secius
 15 colunt, suspiciunt atque rarum sui sæculi ornamentum admi-
 rantur. Jn quorum ego albo, quum postremi ordinis unus

9 infra &c.] on p. 205

16. albo] cp. *Epp.* 46, 11.

¹⁾ On August 25, 1467 matriculated in Louvain 'Mgr. Franciscus de lucena dyoc. tolletensis in medic.' : *LibIntII*, 66 v.

occurram, te tuaque omnia tanti (quanti suum Augustus Maronem) faciens : candoris tui erit huic nostro de te iudicio, licet longe infra tuum subsideat meritum subscribere, meque in-
 20 terea tuo desyderatissimo (quo nihil antiquius ducam) amore dignatum ire : jllius mihi dulcorem omnem facile ambrosiam superantem, suauissimis tuis impartiendo literis, apud me pro pignore iam auspicandi inter nos amoris perpetuo futuris, aspirante Deo Optimo Maximo, qui illum tam bene uortat,
 25 nobiscum æternum uicturus, magis indies et pullulet atque adulescat. Interea bellissime uale, bonorum optime, doctorum doctissime.

Vbi primum per otium licuerit te iuxta uotum apud Valasum cæterosque studiosos, a candore animi et literarum
 30 claritate commendabo : quod sic eo libentius præstare est animus quod non ignorem in te commendando (quem nemo non prædicat) me posse tum inuidiam qua plærique laborant deprecari : tumque hinc mihi non nihil gratiæ et doctrinæ apud complures uenatum ire ; de te hoc unum sperando quod M.
 35 Tullij studiosis asseueranter repromisit Quintilianus, ita in-quiens : Jlle sese iam doctum arbitretur cui Cicero placuerit. Jterum vale.

BuslMS, 195-196 (i 7 r, v)

⟨Mechlin, last weeks of 1512⟩

65. — TO CONRAD WECKER, VEGERIUS

This letter is entitled '*Corrado Vecchio suo...*', to which the later hand added : *Lucenburgensi, Carolo V Cæs. a /Secretis* : cp. *Epp.* 63, b-e. It seems to refer either to smaller poems, as the distichs on house and furniture, or to the text of the speeches which Busleyden delivered and which he requests his friend to copy after correcting them and touching them up as he had done the larger poems and the letters : cp. *Epp.* 63, and before, §§ 109, sq. Three of those *Orationes* were copied on the quire D, a fourth was placed amongst the poems, and a fifth amongst the letters at the end of the series. There is no date indicated ; the place in the collection suggest the last weeks of 1512.

25 et] repeated at end of one page and beginning of the next
 25 et pullulet &c.] on p. 207

35. Quintilianus] *Instit. Orat.*, se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero
 x (ed. Paris, 1839-41 : v, 62) : ille valde placebit.

CORRADE SUAUISSIME SALVE

NUGAS illas gerrasque meas quas rudes ac plane indigestas, utque in buccam uenerant, incondite nimis et tumultuarie expui, tua uelim eleganti manu, docta censura reconcinnes, expendas, recenseas, expungas; alioqui illas ut
 5 abortiuum quid atque subdititium prorsus auersurus: quod sic tum maxime præstabis, siquando ad hanc operam horas aliquot bonas male collocaueris. In quo ita præstando non multum laborauerim si forte minus occurrat quod in illis probes, modo non desit quod inprimis rideas: neque id iniuria,
 10 quando illæ (utcunque ab alijs censeantur) mea quidem sententia, meræ sint ineptiæ, nugæ, trichæ, gerrhæque plusquam Siculæ; quæ quidem nobis nihilominus tantum placebunt quantum alijs risum mouerint, esto etiam me authorem suum identidem ridiculum faciant, utpote cui abunde sat erit et
 15 illas et me uel ob id placuisse. Interea tu uale; atque qualescunque sint, boni semper consule.

BuslMS, 196-197 (i 7 v-i 8 r)

⟨Mechlin, last weeks of 1512, first of 1513⟩

66. — TO HERMAN ZUDERHUYSEN

a This letter, entitled: '*Hermanno Frisio Iurisconsulto...*', is evidently an answer to a request for help made by a friend, a party in a lawsuit, who had been unjustly dealt with. There is not the least clue for a date: as it is placed between letters to the copyist Vegerius, one, *Epp.* 65, of the last weeks of 1512, the other, *Epp.* 67, somewhat later, either the end of 1512 or the beginning of 1513, it seemed advisable to place it between those dates.

b The '*Hermannus Frisius Iurisconsultus*' to whom this letter is addressed, is Herman ZUDERHUYSEN, a Frisian Jurisprudent, whom Busleyden may have known during his studies, Charles V appointed him a member of his Privy Council by patent letters of October 19, 1520, calling him '*Frisian doctor*' (Henne, II, 323). In 1524 he was sent on a mission to Hamburg in order to try and get the King of Denmark Christiern II admitted again into his realm; on that account a certain amount of money was advanced to him on April 5, 1524 for

12 quæ quidem &c.] on p. 196

1. Nugas illas] either the *ex tempore* distichs on his mansion and furniture; or the *orationes* — judging from allusions as: 'quas ut... in buccam uenerant... expui' (*ll* 2-3), and from the words: 'ex tempore concepta' of *Epp.* 67, 15.

the journey; he returned from that mission on September 23 of that same year (Henne, IV, 12; *AltRel.*, 125, 127, sq.). By 1528 he took part in an interview at The Hague, convened to settle difficulties between Holland and the Hanseatic League (Henne, VI, 6), which matters did not prevent him from continuing his studies in Greek and Latin, in so far that Henry Ubbius, in his *Frisiæ Orientalis Descriptio*, of 1530, declares that one of the chief erudites in his province is 'Hermannus Sverenhusen, jureconsultus adeoque illustrissime domine Margarete nuper defuncte apud Parlamentum Machliniense assessor et a consiliis' (Brom, II, 16, p. 27).

HERMANNE AMICORUM OPTIME SALVE

PRÆSENTIUM latoris causa nobis tantopere abs te commendata, ubi in disceptationem iudicij uenerit, eas interponam partes, quales sollicitudo postulat tua, semperque conata est fides, integritas, diligentia nostra; jđque eo accu-
 5 rati^{us} lubentiusque quanto magis ad hoc mouent animum iudicis jura quæ spoliatis fauent; ad quorum restitutionem sicut iudicantis religionem, æquitas atque pietas maxime decet: jta contra in spoliantes rigor censuræ, seueritas disciplinæ omnino exercenda est; alioqui quæ nunc dicuntur regna
 10 tandem euadent latrocinia, neque satis inter improbos tuta mansura est innocentia. Quod cum ita sit, pro tam pia, iusta, fauorabili quam nobis commendas causa, tuum erat iubere, non orare: tum quod amicus cui maiora debeo, esses; tum quod id ex munere quo fungor, mihi incumbit quod tam efflic-
 15 tim postulas. Vale.

BuslMS, 197-198 (i 8 r, v) <Mechlin, end of 1512, beginning of 1513>

67. — TO CONRAD WECKER, VEGERIUS

This letter, with the title '*Corr. Vecorio suo...*', was written some time after *Epp.* 65; it refers to the smaller poems or the orations, which were sent to be copied, and of which the corrected transcription pleased Busleyden. He invited his 'notarius' to come and hear about the arrangement wished for (*ll* 17-21), which evidently implies that Vegerius was held up by his office outside Mechlin, probably in Brussels, where apparently some of the government officials had their work: cp. *Epp.* 68, *pr*; he may have come to Mechlin in the Yule-tide holidays.

NVGÆ meæ, quas ut uanas futilesque gerrhas antea floci
 feceram, tandem nobis mira tuorum characterum ele-
 gantia adornatæ, placere blandirique coeperunt, quando gra-
 tiam, nitorem, uenustatem quarum expertes erant, ab his
 5 pleno, ut aiunt, cornu sint mutuatæ. Quo fit plus illæ tibi,
 suo polito notario, quam mihi, inepto authori, debeant, qui
 illas quas alioqui nullæ aut veneres, aut lepores, aut natiuus
 decoruestiebat, tam compta, culta, fucata facie donasti. Jn quo
 10 instituto sane nobilem pictorem aliquem uisus es nobis imita-
 tus, jmagines qui uestustate corrosas, situque multo et carie
 obductas lenocinio uariiegatorum colorum, dexterrimo ductu
 linearum uendibiliores facit. Quare tu quidem, mea sententia,
 iure diceris beatus, cui tam expetendum ac rarum contigit
 donum, uidelicet, non minus scire polite, belle, graphice ex-
 15 cepta notare, quam uel posse ex tempore concepta bene, or-
 nate, copiose dicere. Jn quo uel uno, ni fallor, tantum homo
 præstat homini quantum bruto homo ratione. Interea uale,
 atque stilum cohibe, quo usque formula ipsa et ordo phaleran-
 dis abs te friuolis nostris tenendus, tibi a nobis coram fuerit
 20 præscriptus : cuius rei gratia huc (ubi poteris) per otium conce-
 das oratum uelim ; viaticum tibi procul dubio resarturi.
 Jterum uale.

BuslMS, 201-202 (i 10 r, v)

⟨Mechlin, March 1/10, 1513⟩

68. — TO CONRAD WECKER, VEGERIUS

This letter, addressed '*Corrado Vecchio suo*,' was written some time after *Epp.* 67, as Vegerius sent two letters after it, which were not answered. It belongs, most probably, to the first days of March, as it invites Vegerius to a solemnity which was to take place '*proximis festis paschalibus*', and Easter fell on March 27 in 1513. It follows that at the time, Wecker was not at Mechlin, though from November 16, 1512 to April 3, Prince Charles, no doubt with a large part of the Court, was in that town : Gachard, II, 11 ; cp. *Epp.* 67, *pr.*

1 floci] 8 culta] *over line* 8 Jn quo &c.] *on p.* 198

1. Nugæ &c.] cp. *Epp.* 65, 1.
 5. pleno... cornu] cp. *Epp.* 5, 23.
 15. ex tempore concepta] either

the orations or the smaller poems :
 cp. *Epp.* 65, 1, n.

ACEPIMUS iam binas tuas, nos de felici successu libelli
 tibi crediti certiorantes, quibus hucusque non respondi-
 mus, parentationibus justisque persolvendis demortui nepotis
 nostri occupati, qui nudiustertius Deo et naturæ concedens,
 5 diutino morbo confectus, animam exhalauit : cuius pijs Mani-
 bus pientissimus Deus præsens adsit ; tuæ pietatis erit pie
 orare. Præterea ut libellus, cuius reconcinnandi prouinciam
 acceperas, paulo augustior euadat, propiusque iustum uolu-
 10 plaria istis adiecimus ; quas (uelim), suo quaque loco ordine-
 que reponas, obseruando scilicet seriem et notam characterum
 quam cuique (ut uidebis) in primori fronte prænotauimus.
 Quam quidem epistolam uellem proxime succedere illi, qua
 Marlianum ipsum aliquando ad conuiuium inuitauimus,
 15 quam iam puto te ex archetypo dispunxisse. Interea uale.

Postremo te euoco ad solennitatem supplicationum nostra-
 rum hic de more ac ueteri instituto proximis festis paschali-
 bus decernendarum, adferendo tecum ipsum libellum abs te
 tam pulchre elimatum, belleque dispunctum : qui tanto tuo
 20 beneficio restauratus, mallet te tandem suum authorem quam
 me agnoscere. Vale rursum.

9 literis] the word in abbreviation Iris looks like tris in the MS
 12 fronte &c.] on p. 202

1. libelli tibi crediti] the collec-
 tion of Busleyden's poems and
 letters : cp. before, §§ 109, sq ;
 also *Epp.* 63 and 65.

3. demortui nepotis nostri] no
 doubt Cornelius Erdorf : cp. *Epp.*
 31, b, c. and, before, § 11.

11. seriem et notam caracte-
 rum] viz. the series of letters,
 poems and speeches, as indicated
 by the *nota*, the cipher or the
 character which Busleyden had
 marked on each document ; cp.
 before, § 110.

13. epistolam] either *Epp.* 49 or

50 ; there seems to be a confusion
 here, as Busleyden used the
 plural on l 9 : *hasce epistolas*.

13. illi, qua] *Epp.* 47.

16. solennitatem supplicatio-
 num nostrarum] most probably,
 an official function at which all
 the requests were answered ;
 judging from this passage it took
 place, apparently, as a fitting
 example of human mercy prompt-
 ed by liturgy, on Good Friday
 or Holy Thursday, or any day in
 the Easterweek, and was sure to
 attract a large attendance.

BuslMS, 118-119 (e 8 v-e 9 r)

⟨Mechlin, second half of May 1513⟩

69. — TO SYLVIVS ITALICUS

- a* In this letter entitled '*Sylvio Italico*,' Busleyden states that his friend 'Antonius' is poorly, and that he himself is suffering; he connects his hope and chance on recovery with that of Antony, whom he urgently recommends to his correspondent's care. In the notes to *Epp.* 45, (*b-f*), in which the same Antony is mentioned to the same Sylvius, the supposition is expressed that he is identical with Charles of Austria's councillor Antony of Berghes, Abbot of St.-Trond and of St.-Bertin's. The illness to which Busleyden refers is, without doubt, the same as that which he remarks upon in his letter of September or October 1513, viz., *Epp.* 71, to Erasmus; he there writes that at the time when he heard of the rumour of his death, he was dangerously ill himself, and lost all hope at the sad tidings, whereas at the news of his great friend's excellent health, he revives again, and he thanks God for connecting their health and welfare as intimately together as their minds and interests: *Epp.* 71, 314.
- b* In the summer of 1513 the news spread in Paris, although no evidence was given, that Erasmus had died before June of that year (*HumSchwab.*, 225, 258); on August 13, 1513, Beatus Rhenanus, in his dedicatory letter to the reader prefixed to Paul Cortesius' *In Sententias* (Basle, J. Froben), mentioning Erasmus, added: 'cuius imaturum obitum et rei literariæ dispendiosum dici non potest quam feram acerbe' (RhenE, 60; Allen, II, 321, 1). In the same month John Froben referred to the rumour of that death in his preface to the *Adagiorum Chiliades Tres* (BB, E, 90), from which James Spiegel repeated the information on Jan. 5, 1514 in the preface to his edition of *Isocrates' De Regno Gubernando* (Vienna, February 13, 1514). As late as December 6, 1513, Mutianus Rufus deplored his decease in a letter to Henry Urbanus (MutE, 395); still at that time it was known that the report was inexact: in October 1513 the news that Erasmus was still alive was announced in Paris (*HumSchwab.*, 225, 258); from there it reached Rhenanus, who communicated it to Willibald Pirckheimer (RhenE, 564): and by June 6 or 7, 1514 only, it got to Mutianus Rufus (MutE, 434).
- c* It is a fact that Erasmus' letter to Busleyden (*Epp.* 71, 1) brought to the continent the certitude that he was still alive: considering the frequent intercourse between Paris and Brussels, it is most likely that the comforting report was not long in being transmitted, and if the end of September or the beginning of October may be safely admitted as the date of Erasmus' letter to Busleyden, this one, of Busleyden to Sylvius was probably written in the second half of May 1513: for by September-October the rumour was said to have been rife for some months: *aliquot iam menses* (*Epp.* 71, 4); and the Mechlin Councillor stated that he had fallen ill a little while before the day on which Erasmus was said to have died: *paulo ante te sic amisso* (*Epp.* 71, 7-8), that is to say, before June 1, when it was reported in Paris (*HumSchwab.*, 258). Cp: Allen, I, 270, *pr*; II, p. xix. — The style of this letter,

and especially the idea of Busleyden's state of health being connected with that of his friend (*ll.* 2 *sq.*), also suggest a date as near as possible to that of *Epp.* 71 (*cp.* *ll.* 7, *sq.*).

AVDIO Antonium nostrum male ualere : quo nuntio plurimum indolui et identidem male ualere coepi, ualetudinem nostram metiens ex sua ualetudine : cuius successus qualis erit, perinde nos afficiet, adeo ut hæc nostra (qua hinc laboramus) ægritudo inualescente illius ægrotatione incrementum quoque sit acceptura. Scis nanque quantum illi iamdudum adficimur, quantum et ille nobis : quare, ut paucis omnia dicam, si uis me recte ualere, fac precor quam primum ille belle ualeat, et non nisi ualetudine curata et bene stabilita, isthinc moueat : alioquin de nostra utriusque salute est plane desperandum. Quod ne ita contingat, tu unus qui bene uis, multa scis, plurima potes, in tempore occurre : agendo hac in parte (qualis semper fueris) amicum officiosum et inprimis pientissimum. Interea uale, memor nostri atque polliciti tui ; cuius desyderio summopere tenemur et quasi languentes indies immorimur. Quare ut hoc desyderio nos aliquando leues, aut cito da, aut cito nega : haud ingratum nobis futurum utrum feceris : quando qui cito dat, bis dare uidetur. Et contra, cito negasse quod dare nolis, pars beneficij existimetur. Iterum vale, mi suauiissime Sylui, hoc mihi quod duo sunt oculi.

3 metiens] *corr.* from mentiens ; below it is written *dimensus*
3 sua &c.] *on p.* 119 12 occurre] *corr.* from occurrere 19 quod/quod] *MS*

1. Antonium nostrum] no doubt Antony of Berghes : *cp.* *Epp.* 45, *b-f.*

2-3. ualetudinem nostram metiens ex sua &c.] the same idea is expressed in Busleyden's letter to Erasmus of the beginning of autumn 1513 : *Epp.* 71, 6, *sq.*

10. isthinc] probably the Abbey St. Bertin, at St. Omer.

14. polliciti tui] it is hardly possible to indicate what the

object was of this promise ; still the fact that its execution depended entirely on Sylvius himself, shows that it was not any longer the *Armarium* referred to in *Epp.* 45, which the Italian was to secure for Busleyden from his master Antony : *cp.* *Epp.* 45, 1-25.

18. qui cito dat &c.] Erasmus : *Bis dat, qui cito dat* : *ErAdag.*, 330, c.

BuslMS, 151-154 (g 5 r-g 6 v)

⟨Mechlin, Summer of 1513⟩

70. — TO BERNARDINO LOPEZ DE CARVAJAL
Cardinal 'Stæ Crucis'

This letter, entitled '*Cardinali sanctæ Crucis*.', was evidently written after the news of Carvajal's final pardon and of his restitution into his dignity of Cardinal by Pope Leo X, on June 27, 1513, had reached Mechlin : cp. *Epp.* 54, g, h.

QVOD nostram in te pietatem et observantiam iampridem
nullis ad te nostris sum testatus, fecit hoc sane non in-
curia aliqua, sed contra turbulenta illa rerum tempestas et
proxima temporum iniquitas, nimis, proh dolor, in maligno
5 posita : quæ quidem suæ invidentiæ tælis, calumniantium
machinis, complurium candorem simul et innocentiam conata
est perdere. In quorum albo te unum maxime esto fuerit im-
probe nimis persequuta, fide tamen et probitate tua contra
renitente, nil demum ualuit quo minus omnium opinione is
10 perdurares, antea qui semper fueris, scilicet inter spectatos
iuxta spectatissimus. Quo fit, a quouis optimo summopere
gratulandum sit tibi, cui inuidorum genuinus aduersantium
gladius bis acutus nequicquam potuit officere. Quod inprimis
Optimo Maximo Deo, deinde innocentia tuæ, postremo fau-
15 torum tuorum (quorum ipse unus fui) piæ orationi ferre debes
accepto : quibus plane efficientibus malignantium conatus
facti sunt nedum irriti, cæterum uel sua in te uibrata spicula
in seipsos reuerberatione dextræ excelsæ retorta. Vnde laus,
honorque immortalis Deo, qui tuis, tuorumque uotis tam præ-
20 sentem se præstans, uoluit tua hæc quæ te exercuit persequu-
tio, nusquam fieret tibi aut macula probri aut nota infamiæ,
sed certior probatio (quæ iuxta Apostolum in infirmitate per-
ficitur) uirtutis spectata. Qua quidem etsi iampridem sat

3 rerum &c.] on p. 152 18 dextræ] æ indistinct : it might be os
21 nusquam &c.] on p. 153

2. nullis ad te nostris] about April 1512, he had sent only a verbal message on account of the

difficulties in which the Cardinal then was : *Epp.* 60, 5, sq.

7. In... albo] cp. *Epp.* 46, 11.

superque clareres, attamen te ueluti aurum probatum septu-
25 plum toti orbi reddidit illa clariorem.

Quod quum ita sit, reliquum est ut probitatis constantiæque
nusquam oblitus tuæ, idem qui semper fueris, tuique simili-
mus usque permanens, tandem te eum præstes qui probe uelit
atque sciat ambiguum fortunæ ludum, non tam susque deque
30 ferre quam uel illum posthac plane ridere; memor interim, ut
aurum lydio lapide, ita hominem probari aduersitate, præser-
tim quem gloria maior, laus perennior manet aduersis fortiter
exanclatis quam prosperis multis ex sententia succedenti-
bus : quando gubernatorem nauis, non cœli serenitas, militem
35 non otium domi, sed contra, hunc discrimen Martis dubij,
illum tempestas æstuantis æquoris spectabiliores efficit magis-
que famigeratos. Prout tuiipse merito iam factus es qui fortu-
næ minaci medium porrigens unguem, nequaquam illi (ut
aiunt) herbam dederis : cæterum contrario, fortia opponens
40 pectora durasti te rebus seruando secundis : quarum iam
magna tibi est accessio facta, et quod tam optamus quam spe-
ramus, adhuc maior (largiente Deo) propediem obuentura.

Interea uale, antiqui tui hospitis haud immemor ; cui sua
in te pietas exuberantissima, tuæque humanitatis persuasio
45 plusquam confessa, materiam dedit huic licentiori epistolæ, in
qua quidem modo unam solum in te pietatem nostram appro-
baueris, nobis sat erit, etiamsi cætera qualiacunque sint, mi-
nus probes. Iterum uale.

BuslMS, 192-195 (i 5 v-i 7 r)

<Mechlin, end of Sept., beginning of October 1513>

71. — TO DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

- a* This letter, entitled '*Erasmio Roterodamo Germaniæ decori.*', has been reproduced by F. Nève (*NèveRen.*, 122) and by P. S. Allen (*Allen*, I, 244_A). Nève does not take the trouble to assign a date, whereas F. M. Nichols, as Allen mentions, presumes it was written

39 cæterum &c.] on p. 154

34. gubernatorem nauis &c.]
cp. *Carm.*, xvii.

38. medium &c.] *Carm.* xv, 177.

38-39. herbam... *Epp.* 6, 38, &c.
43. antiqui tui hospitis] in
August, September and October
1508 : cp. *Epp.* 54, k.

about June 1516, judging from the third part of the letter in which Busleyden refers to Erasmus' endeavours to secure a preferment in the Netherlands. Against that opinion Reich, 138-140, proposes the end of 1511, and Allen, more exactly, November 1511 as the time at which the letter was written, going by the reference, in the first part, to the rumour of Erasmus' death, which is contradicted by the arrival of a message. They argue that there is no report of any rumour of Erasmus' decease in 1516, whereas there is sufficient evidence of such news circulating in the autumn of 1511 (Allen, I, 251, 2). They explain the third part, the wished-for preferment expected since a good while, as referring to Erasmus' endeavour to obtain a prebend or a parsonage in England, where Warham fulfilled an old promise on March 22, 1512, by granting him the parish of Aldington in Kent (Allen, I, 255, *pr*, 243, 17; Vischer, 8-15).

- b* Still several other details in the letter remain unexplained in that supposition : Busleyden, namely, represents himself as having some influence on the appointment which Erasmus expects (*ll* 26, 33) ; and that cannot be understood if the preferment should be English. In the second part of the letter Busleyden warns Erasmus to be careful in his critical or jesting remarks about princes and kings, which might be repeated and cause harm (*ll* 15-23). That advice hardly applies to Henry VIII, from whom benefits had been expected in vain since 1509, but rather to Charles of Austria or to Maximilian, from whose bounty he is now expecting some gift : the latter might be withheld if an opponent, who desired that same favour, could bring forward proofs of, or at least create suspicions about, the bad disposition of his competitor. Finally the object for which this letter is written, is evidently connected with the pleasing hope that Erasmus should soon come and live near the writer of the epistle (*ll* 11-14), which would be quite out of the question if the benefit to be bestowed were connected with a church or a chapter beyond the sea, whereas it would be as the natural result of, if not the necessary condition for, a preferment in Brabant or Flanders : Allen, II, 436, 24.
- c* It thus follows that this letter belongs to the end of September or to the first days of October 1513, since, in the course of that month, the false rumour of Erasmus' death was rectified in Paris : *HumSchwab.*, 255-58. No doubt, it was the letter to which the present one is a reply that caused the rectification : most probably, the good news spread from Mechlin to the French capital, and from there, to Basle and Nuremberg : RhenE, 564 ; *Epp.* 69, *b*. That date, Sept.-Oct. 1513, is corroborated by the illness of Busleyden referred to in *Epp.* 69 as coinciding with the inexact report of Erasmus' death. It moreover, makes some details in this letter look quite natural, whereas they appear inconsistent, and even impossible, in the supposition that the epistle were written in November 1511. It seems absurd to make a Mechlin prelate interfere with the attribution of a preferment in England, where he spent some time, to be true, on his embassy of 1509 (*cp.* before, §§ 66, 67) ; but where far more influential men, like William Blount, the Archbishop William Warham, and the Bishops John Fisher and Richard Fox could not prevail on Henry VIII, and prevent Erasmus from having to wait in vain for the promised royal favour.

d It rather looks as if, by 1513, Erasmus had realized that the golden hills he expected to find in Britain, existed only in his imagination; for the twenty pounds that the Aldington parish yielded was a discouragingly scant provision. He therefore turned naturally to the Court of young Prince Charles, where he had secured some patrons and friends with whom he kept up a regular correspondence. The fact that no letters to or from Busleyden, for example, subsist for that period, is not a proof that there were not any. Indeed, from the second paragraph of this letter, *ll* 15-23, it is evident that Erasmus often wrote rather inconsiderately about kings and princes to some members of the Court of the Netherlands: for if he had only written to Busleyden, the latter had no right to criticize him, for there was no need at all to show to any body the extravagant remarks of his highly beloved friend. The fact that he warned his glib-tongued correspondent, shows that there had been letters to others, which contained remarks that either might have displeased Margaret of Austria and her nephew, or have caused some disagreeable complications, if they referred to Henry VIII; as there was always an English ambassador at Mechlin Court. Busleyden confesses to having had some trouble himself on account of too free language (*ll* 22-23), and as Erasmus wished to settle in Brabant, he had every interest to keep out of the hands of his competitors whatever they might use to worst him if he wanted to secure a well-earned preferment.

e Indeed he had rendered some conspicuous service already: he had welcomed Philip the Fair in 1504 by a fine oration (Allen, I, 179, 181, 178, 710, and *Epp.* 17, *d*), which had brought him a small pension and an occasional gift to help him in his studies; to Charles, who had taken upon him his father's indebtedness towards the scholar, no doubt copies of his forthcoming books had been offered; moreover in the opinion of any man who judged like Busleyden, Erasmus contributed at least as much to the glory of his sovereign by his writings and studies, as the best of his army-leaders or of his councillors did by their well paid services. The only thing to be done, in Busleyden's opinion, was to urge on the Chancellor John le Sauvage who, during the minority of the Prince had in hand the management of affairs. It was he — and not Warham, nor Mountjoy either, — whom Erasmus was to importunate with his requests, so as to help Busleyden's efforts to that same effect, which finally resulted, not only in the granting of the Courtrai prebend, but in the appointment and the emoluments of Imperial Councillor (Allen, II, 436; and before, §§ 57-59).

ORNATISSIMÆ literæ tuæ gaudio me affecere incomparabili, tum quod tuæ essent postque multam expectationem impetratæ; tum quod te superstitem adhuc nuntiarent, contra quem aliquot iam menses constans fama, etsi
5 incerto auctore, demortuum uulgauerat: quo quidem tristi

1 Ornatissimæ &c] on p. 193

5. demortuum uulgauerat] cp. *Epp.* 69, *b*.

nuntio quemadmodum tunc eram consternatus, ita nunc illo uano cognito, omnino sum mihi redditus : vtpote qui paulo ante te sic amisso, ipse quasi perieram, et tui unius desyderio confectus, desyderium nostri pene reliqueram. Quare laus
 10 Deo Optimo, qui utriusque salutem ex alterius salute metiens, et me in te, teque propter me seruauerit, sicque seruando aliquando daturus nos propius atque uicinius agere, quos iamdudum idem amor uirtutis, eadem studia, idem animorum consensus indiuidua caritate copulauit.

15 Ad literas tuas redeo, quibus ea quæ de Regibus licentiosius perscripseris abunde perspexi ; quæ tamen quum huiusmodi sint, ut tutius coram, auribus fidelibus, quam epistolis credantur, tuæ prudentiæ erit in ijs recensendis stilum temperare, de ijsque parcius agere, ne forte quandoque deferendi tui apud
 20 Principes occasionem præstes obtrectatorum delatorumque maleuolæ turbæ, quorum in aula principali summa celebritas est, prout tu sat nosti, ipseque aliquando periculum, non sine periculo, feci.

Præterea quæ de sacerdotio tibi parando scribis : esto res
 25 ipsa nondum ad umbelicum (ut aiunt) sit deducta, tamen non omnino displicent : cæterum magna me spes fouet id tibi tandem obuenturum quod tam sancte tibi receptum, toties fuit repromissum : modo tu moræ si quid interuenerit non pertæsus, aut improbi laboris non impatiens, alacriter in incepto
 30 pergas, tuumque quotidie Mæcenatem urgeas tibi longe maiora debentem, vtpote cui iam tot annos tuum desudat ingenium, obuiumque semper et expositum extiterit obsequium. Quare, ut paucis me absoluiam, necesse est modestiæ tuæ oblitus, perfrices frontem : dediscas esse philosophum te, iudasque per-

17 fidelibus &c.] on p. 194
 25 nondum] before it n is cr. 31 cui] over line S

8. ipse quasi perieram] cp. *Epp.* 69, 2¹⁴.

22. ipse... periculum, non sine periculo, feci] cp. *Epp.* 52, 19.

24. esto] cp. § 135.

24. esto res ipsa &c.] it follows that Busleyden had already taken the necessary steps to provide Erasmus with a prebend in our provinces, although he had not quite reached the final result, for which he wanted his friend's

own importunating requests to the Chancellor : II 33-34.

30. Mæcenatem] either Charles of Austria, who was actually Erasmus' debtor, or John le Sauvage, the influential Chancellor of Brabant, and, from Jan. 17, 1515, also of Burgundy, who became Erasmus' chief patron in this country : Allen, II, 410, 436, and before, §§ 59, 72, sq.

35 sonam clyentuli cuiusuis improbissimi, uel antelucano fores patroni pulsantis, limenque conterentis : tamdiu importunus quousque tandem exoret. Vale.

(β) Dorp's *Dialogus*, D ij r, v (= D)

(γ) NelisSyll., 69-71 (= NS)

⟨Louvain, first half of November 1513⟩

72. — FROM MARTIN VAN DORP

^a This letter (cp. *MonHL*, 366) serves as dedication of '*Martini Dorpij... Tomus*¹ *Aululariæ Plautinæ adjectus cum prologis aliquot in Comediarum actiones : & pauculis carminibus*'; it was printed first by itself in the last months of 1513 (= α), and it was afterwards reproduced (D 3 r-F 2 r) with this letter (= β : D 2 r, v) in one volume with Dorp's *Dialogus* : *in quo Venus & Cupido omnes adhibent versutias : ut Herculem animi ancipitem in suam Militiam inuita Virtute perpellant*, which begins the book. The *Tomus* is followed (ff F 2 r-G 4 r) by Dorp's letter *Hollandis suis*, by Zanchius, Bishop of Naples' description of Holland (Trit., 465), and Geldenhouwer's sketch of Zeeland, dated February 28, 1514. The book was printed by Thierry Martens in 1514 : Iseghem, 246-247 ; *MonHL*, 333-335, NijKron., 1, 737. It was finally reproduced with the *Tomus* by Cornelius Francis de Nelis, in an unfinished bundle of documents, which he called *Sylloge* (NelisSyll., 69, n 1), printed at the Louvain University Press between 1760 and 1768 (cp. before, §§ 130, sq) : it takes up pp 69-71 of that bundle, in which the *Tomus* extends from p 67 to p 94. That *Tomus* comprises an *Invitatiuncula*, partly in prose, to the people of Louvain to come and see the *Aulularia* in the Lily on Sept. 3, 1508 (72-73 ; *Dial.* D iii r) and the *Prologus* in verse (73-75 ; *Dial.*, D iii r-D iii v), with the *Complementum Dorpii*, in the metre of the original (75-84 ; *Dial.*, D iii v-E i r) ; further a letter from John de Neve to Dorp (85 ; *Dial.*, E i, r, v ; *MonHL*, 354), one from John Becker (86-87 ; *Dial.*, E i v-E 2 r ; *MonHL*, 354), and a third from George, Lord of Halewyn (87-88 ; *Dial.*, E 2 r-v ; *MonHL*, 354-55) ; finally a poem of eight lines by Judocus (Sasbout) Delphus, J. V. D., on the *Tomus* (88 ; *Dial.*, E 2 v). Then follows the *Prologus in Militem Plautinam*... in verse (89-92 ; *Dial.*, E 2 v), with a poem of 14 lines, by Dorp : *Candidis Lectoribus* (92-93 ; *Dial.*, E 4 v-F i r) and an *Epigramma* of 14 verses by Judocus (Sasbout) Delphus, J. V. D., to Dorp about his writings (93-94), which does not appear in the *Dialogus* ; on the other hand, the latter has a *Carmen Iambicum* on John Becker (F i r, v), and an *Epitaphium* on Margaret of York, both by Dorp (F ii r). Cp. *MonHL*, 398-404.

35 cuiusuis &c.] on p. 195

¹) The title of 1514 has *Thomus*, but on G 4 r it is corrected : *prima facie i linea iiiii pro Thomus lege Tomus*.

- b* It is certain that the *Tomus* dedicated to Busleyden, and the *Dialogus*, inscribed to John de Neve, Dorp's master, were published each separately in the last months of 1513, and that their joint edition of 1514, to which were added the descriptions of Holland and Zeeland, was not the first. That results from *Epp.* 73, in which Busleyden thanks Dorp for the sending of the *Dialogus* (*ll* 1, *sq*), and for the dedication of the *Tomus* (*ll* 28, *sq*), whilst he insistedly requests the publishing of his *Concio de diue Virginis Assumptione* (*ll* 63-67). In a following letter *Epp.* 74, which, judging from the wording and the tone, was written at a considerable interval, he repeats with insistence his wish to see that *Concio* printed (*ll* 1-26). That was finally effected on February 18, 1514, according to the colophon of the book which Thierry Martens brought out (*MonHL*, 317; *Epp.* 75); yet it certainly preceded the edition containing the *Dialogus*, the *Tomus*, and the descriptions of Holland and Zeeland of which the most recent contribution, that by Geldenhouwer, is dated as late as February 28, 1514, ten days after the *Concio* was issued: *MonHL*, 327, 333-34.
- c* No copy seems to subsist of the two dramatic compositions as they were printed separately in the last months of 1513; that they were separate booklets results from the closing sentence of this dedicatory letter: 'neque tam librum ad te mitti tibi persuadeas quam ipsum animum mittentis' (*ll* 38-39): it suggests that the dedication applies to a *book* by itself, and not only to the *latter part* of a book, of which the first is ascribed to another and less eminent personality. That is also implied by the reprint by de Nelis, who, for certain, would have reproduced the *Dialogus Veneris & Herculis* if he had had it at his disposal. It is evident that he did not know the joint edition of March 1514, for he reprints an *Epigramma* by Josse of Delft to Dorp (NelisSyll., 93-94) which is absent from that joint edition, where it is replaced by the *Carmen Iambicum* by Dorp to John Becker and the epitaph on Margaret of York: *MonHL*, 402-404. Further there are in that joint edition four mistakes of which two were certainly reproduced from the first issue, and were set right in the *Errata* of the joint edition. Two of them are found also in de Nelis' text, because they offer a plausible sense: *potuisse* instead of *potesse*, and *quouis*, *quo vis*, for *quouis*: *Dial.*, D 7 v, 1, D 8, r, 24; NelisSyll., 80, 25, 82, 22; two others were set aright: *Thomus* corrected to *Tomus*, in the title, and *iis*, changed into *is* (*Dial.* D 3 r, 26; NelisSyll., 73, 3). It is evident that Nelis *did not use the joint edition* of 1514, for, precise editor as he was, he would not have left unemployed the corrections proposed in the *Errata* for that part of the book, especially since it is more than likely that they were pointed out by Dorp himself, who is also the editor of Chrysostomus Zanchius' and Geldenhouwer's descriptions of Holland and Zeeland (*MonHL*, 326-334).
- d* It follows that the text of this letter as it is given here, is not based on that of the first edition, November 1513, = *a*, of which no copy is known to be in existence; it had to be replaced by that of the joint edition of 1514, = *β*, whereas in the notes are supplied a few variants offered by the text which de Nelis, about 1765, = *γ*, reproduced from a copy of the first edition; — this he may have had in the old and rich Louvain University Library, which was entrusted to his care from 1758 to 1768 (FUL, 219; *MonHL*, 323, 328-

29, and before, §§ 130, sq). — Dorp declares in this letter (ll 1-6) that he writes it five years after he composed the *complementum* to the *Aulularia*, which he had acted by his students on the Sunday of Louvain fair, September 3, 1508; it thus follows that it belongs to the latter months of 1513 along with the *Tomus*, to which it serves as dedication (*MonHL*, 366). Generally such dedications were written on, or, at least, dated as nearly as possible to, the day when the book was issued; it was also communicated as soon as possible, if circumstances allowed, to the personage to whom it was inscribed, who, in his turn, did not lose much time in acknowledging the receipt, provided it pleased him: from those considerations may be deduced that not much time did elapse between this letter, *Epp.* 72, and Busleyden's reply, *Epp.* 73. Now, in that reply Busleyden mentions Dorp's 'theologica Laurea', his promotion to licenciate in Divinity (l. 69): it is mentioned first on the title-page of *Concio de diue Virginis Assumptione*, issued on February 18, 1514, where Dorp is called *S. Th. Licenciatus*, whereas on the *Oratio de Laudibus Disciplinarum*, published on October 14, 1513 he is only called *theologus* (*MonHL*, 313, 317-18). Consequently his promotion must have taken place between October 14, 1513 and February 18, 1514, and yet as near as possible to the former date, because the *Concio* was only published after a repeated request by Busleyden in a letter, *Epp.* 74, which suggests rather a long interval after the reply to the dedication of the *Tomus*, *Epp.* 73.

e It may therefore be suggested as most probable that this dedication was dated from the former, and Busleyden's reply from the latter, half of November, and that events happened in this order:

Latter half of October 1513 :	Dorp's promotion to Licenciate of Divinity.
First half of November 1513 :	letter dedicating the printed <i>Tomus</i> to Busleyden : <i>Epp.</i> 72. Separate first issues of <i>Dialogus</i> and <i>Tomus</i> .
Second half of November 1513 :	Busleyden's reply to that dedication and first request for the <i>Concio</i> : <i>Epp.</i> 73.
Last days of 1513 or first of 1514 :	Busleyden's repeated request for the <i>Concio</i> , and points to be elucidated in theology, probably studied during the Yule-tide holidays : <i>Epp.</i> 74.
February 18, 1514 :	Publishing of the <i>Concio de diue Virginis Assumptione</i> .
Febr. 28 or first days of March 1514 :	Publishing of the second (and joint) edition of the <i>Dialogus</i> of Hercules and Venus and the <i>Tomus Aululariæ</i> ¹⁾ .

¹⁾ Thomas More referred to that edition in his letter of October 21, 1515, writing to Dorp: 'siquidem scripta sunt abhinc septennium, certe uix sesquiannus est elapsus, quod eadem recollecta edidisti': *MoreLuc.*, 424.

* *

The reprint of this letter — as also that of *Epp.* 80 and 81 — tries to reproduce exactly the old edition for spelling and punctuation, for the cutting and joining of words, as well as for the use of upper case letters ; in so far that it gives an exact idea of the original issue, with the only exception of the resolving of the abbreviations and the dividing of the text into paragraphs. The text is collated with that of de Nelis' *Sylloge*, pp 69-71 (= NS), which reproduces the text of the first edition, of which no copy seems to be known.

ORNATISSIMO DOMINO HIERONYMO BUSLIDIO
PRÆPOSITO ARIENSI & REGIO CONSILIARIO
MARTINUS DORPIUS SALUTEM D. P.

ANNUM ab hinc quintum Vir Clarissime, cum discipulos
ad Aululariæ Plautinæ actionem instituerem, (nihil enim
tenacius eorum heret memoriæ, quam quod eiusmodi laudis
gloriæque emulatione discunt) ne imperfecta foret actio,
5 comediam ipsam eadem metrorum lege, eademque tum verbo-
rum tum ridiculorum licentia compleui. qua auctorem
ipsum fuisse vsum depræhendere potui. Neque enim maiorem
opinor religionem vel antiquitatis. vel carminum, a me re-
quiret quispiam, quam Plautus scenæ princeps ipse pre-
10 fterit : & nemo paulo faltem humanior nescit. haudquaquam
eadem vfos lege, Horatium qui strictissima. Therentium qui
licentiore vtpote Comica. & Plautum : qui sic nonnumquam
solutus diffluit, vt quid tandem sit sequutus, nisi oculatissimus
non perpendat. Porro sciebam Antonium Codrum eadem in
15 harena laborasse. sed neque illum tum videram : neque si vi-

5 eademque] D ; NS eadem 9 ipse] D ; NS om. 11 Therentium] D ; NS Terentium
12 nonnumquam] D nonnuq 13 oculatissimus &c.] on f D ii v
15 harena] D ; NS arena

1. Annum ab hinc quintum]
leading up to the public produc-
tion, on September 3, 1508.

1. cum discipulos &c.] cp.
MonHL, 128, 327. sq.

6. compleui] cp. *ibid.* 327-331.

14. Antonium Codrum] Antony
Urceo, *Urceus*, who, from a re-
mark to the prince of Forli, got
the name of *Codrus*, was born in
1446 at Rubiera. He wrote
poetry and taught Greek and
rhetorics at Forli and Bologna,
where he died in 1500. His works
were edited in that town in 1502 :

C. Malagola, *Della Vita e delle
Opere di Antonio Urceo* : Bologna,
1878 ; Tiraboschi, vi, iii, 5, 58 ;
Symonds, 302 ; Trit., 433 ; Prowe,
1, 249-56, 399 ; Nohac, 21 ; CeltE,
438, sq ; Polain, 11, 1416 ; &c.

14-15. eadem in harena] the
fragmentary state of the *Aulula-
ria* was particularly felt as that
play was, with *Amphitruo*, the
most important in the study of
Plautus and in the history of the
drama in Italy both in Latin and
Italian. A complement had been
started by an anonymous author,

diffem. male collocatum iri laborem censuisssem : si in hoc etiam scripti genere stitum exerceam, ne quis forte arbitretur cum illo me voluisse de gloria certare : Iuuenem cum sene, Hollandum cum Italo. Philosophantem cum Poeta. postremo (vt
 20 cætera preteream) qui secundariam duntaxat operam in ea studia impenderem : cum eo qui politioribus docendis litteris grandeuus euassisset.

Vtcunque se res habet. labor hic meus adeo viris aliquot doctissimis non displicuit : vt & crebris litteris & in celeberrimis etiam oppidis actionis calculo comprobauerint videarque
 25 non meo magis, quam illorum periculo hæc editurus, Adieci prologos in actiones, & paucula carmina : quæ omnia tui

26 editurus,] D ; NS—.

but not brought to the *Plaudite*. Others had tried their hands at the same work (Bahlmann, i, 55), but that by Antonius Urceus was most generally accepted ; it was printed in Strasburg and Leipzig (1511, 1513), as : *Plauti... Aulularia, ab Antonio Codro Urceo, utriusque linguæ doctissimo pristinæ formæ diligenter restituta ; illius enim finis antea desiderabatur*. Dorp had not the text of Urceo's *complementum* and, no doubt, as the time for the producing of the play pressed, he composed the ending scenes himself according to the indications given by the author in his summary. His verses are by far not so correct, nor so fluent as Urceo's, but they observe far better the spirit and form of the play : Thomas More wrote of the part added by Dorp : 'mihi, seu sermonis elegantia spectetur, siue sales, sales uere Plautini, nulla parte totius comedie uidetur inferior' : *MoreLuc.*, 423. — Dorp's *complementum* is couched in the trochaic octonarian, like the rest of the comedy, whilst his competitor used the six-foot iambic line which is not found in Plautus. In Dorp's ending, the thief Strobilus puts as a condition to the restitution of the treasure that the owner, the miser Euclio, should give it to his master Lyconides

with his daughter's hand, — which keeps all the characters true to themselves ; Urceo breaks that law of the classic drama, by making Lyconides offer freedom to his slave in return of the gold ; a *deus ex machina* then turns Euclio into a most generous man, which is as inconsistent as the liberty-loving principles which Strobilus vents at full length, and which are several centuries out of date. The leave-taking *Plaudite* of Urceo, is very appropriate ; yet it would come quite as fittingly to the *complementum* as Dorp rightly proposed it : Creizenach, i, 571-73, ii, 55-56 ; *MonHL*, 329-331.

24. non displicuit] Dorp added to his *Tomus* the laudatory letters of John de Neve, John Becker and George de Haloin ; also Judocus Sasbout's verses (*NelisSyll.*, 85-88) ; later on Thomas More whole-heartedly recommended Dorpius's *complementum* and *Prologi* for their elegant style and facetious diction in his letter to Dorp of October 21, 1515, in his defence of Erasmus (*MoreLuc.*, 423-24), quoting sixteen lines from the *Prologus* to the *Miles* : *NelisSyll.*, 90, 30-91, 10.

24. in celeberrimis &c.] cp. Creizenach, ii, 56.

27. prologos &c.] cp. the preface to this letter, a.

faustissimi nominis auspiciis in publicum edere volui: quod olim recens composita: quum ad te misisset litteratorum candidiffi-
 30 mus Ioannes Borsalus Canonicus Middelburgensis. fores aperuerint amicitiae inter nos mutuae, quam tu quidem tam sedulo foves: ut epistolas ad me aliquot homo arduissimis rebus occupatus miseris: quae vtramque impleant manum. & iusseris, ne isthac in Hollandiam meam iter faciam: quin in
 35 edes tuas diuertam, artificio quidem ornatissimas, sed domini humanissima liberalitate ornatioris. Te igitur oro Clarissime Bullidi, ut Dorpii tui dicationem gratanter accipias: neque tam librum ad te mitti tibi persuadeas quam ipsum animum mittentis. Vale.

BuslMS, 210-215 (k 4 v-k 7 r) <Mechlin, latter half of November 1513>

73. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

This letter, entitled '*Martino Dorpio phō...*' (*MonHL*, 367), acknowledges receipt both of Dorp's *Dialogus Veneris & Herculis* and of his *Tomus Aulularius* and thanks for the dedication of the latter, which probably was dated from Louvain in the first half of November for considerations explained before: *Epp.* 72, d-e; those same considerations make it most verisimilar that this letter of thanks and appreciation was written shortly after the receipt of that dedication, — which is evidently posterior to October 14, 1513, — so as to leave the interval between it and the issuing of the *Concio de diue Virginis Assumptione*, February 18, 1514, long enough to occasion a repetition of Busleyden's request made here (*ll* 63-75) for the publishing at as early a date as possible of that *Concio*: cp. *Epp.* 72, d-e, and *Epp.* 75.

CLARA illa nusquam sat a me perlecta tui ingenij monumenta mirum placere; maxime quibus (inter cætera) adsumptas illas agendas personas Virtutis, Veneris, Cupidinis, Herculis, tam probe (quæ tua dexteritas est) egisti, suumque

28 quod] D contracted NS; possibly quæ 36 ornatioris] D; NS ornatiores

30. Joannes Borsalus] cp. *Epp.* 56, c, and before, §§ 51, sq.

35. edes tuas] cp. before §§ 38, sq.

37-39. dicationem... mittentis] cp. *Epp.* 3, 2^a, &c.

3. Virtutis, Veneris &c.] viz.,

Dialogus: in quo Venus et Cupido &c. (cp. *Epp.* 72, a), dedicated to John de Neve, no doubt printed, in a separate volume, at the same time as the *Tomus Aululariae*: *MonHL*, 333-34, 366.

5 cuique tribuendo habitum seruando decorum : Virtuti scilicet
 maiestatem quandam, latens quoddam numen, beatitatem,
 sanctitudinem, pietatem, pudorem ; Veneri contra, suas vene-
 res, gratias, illecebras, fucos, solatia, luxus, delitias, amores,
 amarores tandem et penitudinem suis adseclis propinantes ; Cu-
 10 pidini, os roseum, frontem renitentem, cutem nitidam, cæsa-
 riam fluidam, mentem subdolam, uafum ingenium, argutu-
 lam suauiloquentiam, fidem plus quam punicam, mille fraudi-
 bus, dolis, technis, imposturis, uersutijs præditam, quibus non
 solum oculos suorum adiuratorum exenterat : cæterum
 15 (quod peius est) illos (si Platoni credimus) in proprio corpore
 demortuos, in alieno uiuentes facit ; Herculi demum constan-
 tem constantiam, uirile robur, pectus cordatum, masculum
 animum nusquam effoeminatum, duris inprimis gaudentem,
 ardua cogitantem, operosa, difficilia, periculosa usque mo-
 20 lientem, nullos aut æstus aut algores, ærumnas, labores de-
 trectantem, quo minus aliquando auspice, duce, comite Uir-
 tute (remisso nuntio Voluptati) immortalis euadat. Quæ
 omnia et singula quum tu ita spectante coram et adplaudente
 candida iuuentute tam dexterrima, felici, præsentanea actione
 25 sic (ut audio) prosequutus : nil ergo mirum si hinc omnium
 adplusus, numeros, puncta, calculos, suffragia iure merito-
 que tuleris.

Præterea non sine summa uoluptate legi Tomum tuum illi
 Aululariæ Plautinæ additum ; quo sane uno (si meam roges sen-
 30 tentiam) nil potuit aut propius accedere, aut magis germanum
 additum iri filo texturæ tam bellissimæ dictionis tui lepidi et
 festiuissimi Plauti ; adeo ut si forte ille, Manibus posthabitis
 redux, nobis quandoque rediuius appareret, Tomum illum

5 cuique &c.] on p. 211 20 aut æstus &c.] on p. 212

26 adplusus] r adplausus

15. si Platoni credimus] the idea that a lover is dead in himself, but lives in the beloved person, may have been inspired by Erasmus' *Laus Stultitiæ*, which ascribes it to Plato, asserting 'amantium furorem omnium felicissimum esse', which is then explained : 'qui vehementer amat jam non in se vivit' &c. : EOO, IV, 502, v, 8; in the *Apophthegmata*, EOO, IV, 262, 7, a similar saying

is attributed to Cato Senior. Cp. *ErasInvl.*, III-II2.

28. *Tomum*] the title reads *Thomus* in the second edition, which in the *Errata* of that joint issue of February-March 1514, is corrected into *Tomus*: *MonHL*, 329; no doubt the word was written correctly in the first (separate) edition: *Epp.* 72, c.

30. nil potuit &c.] cp. *Epp.* 72, 14-15.

certe nequaquam abs te mutuatum, neque tibi acceptum, cæ-
 35 terum tanquam quid suum, suamque legitimam foeturam glo-
 rians agnosceret, gestiens amplecteretur. Quod quum (ni me
 sententia fallat) ita sit, vide, dispice, mi suauiissime Dorpi,
 quam sis beatus, quam extra omne nostratium ingeniorum
 aleam positus, cui tam rarissimo datum sit eos ipsos (quos ali-
 40 quando agere, repræsentare destinaueris), ita ad unguem, ad
 amussim, tam absolute demum repræsentare, ut inter et repræ-
 sentatum atque repræsentantem discriminis nil reliqui sit :
 quod inprimis spectantium, auditorum iudicium remorari
 queat, quo minus reputet ea quidem omnia et singula eadem
 45 fontis scaturigine, eodem armario ac penu, eiusdem telæ
 exordio ad umbelicum esse deriuata, deprompta, deducta.
 Mira profecto atque suspicienda ingenij tui ubertas, acrimo-
 nia, dexteritas, felicitas, quæ uel ipsum demortuum Plautum
 suos quos olim sales, lepores, dicteria, scommata, elegantias
 50 in te et per te eloquentem facit, tuaque omnia a suis ipsius
 haud plus fore discreta quam sit unius idque eiusdem oris
 expressa saliuæ.

Postremo quod me unum adhuc de Mæuiorum, Bauiorum
 grege tuorum nusquam intermoriturorum monumentorum ho-
 55 nore dignatus es (cuius scilicet nomen, si quod sit) grauissimo
 iudicio luculentissimæ epistolæ tuæ, posteritati commendasti,
 gratiam tibi ago plurimam, habiturus quamdiu uiuam, rela-
 turus ubi potero. Interea ne prorsus ingratum agam, simque
 apud te malum (ut aiunt) nomen, quum iam minus soluendo
 60 existam, accipe uadimonium carissimum, pignus incompara-
 bile, animum meum quo nil maius possideo : qui tuus in ære
 totus, tibi posthac uiuet, te unum amabit, colet, suspiciet ;
 hoc unum interim orans (quod fac exorem), scilicet Homeliam
 illam Virgini Deiparæ abs te dictam, quando (nescio quid)

35 foeturam &c.] on p. 213 43 spectantium] i over line S
 50 a suis &c.] on p. 214

51. eiusdem oris. saliuæ] no
 doubt an allusion to Erasmus :
Saliuam imbibere : *ErAdag.*, 529,
 o, quoting St. Jerome.

53. Mæuiorum, Bauiorum] cp.
Epp. 49, 4.

59. malum... nomen] meaning,
 no doubt, a debtor : *Epp.* 76, 12.

61. animum... quo nil maius] no
 doubt an allusion to the Roman
 Law which granted the insol-
 vent debtor to the creditor as a
 slave : cp. *Epp.* 42, 14.

63. Homeliam illam &c.] cp.
Epp. 74, 1-26, 75 ; *MonHL*, 134.

65 magis me iuuant, pressius tangunt, penitius moueant, illa tua
quæcunque maxime religionem sapiunt, et inprimis ad pieta-
tem (cuius sum studiosus) faciunt. Ad quæ posthac uelim te
emunctum stilum uertere ac te totum adplicare, quum iam
posita prætexta, sumpta virilis toga, theologica Laurea, pro-
70 uectior ætas, non tam alios mores sibi respondentes, quam uel
alia studia, id est maiora, grauiora, sanctiora, pientiora ex-
postulent : quæ inprimis religionem, pietatem exerceant, ner-
uosque suos omneis in ea harena intendant, quo tandem offi-
ciosa manus talia exarantis et pia mens eadem perlegentis non
75 tam doctior ac melior euadat. Sat tenes quid uelim : quare
ne (quod aiunt) sus Mineruam, epistolam claudens receptui
cano. Vale.

BuslMS, 250-255 (B 6 v-B 9 r)

⟨Mechlin, last days of Dec. 1513-first of 1514⟩

74. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

This letter, entitled '*Martino Dorpio phō, atque / Theologo grauiss...*' (*MonHL*, 367), was written some time after *Epp.* 73 (cp. l 9 : *nuperri-me*) and before February 18, 1514, the day of issue of the *Homilia* on Our Lady's Assumption for which Busleyden makes a repeated request (cp. *Epp.* 72, *d-e*). — The points of theology which he asks Dorp to elucidate for him, suggest that they were found during some holidays which he was accustomed to devote to Bible study and religious meditations : cp. *Epp.* 16, 1³, 21, 1⁹, 22, 1⁶. This letter, consequently was written during, or at the end of, the Yule-tide holiday, on the last days of 1513 or the very first of 1514.

PVERI in littore, hamo inescato incumbentes, pisciculum
quempiam incautum prensuri : nonnunquam eidem stu-
dio tam perseuerantissime instant, ut quantumuis petita sæ-

66 ad pietatem &c.] on p. 215 3 sæpius] over line S

67. Ad quæ &c.] Busleyden was not the only one to advise Dorp to write about pious and religious subjects, rather than produce heathen literature : his friend the Abbot of Egmond, Menard Man, and the chief Louvain divine, John Briart, had made the same suggestion : *MonHL*, 312, 139, sq.

69. theologica Laurea] that pro-
motion took place soon after
October 14, 1513 : *MonHL*, 138,
313 ; *Epp.* 72, *d*.

75. doctor ac melior euadat]
the chief humanistic principle for
the aim of all study : cp. § 159.

76. sus Mineruam] *Epp.* 60, 31.

76. receptui cano] *Epp.* 59, 19.

pius præda illorum aut moretur uota aut omnino fallat desy-
 5 deria, tamen nihilo secius bona spe in incepto alacriores per-
 gentes, destinatam prædam allecturi, ipsum hamum noua
 rursus esca obductum, undis impingunt : tamdiu et moræ et
 laboris patientes quo usque uoto potiantur destinato. Quod
 quidem iam mihi usu uenit qui nuperrime ad te epistolam de-
 10 derim qua ueluti hamo inescato prendere destinaueram Ho-
 miliam illam tuam Christiferæ Virgini sacratam ; quod quum
 hucusque minus ac sperauerim successit, spe tamen nondum
 posita, illorum exemplo tentaui hamum iterum parare, escam
 illi addere, totamque ut aiunt aream concinnare : quo tandem
 15 eam quam tantopere arderem, uel quantumuis diu, aut mo-
 rantem aut reluctantem tenerem. Quod ut ita ocyus nobis
 obueniat, in tua plane positum est manu, quum tu solus oc-
 curras qui id potes. Poteris autem tum maxime ubi maxime
 uelis, rumpendo scilicet obices, frangendo carceres, soluendo
 20 retinaculo quibus mancipatur Homilia ipsa ; quæ tandem
 nostro inuncando hamo nobis cedat diu quæsita præda : quam
 nusquam insolentur, superbe, immaniter tractabimus ; cæte-
 rum mihi crede, pro dignitate eius et authoris sui amore,
 reuerenter, comiter, amice excipietur, curaturi inprimis pla-
 25 gam, si quam forte mucro hami incaute fecerit. Verum interea
 iocatum sit satis.

Restat ad magis seria, teque plus digna se noster uertat
 stilus: scilicet quo inprimis ego te consultissimum Theologum
 super his potissimum consulam, quæ nondum sat (ut uellem)
 30 mihi constant atque liquent, tametsi nequaquam de fide illo-
 rum (quod impium foret) addubitem ; sed contra, solum ut
 certior eorum nobis te docente insinuetur agnitio : quum
 scriptum sit : Sapiens audiens, sapientior erit, etc.

Capita consultandorum huiusmodi sunt : primum : quare
 35 Melchisedech, quem primum Scriptura Regem introducit et

6 destinatam &c.] on p. 251 8 potiuntur] o corr from a
 21 inuncando &c.] on p. 252

9. nuperrime ad te epistolam]
 viz. *Epp.* 73, probably in the
 second half of November 1513.

10. Homiliam &c.] cp. *Epp.* 73,
 63-75, 72, d.

18-19. Poteris &c.] cp. *Epp.* 58,
 81-82.

33. Sapiens audiens, sapientior
 erit] PROV., I, 5.

35. Melchisedech] GENESIS,
 XIV, 18-20.

Sacerdotem, nec patrem, nec matrem, neque initium, neque finem dierum fertur habuisse. Secundum : quum iuxta mandatum Dominicum, Abrahamus pater unicum pignus Jsaac pergeret hostiam offerre, et apprehendens gladium ut iugularet
 40 illum, statim vox superne insonuit : Abraam Abraam, ne inijcias manum tuam super puerum, neque facias ei quicquam : nunc enim cognoui, quia tu times Deum. Quæro quare Deus nunc se cognovisse dicat, quia Abraam timeat Deum ? an quod ante ignorauerit ? Cui tamen omnia nota et præscita
 45 sunt prius quam fiant. Tertium, quur querulam illam uocem Christus in crucem actus, ediderit, scilicet : Deus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti ? Videtur quod, esto ibi humanitas Christi talia quereretur, quod nihilominus tante querelæ nulla legitima suberat neque ratio, neque causa :
 50 causa scilicet, quum in Christo, Dei et hominis persona sit, nec ab eo potuerit relinqui, a quo non poterat separari ; ratio, quia trepidatione carnis euicta, iam ad paternam transierat uoluntatem, et toto mortis terrore calcato, opus suæ constitutionis implebat. Quur tantæ uictoriæ exaltatus triumpho, causam et rationem (quare sit relictus) inquiri ? Quar-
 55 tum : quur mortem homines patiantur, quorum per gratiam baptismi reatus absoluitur : quando Mors, quæ in primum hominem uenit, de malo inobedientiæ accidit ; et ideo pro originali illo peccato, mortis unicuique impartitur conditio ; nos
 60 autem, quorum originale peccatum in baptismo soluitur, uidetur absonum quod Mortis huius supplicio teneamur.

Super quibus propositis quæstiunculis, quia plura scholia, glossemata, commentaria quum ueterum tum neotericorum nondum sollicitæ et anxie inquisitioni nostræ usquequaque
 65 satisfecerunt ; præterea quod et tam turpe quam otiosum putauerim semper ex commentarijs sapere, nilque illis ex captu nostro superaddere, quasi natura ingenijs nostris adi-

36 nec patrem &c.] on p. 253 51 relinqui &c.] on p. 254
 52 quia] a is crossed off 67 captu &c.] on p. 255

38. Abrahamus &c.] GENESIS, XXII, 1-18.

42, 43. quia] cp. § 135.

46. Deus, Deus meus &c.] MATTH., XXVII, 46 ; MARC., XV, 34.

48, 61. quod] cp. § 135.

65. turpe... putauerim &c.] viz., the humanistic principle of studying in order to deepen and widen a subject, instead of merely accepting the teaching of others : cp. § 159.

tum præcluserit, nonnunquam uel meliora quam quæ scripta sunt meditandi, speculandi; præsertim quia ubi uult spiritus
 70 spirat, et sæpius paruulis panduntur quæ maioribus dene-
 gantur. Proinde tenuitas nostra, doceri semper præsto et
 obuia, operæ pretium duxit (ne super his prudentiæ eius, si
 qua foret, inniteretur) te uirum pientissimum, in lege Domiri
 eruditum, Sacrarumque Litterarum a Domino saginatum, in-
 75 primis consulere, vtpote qui candore uellet, doctrina sciret, in-
 genio et eloquentia posset, insipientiam super his nostram affa-
 tim erudire, sicque erudiendo ad sublimiora illa diuinorum
 eloquia, super mel ori meo dulcia, te duce tandem prouehe-
 mur, quorum uiam (si Hieronymo credimus) nemo unquam
 80 sine doctore recte ingressus est. Vale.

BuslMS, 256-257 (B 9 v-B 10 r)

⟨Mechlin, last days of February-first of March 1514⟩

75. — TO MARTIN VAN DORP

This letter, entitled '*Martino Dorpio phō.*' (*MonHL*, 368), is written, with many abbreviations, along with *Epp.* 76, on three pages left blank in the quire marked B, pp 256-258. It acknowledges most enthusiastically receipt of Dorp's '*Concio de diue virginis deipara in cælum Assumptione Dicta Louani; Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo Decimo*'. This book, which also contains the *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis* (cp. *Epp.* 58, 4, sq), was printed by Thierry Martens, *e regione scholæ iuris ciuilis*, and brought out, according to the colophon, in 1514, *duodecima Kalendas Martias*, February 18: *MonHL*, 317-318; Iseghem, 245-46; NijKron., 1, 736. — Since Busleyden had repeatedly urged his friend to publish that sermon (*Epp.* 73, 63-75, 74, 1-26), it is more than likely that one of the first copies available was sent to him, so that this letter most certainly was written in the very first days of March, if not on the last of February 1514. Probably about that time the text was passed to Vegerius, who compressed it with *Epp.* 76 into some space left open.

68 quæ] *over line*

78. super mel ori meo dulcia] Ps. XVIII, 11; ECCLESIASTICUS, XXIV, 27.

79. si Hieronymo credimus] the necessity of a guide on the way to

the knowledge of God's deepest truths is exposed, e. g., in his *Epistola* (II, i) *ad Paulinum*: HieronE, 68, b, sq.

LUCULENS pean tuum Christiferæ Virgini abs te dictum
 nuncupatumque, ea quidem voluptate perlegi, qua tu
 pietate exarasti ; jñ cuius sane lectione nescio quid inprimis
 aut probem aut suspitiam, nitoremne dictionis, an magis
 5 candorem fidei, vel argumentum summæ (quæ in ea emicat)
 & ræligionis & pietatis. Quare mea quidem sententia fœlix
 hæc Lucubratio, fœlix stilus, beata facundia, quæ vires, ner-
 uos, omneis thesauros suos jñ tam spatiosissimo vernanti
 florigero odoro campo tam pie tentauit, pulcre exercuit,
 10 abunde effudit, nihil cessans, nil feriata remittens a laude
 Jllius (cui nusquam sat laudatæ) : id quidem est impar omne,
 id cædit omne, totumque infra illius dignitatem, excellentiam,
 maiestatem penitus subsistit, quicquid vsquam tum laudum,
 tum gloriæ, lingua (nedum mens humana) aliquando adsequi
 15 posset : quæ tamen si forte nihilominus quandoque tentare
 auderes, certe in hac opera condicenda, prius te dies quam
 materia, citius stilus quam pietas, otyus vitalis te aura ac
 satietas destitueret.

Quam ob rem macte pietatis et ræligionis uir, perge! perge,
 20 inquam, alacriter quo cœpisti, sicque pergendo jñ hoc tam
 pulcerrimo laudationis stadio constitutus, impigre contende
 ad incomparabile illud brauium adsequendum, ijs maxime
 positum debitumque, quos inprimis exercet cultus, agit pie-
 tas, vrget studium, accendit amor tam juste predicationis
 25 superbenedictæ Deiparæ Virginis, cuius nomen, honor, gloria,
 laus semper in pectore, jñ ore piorum facit vt perpetua medi-
 tatione, jugi contemplatione, indefessa pronuntiatione illius
 sanctitudinem enarrent, gratiam annuntient, merita passim
 diuulgent : huic vni studio, pio exercitio se ipsos pias mentes
 30 suas, uota, jngenia, eoloquia pie nuncupantes ; quorum si tu
 vestigia imitatus, studia quoque adsequutus fueris, profecto
 tanto adsertori, jllustratori, buccinatori, preconī sacerrimæ,
 Jntemeratæ Virginis, præsens et uocatus aderit Deus, id totum

9 florigero] corr. from flogrigo 19 Quam &c.] on p. 257

21 contende] -nt- badly formed, look like -m-

28 sanctitudinem] 30 eoloquia] MS Eoloq'a : r eloquia

1. pean... Virgini] viz., Dorp's
Concio... de Assumptione indic-
 ated by the title of one of his
 poems, *Carm.* x.

16. prius te dies] cp. *Orat.* B, 193.
 19. perge! perge] cp. *Epp.*
 73, 67, sq ; *MonHL*, 139, sq, 312.

sibi adcæptum, id omne in se collatum existimans gratus Fi-
 35 lius, quicquid tu gratissimus gratissimæ ac pientissimæ Pa-
 renti impenderis.

BuslMS, 257-258 (B 10 r, v)

⟨Mechlin, c March 1514⟩

76. — TO WILLIAM BOLLART, OF BRUSSELS Abbot of St. Amand's

a This letter, entitled : '*Abbati S. Amandi...*', was copied with *Epp.* 75 on three pages left blank in the quire marked B : cp. before, § 115. In both epistles the text is compressed : abbreviations are used far more abundantly than in any other letter. No doubt they were handed to Vegerius at the same time, apparently soon after they were written. The first, *Epp.* 75, on *pp* 256 and 257, belongs for certain to the early days of March, if not to the end of February 1514 : most likely this one, taking up *p* 258, with its title on the last line of *p* 257, dates of about the same time.

b William BOLLART, or BOLLAIS, also called 'of BRUSSELS' from his birthplace, came of a very modest family ; he was in Bishop Henry de Berghes' service as secretary, where for a time he had the great Erasmus as companion : Allen, I, *pp* 589-90. He afterwards entered the Cistercian order at Clairvaux, and executed with so much prudence and such success the mission of reforming the Cistercian nunnery of Flines, that Charles du Hault-Bois de Chastelleraut, Bishop of Tournai, asked him to undertake the reform of the neighbouring Benedictine abbey of St. Amand, of which he had become abbot on July 21, 1505. Bollart executed that mission with great efficiency as well, restoring order and discipline.

c Some months before his death (June 10, 1513), Charles du Hault-Bois, 67th Abbot of St. Amand's, resigned that dignity in favour of Hilary Rogier, provost of 'Barisiacum' (*CamChrist.*, 182), who passed it to Bollart, with the approval of Leo X ; on that occasion the Pope also granted to Bollart the permission to pass from the Cistercian to the Benedictine order. The Abbey of St. Amand in Pevèle, in *Parabula*, the *Elno* of the Romans, now St. Amand-des-Eaux, on the Scarpe, shared the fate of the neighbouring Tournai : when it became English, William of Brussels resigned his abbotship in favour of Gerard of Ovinghien, prior of 'Wast' (probably St. Vaast) of the Cluny Congregation in the Théroutanne diocese, which arrangement was sanctioned by Leo X on November 27, 1518. He had reserved a rather considerable pension which was paid, although the Abbey was given to Cardinal Louis de Bourbon in 1518 when it became French, and to George of Egmont, when Charles V became master of Tournai (*GallChrist.*, III, 254, sq, 267-68 ; *MorinckMS*, 182 r-183 v ; Brewer, III, 68 ; Brom, I, 136 ; *MonHL*, 475-77).

d Meanwhile Bollart had obtained in 1516 the abbotship of St. Trudo's, St. Trond, from Antony de Berghes (*Epp.* 45, c-f). Here, too, he introduced reform by means of a group of young monks of the reformed Abbey of Gembloux, July 1520-Nov. 1521; he repaired and adorned the buildings that had been neglected for some time. As he was hampered by a precarious health, which had as result a most irascible temper, he went to reside in seclusion in the house of refuge which had been bought in Louvain ¹⁾; in his letter of Jan. 14, 1518, to the Abbot of St. Bertin, Antony de Berghes, Erasmus mentions him as living in the University town: Allen, III, 761, 40. Bollart rebuilt that *refugium* magnificently after it had been destroyed by fire on Aug. 24, 1525. He gathered there a fine set of books, especially about history, in which he took a great interest; he had much intercourse with Gerard Morinck, who became literary advisor of St. Trudo's during the management of his successor. That successor, George Sarens, of Mechlin, had been formed by Bollart during his last years at Louvain, when his infirmities required help and assistance; he had dispatched to Rome a request for the confirmation of the choice of his coadjutor and successor in August 1532, but he died on November 14, 1532 in Louvain before that confirmation, signed on October 2, had reached him: *MorinckMS*, 182 v-185 r, 151 r-155 r, 161 r, &c.; *MonHL*, 475-479; Allen, III, 761, 40; *GallChrist.*, III, 267, 964-65; *SweMon.*, 237; &c. — Paschasius Berselius wrote his epitaph for the Charterhouse of Louvain, where he had been a *scholaris*, and where his heart and 'viscera' were buried, whereas the rest of his body was laid to rest in his Abbey-church. His effigy was represented on the stained glass windows offered to the Charterhouse of Scheut and to that of Louvain: *MorinckMS*, 184 v-186 r.

e There are three letters extant written by Erasmus to an abbot who had served with him under the same Maecenas and had been addicted to the same studies; that abbot was for certain Bollart: having seen him soon after his arrival in Louvain in the autumn of 1517 without knowing him, Erasmus wrote to him to offer him his congratulations on his success in life: Allen, III, 671. A few days later he had to decline an invitation on account of a cold: Allen, III, 672; and, still some time later, he sent to his new patron a copy of his '*In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos Paraphrasis*', which Thierry Martens brought out by the end of November 1517: Allen, III, 710, *pr*; Iseghem, 277-79; *NijKron.*, I, 846. On that occasion he expressed the intention of making a series of comments if favoured by public appreciation, which does not always answer efforts or expectation: Allen, III, 720.

¹⁾ The house of refuge acquired by St. Trudo's about 1470 was situated on the *Voer*; it had a large garden with a pond; it was exchanged in 1572 against the refuge of Vlierbeek Abbey, and, having sheltered for a time the community and the boarders of Cortenberg Abbey, it became in 1609 the famous St. Monica Priory of English Canonesses, which, at the French Revolution, was transferred to England, and is still prospering at Newton Abbot: *LouvEven*, 527-30, 543; *LouvBoon.*, 378; *LouvArch.*, I, 334, II, 79; Hamilton, I, x, 17, sq, 61, sq, II, 13, &c.

SALVE PATER REUERENDE

PAREND0 honesto desiderio tuo (quod sic præstare semper et volo et debeo), familiarem tuum, virum sane fidum atque gnauum, notarios inter apostolicos rettuli : quod quidem munus recte, vt spero, et gnauiter obibit, eorum nil omit-
 5 tendo vnquam aut committendo jn quo maxime notarij cuiusuis spectatissimi diligentissimique, vel fides laborare vel diligentia posset quandoque desiderari. Præterea, quo tibi jucundius, illi gratius huiusmodi munus obueneret & ornatus a me proficisceretur, lubens ipsi remisi illa (quæ de
 10 more ab alijs penduntur) compendia sigillo nostro debita ; quod ita a me factum tibi vni accæptum referre debet : alioqui hominem sic ingratum agendo, malum se (vt aiunt) nomen erga te præstiterit. Interea uale, pater optime. Obuium hoc nostrum (qualecunque fuerit) tui gratificandi studium obiter
 15 (cum alijs iampridem impensis) gratus admitte : quod sic tum maxime obuénisse gratulabor, vbi periculum fecerim te magis animum mei gratificantis atque accæptorum beneficiorum pondus (quod nullum vel modicum est) aliquando expendisse. Jterum vale.

BuslMS, 207-210 (k 3 r-k 4 v)

<Mechlin, last days of May-first of June 1515>

77. — JOHN-LOUIS DE MOSCHERON

Archdeacon of Cambrai

a This letter, entitled '*Ioan. Moscharoneo Archid*', serves as a reply to one which Moscheron had sent to his old friend and fellow-student (cp. *Epp.* 15, *b-c*) from Bruges, in which town he probably was residing at that time, as he enjoyed there the seventh canonry in St. Donatian's (1507-1535 : *BrugSDon.*, 126), and as his family were originary from there : *Cran.*, 243, *a*.

SALVE &c.] on p. 258 4 obibit] *corr. from* obibibit

8-9. tibi jucundius, illi gratius... ornatus a me] cp. further ll 17, 18 and *Epp.* 3, 2³, &c.

12. malum... nomen] cp. *Epp.* 73, 59.
 17-18. animum... pondus] cp. ll 8-9.

- b Along with an affectionate letter, Moscheron had sent to his friend a book as present, and had mentioned that he was enjoying the company of Erasmus who was just then at Bruges, possibly as a guest in his house. That stay of the Great Man lasted so long that a letter could be taken to Mechlin and its reply expected to reach Bruges before he should leave, — as otherwise Busleyden's wish that his correspondent might *utere et fruiere : doctrinam illius... hauriendo* (l 38), has no sense. Such a stay was only possible in April 1515 or in June of the same year. In April 1515 Erasmus, coming from Basle bound for England, went part of the way with book-dealers returning from the Frankfurt Fair to Antwerp, and thence to Ghent, where he stayed three days with John le Sauvage ; from there to Tournai and to his friend William Mountjoy, who had become governor of the town ; further to St. Omer, to the Abbot of St. Bertin, Antony de Berghes (Allen, II, 332, 1-5 ; cp. *Epp.* 45, e), where he wrote a dedication to Beatus Rhenanus, April 13, 1515 (Allen, II, 327). As there is no mention at all of his passing through Bruges, it is more likely that he stayed there on his return from England, the more so as his friends Cuthbert Tunstall and Thomas More were just then, on May 7, sent on a mission to that town (Brewer, II, 422, 473, 474 ; Seebohm, 342-43), as he wrote to Peter Gillis from London on May 7 (Allen, II, 332, 15-16) ; he probably spent there, on his return, the last days of May or certainly the first of June 1515.
- c Against that supposition might be argued that Johannes Crotus Rubeanus announced to Mutianus Rufus on June 11, 1515, that ten days before, on June 1, Erasmus had passed through Mayence (MutE, 599). That is quite impossible, for Erasmus wrote in London a most important and lengthy letter to Leo X on May 21, 1515 (Allen, II, 335), after which he, no doubt, paid a visit to John Fisher at Halling, near Rochester, as he had been requested (Allen, II, 336) ; that does not leave the time necessary to reach Mayence on June 1 : there is evidently a mistake in Crotus' letter : the 'III Eid. Junii' should be read, or be taken as 'III Eid. Julii'. That would leave space for a comfortable stay at Bruges in the last days of May and the beginning of June and allow time for More ¹⁾ to show him Pirckheimer's translation of a *libellus* by Plutarch or Lucian (Allen, II, 362, 10-12), and make their meeting as an important event in their lives (Allen, II, 388, 1-2). It was at Bruges that Richard Sampson, as Wolsey's Vicar-General, granted to Erasmus a prebend at Tournai at Mountjoy's request (Allen, II, 360, 15, 388, 29, sq). — From Bruges Erasmus went to Antwerp where he wrote an extensive *Apologia* against Dorp's attack of September 1514 : it is simply dated 'An. m. d. xv', but was certainly written in June (Allen, II, 337 ; *MonHL*, 145-150), most probably in the house of Peter Gillis, to whom, on May 7, 1515, he wrote from London that he hoped to visit him again, — not before June, which he knew to be improbable, but before July : *Vti spero, ante Iulium vos reuisam* (Allen, II, 332, 20). He further passed through Mechlin where he, at least, wrote two letters (Allen, II, 362, 23, 356, 2), and probably paid some visits to friends on his way, at Louvain or Cologne : Allen, II, 374, 6. It thus sounds impossible that

¹⁾ More left London on May 12, and reached Bruges on May 18, 1515.

with all that, he should have been seen at Mayence on the first of June 1515, especially since after that over-hurried journey, he should lag nearly two months at Strassburg : Allen, II, 342, 1, 343, 5-6, 344, 1. — It follows that the letter of Crotus Rubeanus should be dated back one month : with the complete absence of all marked facts, there seems no objection, whereas similar inexactitudes in the same collection — even on the very same page — suggest that solution to otherwise inextricable difficulties : cp. *Reuchlin*, 337 ; *Hutten*, 80. All that points to the last days of May and the first of June as the date for Busleyden's letter : the *feriæ* of l 19 are those of Pentecost, May 27.

SALVE ITERUMQUE SALVE AMICORUM OPTIME

TUÆ mihi iucundissimæ fuere quibus inprimis (quod in summis ducebam uotis) lætus agnoui, te scilicet adhuc bellissime ualere, non minus ueris animi bonis ornatum quam uel externis (hæc modo bona ducenda sint) beatum florentis-
 5 simumque. Quo sic cognito, quum te tuaque omnia tanti faciam, fecerimque semper ac mea (si qua sint) priua, tot successibus aucto tibi tam gratulor quam qui maxime. Qualem gratulationem nostram (si daretur) nollem iam absens litteris
 10 prosequi : uerum hanc satius re ipsa cumulatiue coram testatam facere, quando satis superque sciam qualis iandudum, quantus ac quotus in ære tuo sim, etsi nesciam ubi et quando id demum expungam, magnitudine tuorum in me meritorum plane obrutus, maxime quod me quotidie maiori foenore adhuc obligatiorem facere pergas, idque nuperrime pulcherrimo illo
 15 Gaugerici libello. Quo quidem, ut nihil nobis a te ornatiue, ita nec eo quicquam poterat donatum iri gratius, præsertim cuius lectio sua mira elegantia, rerumque singularium (qua scatet)

2 lætus &c.] on p. 208

6. tot successibus] probably prosperity and maybe preferences.

11. in ære tuo] cp. §§ 150, sq.

15. Gaugerici libello] no doubt a work by Pomponius Gauricus of Naples, a poet, philologue and archeologue, who died in 1543, and had a brother Lucas (1476-1559, known as philosopher and astronomer, who taught mathematics at Ferrara, and became 'Episcopus Ciuitatensis' — Civitelli ? — (*SaxOnom.*, 25, 150, 581, 604). Pomponius Gauricus published his *De Sculptura, ubi agi-*

tur de Symmetriis, de Lineamentis, de Physiognomia, de Perspectiva, de Chimice, de Ectyposi, de Celsura eiusque Speciebus. Præterea de ceteris speciebus Statuariæ, de Plasticæ, de Proplasticæ, &c. That book — which might be said to have interested Busleyden 'mira elegantia, rerumque singularium (qua scatet) uarietate' (ll 17-18), rather than his edition of *Eclogæ Selectæ* (Florence, 1504), — was printed in Florence, 'VIII. Cal. Jan. MDIII'.

15. ornatiue &c. cp. *Epp.* 3, 1-3.

uarietate nos mirum tenuit, delectauitque, in dies magis magisque delectat quoties in hunc(a publicis rebus feriendo) incidimus. Qui tunc eo nobis gratior occurrit quod a te uenerit, rarissimo scilicet, idque incomparabili Amico, mihi semper renouante dulcissimam illam consuetudinem quam aliquando Patauij, ijsdem studijs, sub ijsdem ducibus signisque militantes contraximus : cuius commemoratio frequens, tam adhuc
 20 nobis est grata quam olim illius experientia fuerit iucunda, jndiuiduis quæ nos animis iunxit, nusquam ab inuicem nisi sola morte (cuncta soluente) dirimendos. In qua ego sententia quia persto, te quoque in ea mansurum facile spero : quod sic præstando haud ægre feram me a te beneficijs uinci, modo non
 25 me uincas fide ac animi gratitudine, quod nemini unquam concesserim.

Interea bene uale, amicorum optime : nomine meo delitias bonarum literarum, Erasmum nostrum, salutando, cuius ab omnibus appetendam (qua frueris) consuetudinem, iam certe
 35 tibi inuiderem, si non tu ipse qui semper fueris adhuc alter ego esses : cui inprimis tantum bonum, tanta felicitas, tantus successus non est inuidendus. Quare dum uacat atque licet, eo utere et frui : doctrinam illius haud uulgarem accuratissime hauriendo, quam nobis cæterisque tuis studiosissimis,
 40 ubi te tandem reposueris, citra inuidiam fideliter impartiri possis. Quod ita te procul dubio facturum speramus. Vale rursum.

BuslMS, 273-275 (8 r.*9 r)

<Mechlin, October 1515>

78. TO <MARTIN VAN DORP>

This letter, of which the recipient is not indicated, was most probably written to Martin van Dorp, who had sent a trusty messenger to Busleyden with the request to help some of his colleagues in their lawsuit at Mechlin (ll 35-38). Busleyden sent this reply to Louvain by the same messenger, together with a copy of Budé's *De Asse*, published *nuperrime*, which proves that this missive belongs to 1515 (ll. 29-31). That year fits in very appropriately with the praise spoken of Dorp

18 nos mirum &c.] on p. 209 34 qua frueris &c.] on p. 210

23. Patauij] cp. *Epp.* 15, a, b, and before, §§ 26, sq.

33. Erasmum nostrum salutando] cp. *pref.* b.

by the messenger, as well as with his successes, for in the summer of 1515 he was most agreeable to all the professors of divinity ; after his promotion to Doctor, he was allowed to teach in the Faculty, and he was appointed President of the Holy Ghost College (*ll* 6, *sq*). This letter, therefore, most likely belongs to the very last days of September or rather to October 1515. It is the last in Busleyden's collection as well in date as in the series ; it is copied after the fifth *Oratio* (*Orat. E*), and is written with the evident apprehension of a want of space : the text is put on very compact lines, in which a frequent use is made of ampersands and other signs of abbreviation.

SALUE VIR ORNATISSIME

MIRIFICE me refecit recreauitque insperatus aduentus,
iucundus congressus huius tabellarij, viri certe, si
meam roges sententiam, tam docti quam candidi ; qui quidem
inter cætera multa de amicorum successu (vt soleo) per-
5 cunctanti, mihi respondit tibi scilicet (quod inprimis cupie-
bam) bene esse ; deinde te isthic tum animi tum fortunæ
bonis beatum serio triumphare ; postremo omnibus numeris
te virum absolutum, nihil amplius in te desyderare quod vel
ad cumulum summæ (qua polles) probitatis, vel vite inculpa-
10 tæ, vel optimæ estimationis tuæ, quandoque addi posset ; jd
sibi spectata & prope omnibus confessa uirtute tua & multi-
faria doctrina postulante, vtpote qua iampridem (vel nemine

11 & prope &c.] on p. 274

2. tabellarij] probably this *laudatus vir* (*l* 15) was the *bedellus* of the Faculty of Theology, who very often was sent on confidential missions ; if so, he was the Judocus van der Hoeven, who from 1529 to 1536 was President of the *Trilingue* (*HisTriLov.*, chs. xiv-xvii) ; on September 30, 1515 the Faculty granted him the continuance of his office — as was the custom — warning him, however, to be more careful and regular than he had been up to then : de Jongh, 39*.

6-7. fortunæ bonis... triumphare] Dorp promoted Doctor of Divinity in the summer of 1515, at any rate before August 30, when, as *Magister Noster*, he was admitted to the Faculty, and allowed to teach (*VAnd.*, 101-102 ; deJongh, 39* ; *MonHL*, 151). At the death of Lucas Walters, Walteri, of Konitz, on Septem-

ber, 4, 1515, he was appointed his successor to one of the two prebends in St. Peter's founded by Eugene IV to serve as stipend for a professor of theology ; and also as President of the College of the Holy Ghost. Finally on September 30, the Faculty admitted him *ad regentiam*, which made him a regular professor, who was to read theology at the Halls according to his turn, as was the custom (*VAnd.*, 78-81, 288 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 16 ; deJongh, 162, 39*, 40* ; *MonHL*, 152-153).

8. virum absolutum] the professors of the Faculty of Divinity were highly satisfied at the time with Dorp ; for he had written an admonition to Erasmus in September 1514 at their instigation, and on August 27, he had finished a rejoinder to Erasmus' reply of June 1515 : *MonHL*, 139-151.

refragante) bonorum calculum, doctorum puncta, candidato-
rum suffragia tuleris. Quod quum ita plane sit, quid mirum si
15 tantæ laudes & dotes tuæ, fide tam laudati viri (harum scilicet
tabellarij) mihi perspectæ, nos mirifice iuuerint, oblectarint-
que ? Quo factum est non possim non summopere hinc tibi
atque mihi gratulari : tibi qui talem te re ipsa præstiteris vt
tanti sis & passim recte habearis ; mihi vero quem olim tam
20 coram ac per literas honore expetendæ amicitia tuæ dignatus
sis : qua vna (mihi crede) nihil aut antiquius aut gratius votis
nostris poterat accidere. Pro quali ac tanta erga nos adfectu
& propensione tua quando non habeo quod dignum rependam
nisi hunc gratissimum (quem vtinam intus & in cute nosses)
25 animum : eum tibi in perpetuum monumentum & pignus in-
delebile iampridem auspicatæ inter nos amicitia spondeo.

Qui animus noster vt tibi interea vel aliquo literario (quo
te maxime oblectari intelligo) munere testatior fieret, te do-
natum iri volui eo opere quod nuperrime quidam a secretis
30 Regi Gallorum (cui nomen est Budeo) emisit, titulum fronte
operis præscribente, de Asse & eius partibus : opus sane sicuti
eruditum, jta & inprimis tua lectione dignum, vtpote mira
rerum tum varietate tum antiquitate atque recondita doc-
trina conditum. Interea bellissime vale, amicorum specimen,
35 literarum bonarum delitiæ : ornatissimis Collegis, viris pre-
stantissimis, plurimam meo nomine salutem dicturus : quo-
rum negotium harum tabellario creditum quantum ipse pro-
mouerim, malim id fide eius quam literis nostris intelligant.
Rursus vale.

40 Raptim, Mechlinie.

27 Qui animus &c.] on p. 275

13-14. bonorum... suffragia] meaning, no doubt, the votes of the professors of Divinity accepting him in their Faculty, and the satisfaction of the inmates, *candidati*, of the H. Ghost College with their new President.

15. laudes... tam laudati viri] cp. *Epp.* 18, 9, &c.

20. coram] in *Epp.* 72, 34-36, Dorp mentions that he is invited as a guest at Busleyden's Mansion whenever he journeys to Holland.

23-26. non habeo... spondeo] cp. before, § 150.

29. opere quod nuperrime...

emisit] *De Asse et Partibus eius Libri quinque Guillelmi Budaei Parisiensis secretarij Regij*, was published at Paris by Josse Badius, *ad Idus Martias MDXIII*, (stylo Gallicano), viz., on March 15, 1515, according to the Roman style, since on the last pages of the book, there is a reference to Francis I's succeeding Louis XII, who died on January 1, 1515 : *Budé*, xxiii, 130, sq ; Trit., 412.

35. Collegis] some professors of theology, for whose sake the *tabellarius* had been sent to Busleyden with Dorp's introduction.

Deventer MS. 91 : f 170 v
EE, 1571, A-B; Allen, II, 470.

Antwerp, September 28 <1516>

79. — FROM DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

This letter, simply addressed BVSLIDIANO SVO in the Deventer MS. 91, certainly belongs to 1516 as in that year, and a few days after its date, Erasmus described to his friend Ammonius the visit to the Chancellor John le Sauvage he announces here : Allen, II, 475, 178 ; Reich, 194.

ERASMUS BVSLIDIANO SVO S. D.

VEL ipsa pecuniarum inopia me cogit equos vendere. Exhausti loculos omnes, dum vestior et armor aduersus hyemem aduentantem. Non libet equitare nudo, et nondum est meum simul et vestiri et ἵπποτροφεῖν. Habeo licitatores,
5 sed hyems instans facit vt minoris liceantur. Tibi equos nec obtrudere cupio nec prædicare. Verum si commodum arbitraris, vel ambos vel alterum tolle, ex vsu precium estimaturus ipse aut etiam non æstimaturus ; sin minus, quanti possum extrudam, ne me deuorent.

10 Cancellarius me iussit adesse Bruxellæ. Quid rei sit nescio. Si denuo accerset, aduolabo ; sin minus, hic sarcinis compositis totus Bruxellam commigrabo intra sex dies. Nam hoc consilii mihi magis ac magis arridet. Scribo λακωνικῶς, quod ante biduum scripserim. Bene vale, ornatissime Buslidi.

15 Antwerpiae pridie Michahel.

1. equos] on October 17, 1516, Erasmus wrote to Peter Gillis : Equum alterum ita vendidi vt perditum putem, non venditum <possibly to Busleyden> : rursus hunc quem donauit Abbati Bertinico, non minus arbitror periisse : Allen, II, 477, 28-30.

7. estimaturus, &c.] meaning that he can pay or not pay, as he likes.

10. Cancellarius] John le Sauvage : cp. before, §§ 72, sq.

10. Quid rei &c.] According to what he wrote to Andrew Ammonius on October 6, the Chancellor announced to Erasmus at his visit that on his suggestion Charles of Austria wished to confer on him a bishopric in Sicily ; still it was found that the vacant see was not amongst those reserved to the attribution of the King of Spain : Allen, II, 475, 178, 476, 9-26.

14. ante biduum] cp. § 56.

Libellus vere aureus nec

MINVS SALVTARIS QVAM FESTI-
uus de optimo reip. statu, deq; noua Insula Vtopia
authore clarissimo viro Thoma Moro inclytæ
ciuitatis Londinensis ciue & vicecomite cu-
ra M. Petri Aegidii Antuerpiensis, & arte
Theodorici Martini Alustensis, Ty-
pographi almæ Louaniensium
Academiæ nunc primum
accuratissime edi-
tus, .f.

Eum gratia et privilegio.



More's Utopia
first edition
Louvain, Dec. 1516
title page

Utopia (1516) π 3 r - π 4 r (= C)
MoreLuc., β 1 r - β 3 r (= ML)

Antwerp, November 1, 1516

80. — FROM PETER GILLIS, ÆGIDIJ

- a This letter was prefixed to the first edition of

Libellus vere aureus nec/minvs salvtaris quam festi-/uus de optimo reip. ftatu, deque noua Infula Vtopia/authore clariffimo viro Thoma Moro... Louvain, Th. Martens, last days of 1516 : Iseghem, 267-69; NijKron., I, 1550; Brewer, II, 2614; *MoreChamb.*, 121. Cp. p 463.

That book brought some startlingly new principles of state-husbandry and of economic and social life, represented not as a theoretical suggestion, but as a practical reality, being the description of a country that is 'No where', *Nusquaquam* or *Utopia*. It embodied the ideal of humanism, answering all the claims and aspirations of men like Erasmus and Budeus, who heartily hailed it, or like the stern Vives, who not only recommended it in one breath with Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* to all students of politics ¹⁾, but even prescribed it amongst the chief educational treatises for future rulers to Catherine of Aragon's daughter, the Princess Mary ²⁾. It was welcomed, and not the least by those humanists who were at work in government circles, such as Peter le Barbier, Charles of Austria's secretary, who called himself *Decanus Vtopiensis*, and his colleague Guy Morillon, who in Barbier's absence had been entrusted with the burdensome honour of *Vtopiensis Vicarius*, as he wrote to Erasmus on February 18, 1517 ³⁾. The famous book had been dedicated to Jerome de Busleyden on Erasmus' suggestion ⁴⁾, not merely on account of the close friendship that bound him to More, nor even of his generous patronage of literature, but especially of his being one of the most prudent and most experienced statesmen of his time, — which high opinion the author of the *Utopia* expressed in his letter of October 31, 1516 to Erasmus : *MoreChamb.*, 127; *NèveBusl.*, 33; Allen, II, 477, 5, 481, 62-79; Reich, 200; cp. before, §§ 63, sq. — This letter was translated into English by 'Ralphe Robynson', citizen and goldsmith of Londen, 'sometyme Fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford', along with the *Utopia* : London, Abr. Vele, (1551 and) 1556 : Sampson, 191-195 (from the 2nd edition); Robert Steele, *Sir Thomas More's Utopia, translated by Ralph Robinson : edited from the first edition (in The King's Classics)* : London, 1908 : 25-30.

- b Peter GILLIS, GILLES, ÆGIDIJ, born about 1486 from an old family of Antwerp, is first referred to as corrector for Thierry Martens in 1503, when he supervised Erasmus, *Lucubratiunculae*, and started a lifelong friendship with him. Succeeding his father Nicolas, Peter became second town actuary in 1509, without breaking his connection

¹⁾ VO, VI, 408; Watson, *lxxv*, 260.

²⁾ *Epist. I de Ratione Studii Puerilis*, October 1523 : VO, I, 269.

³⁾ Allen, II, 532, 1^a.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 477, 6-7 : Tu fac præfationem mittas, sed ad alium potius quam ad me, ad Buslidium potius : letter to Peter Gillis, October 17, 1516; Brewer, II, 2453.

with Martens' office. His marriage with Cornelia Sanders, *Sandria*, in 1514 (Allen, III, 715, 56, was celebrated by Erasmus' famous *Epithalamium* (EOO, I, 746, D, sq); it provided a home where the great Erudite was cordially welcomed on each of his frequent stays at Antwerp¹). As one of the prominent humanist literators as well as the responsible official of a large town, Gillis became acquainted with all the conspicuous contemporaries in this country, as his and their writings amply attest²). When in May 1515, More was sent on embassy to the Netherlands, Erasmus recommended him from London, on May 7, to Peter's hospitality (Allen, II, 332); during the following months their intimate friendship produced at least the mould into which the English Statesman cast his bold innovations, whereas a diptych by Quentin Metsys, started in May 1517, provided the absent friend with the portraits of Erasmus and his host by September of that year (Allen, II, 584, 6, III, 681, 9-11, 684, 11, sq.) In August 1526 Sandria died, and left Peter with several children. His second wife did not outlive her very long, as Erasmus composed epitaphs on both of them for his Xenophon's *Hieron*, of 1530. Those grievous losses had a sad effect on Peter: he resigned his office in 1532, and died on November 11, 1533. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 719; *AntuDiex.*, IV, 64; Allen, I, 184, *pr*; *Cran.*, 159, *a-e* (and sources quoted); *HisTriLov.*, chaps. II, VIII, &c.; *MonHLL*, 358-360, &c.

^c For the manner of editing the text of this letter and that of *Epp.* 81, cp. the final remark of the introduction to *Epp.* 72; it has been collated with that of More's *Lucubrationes*: Basle, 1563 (= ML). — The original edition (= O) has on the verso of the title: VTOPIAE INSV-LAE FIGVRA, taking up a page; on π 2 r: VTOPIENSIUM ALPHABETVM. — followed by 'Tetrastichon vernacula Vtopiensium lingua', in the writing and language of that island, with the Latin translation. On f π 2 v comes 'HEXASTICHON ANEMOLII POETE/Laureati Hythlodei ex sorore nepotis in/Vtopiam insulam', so that Gillis' letter to Busleyden starts on π 3 r, and finishes on the upper part of π 4 r. The alphabet and the 'Utopian' poems are reproduced in Sampson, 197, 200. When the *Utopia* was reprinted at Basle, Erasmus advised Beatus Rhenanus to drop those additions and not to mind the allusion made to them in Gillis' letter: Allen, III, 732, 27-29: 'Paludanica possunt omitti. De mentione litterarum (viz., the alphabet) in præfatione Petri Ægidii nihil est quod labores. Ita siles de Epigrammatis per occupationem, vt simpliciter sileas.' Cp. Allen, II, 513, 6-8: Paludanus added a letter to the prefatory matter of the original edition, as well as a poem, which is followed by verses by Gerard Geldenhouwer and Cornelius Grapheus: cp. *Epp.* 81, a.

¹) There is hardly any possibility to identify Peter Gillis with the *Ægidius*, who holds with *Leonardus* (cp. *carm.* xxvi, c) a *Domestica Confabulatio*: EOO, I, 636, A-D, as is suggested in PreSmith, 7: the *Epithalamium* is evidently meant for a first marriage, as the bride is called: 'Cornelia, virguncula vel ipso digna Apolline' (EOO, I, 747, s), and the mention of 'older childrer by a first wife' would make Peter a 'pater familias' at sixteen or seventeen. Moreover Erasmus would have called him by his Christian name in the Colloquy, not by his family name.

²) E. g., Reuchlin: Allen, II, 457, 53; Beatus Rhenanus: RhenE, 91, 100, 428, 570-71: and James Wimpfeling: *WimpfLeb.*, 304; cp. Krafft, 12, 178.

CLARISSIMO D. HIERONYMO BUSLIDIO PRÆPOSITO
ARIENSI, CATHOLICI REGIS CAROLI A CONSILII
PETRUS AEGIDIUS ANTUERPIENSIS S. D.

SUPERIORIBUS hisce diebus ornatissime Bullidi misit
ad me Thomas ille Morus, te quoque teste, cui notissimus
est, eximium huius ætatis nostræ decus, Vtopiam infulam, pau-
cis adhuc mortalibus cognitam, sed dignam imprimis quam
5 vt plus quam platoniam omneis velint cognoscere, præ-
fertim ab homine facundissimo sic expressam, sic depictam,
sic oculis subiectam, vt quoties lego, aliquanto plus mihi
videre videar, quam cum ipsum Raphaellem Hythlodeum
(nam ei sermoni æque interfui ac Morus ipse) sua verba sonan-
10 tem audirem. Etiam si vir ille haud vulgari præditus eloquen-
tia sic rem exponeret, ut facile appareret eum non ea referre,
quæ narrantibus aliis didicisset, sed quæ cominus hausisset
oculis, & in quibus non exiguum tempus effet versatus, homo
mea quidem sententia, regionum, hominum, & rerum expe-
15 rientia vel ipso vlysse superior, & qualem octingentis hisce
annis nusquam arbitrer natum, ad quem collatus Vespucius
nihil vidisse putetur. Iam præterquam quod uisa quam audita
narramus efficacius, aderat homini peculiaris quædam ad
explicandas res dexteritas. Attamen eadem hæc quoties Mori
20 penicillo depicta contempler sic afficior, vt mihi videar nonnun-
quam in ipsa versari Vtopia.

Et hercle crediderim Raphaellem ipsum minus in ea infula
viciisse per omne quinquennium quod illic egit, quam in Mori
descriptione videre liceat. Tantum hic occurrit vndique mira-
25 culorum, vt ambigam quid primum, aut potissimum admirer

2 me] m upside down 8 (also 38, 52 & 57) Hythlodeum] O; ML Hythlodæum
15 vlysse] 22 hercle] O; ML hercule 25 videre] O; ML uideri

3. ætatis... decus] Busleyden closes his congratulatory letter to More with the same words: Vale... nostri huius orbis decus: *Epp.* 81, 98; cp. here, l 72.

5. plus quam platoniam] it was chiefly from Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* that More drew his principles and motives (cp. *Epp.* 81, 47, sq); he often refers to them in his *Utopia*: *MoreLuc.*, 34, 45, 47, 48, &c.

8. Raphaellem Hythlodæum] the name is that of the celestial traveller, and the surname is composed of ὕψλος, visionary talk, and *δάω I teach.

16. Vespucius] Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512), the Florentine navigator, published the description of his '*Quattuor Navigationes*' in September 1507. (St. Dié) which were used by More to stage his description of this Island.

felicissimæ memoriæ fidem, quæ tot res auditas duntaxat,
 pene ad verbum reddere potuerit. an prudentiam, qui vulgo
 ignotissimos fontes, vnde omnia reipublicæ vel oriuntur mala,
 vel oriri possent bona, sic animaduertit. an orationis vim ac
 30 facultatem, qua tanta sermonis latini puritate, tantis di-
 cendi neruis, tot res complexus est, præsertim vnus in tot
 publica simul & domestica negotia distractus. Verum hæc
 omnia tu minus admiraris doctissime Buslidi, qui familiari
 etiam consuetudine penitus habes cognitum, homine maius
 35 ac prope diuinum hominis ingenium.

In cæteris igitur nihil est, quod illius scriptis queam ad-
 iicere. Tantum tetrastichum vernacula Vtopiensium lingua
 scriptum, quod a Mori discessu, forte mihi ostendit Hythlo-
 deus apponendum curauit, præfixo eiusdem gentis alphabeto,
 40 tum adiectis ad margines aliquot annotatiunculis. Nam quod
 de infulæ situ laborat Morus, ne id quidem omnino tacuit
 Raphael, quanquam paucis admodum, ac velut obiter atti-
 git, velut hoc alii seruans loco. Atque id sane nescio quo
 modo casus quidam malus vtrique nostrum inuidit, siquidem
 45 cum ea loqueretur Raphael adierat Morum e famulis quis-
 piam, qui illi nescio quid diceret in aurem, ac mihi quidem
 tanto attentius auscultanti, comitum quispiam clarius, ob
 frigus opinor : nauigatione collectum : tussiens : dicentis voces
 aliquot interceptit. Verum non conquiescam : donec hanc quo-
 50 que partem ad plenum cognouero : adeo vt non solum situm
 infulæ : sed ipsam etiam poli sublationem sim tibi ad vn-
 guem redditurus : si modo incolumis est noster Hythlodeus.
 Nam varius de homine rumor adfertur : alij affirmant perisse
 in itinere : rursum alij reuersum in patriam : sed partim suo-
 55 rum mores non ferentem : partim Vtopiæ defyderio sollicita-
 tum : eo remigrasse. Nam quod huius infulæ nomen nusquam
 apud Cosmographos reperiatur : pulchre dissoluit Hythlodeus
 ipse. Siquidem fieri potuit : inquit : vt nomen quo veteres sint
 ufi : postea sit commutatum : aut etiam illos hec fugerit infu-

27 qui] O ; ML qua 29 -tionis vim &c] on f π 3 v
 52 Hythlodeus] orig. : -dens

33-34. familiari... consuetudine]
 More had been Busleyden's guest
 in Mechlin, as results from his

poems : cp. §§ 44, *sq.* and 61, *sq.*
 37-39. tetrastichum... alpha-
 beto] cp. *pr c.*

60 la : quando & hodie complures oriuntur terræ, priscis illis
Geographis intactæ.

Quantum quorum attinet hic argumentis adstruere fidem :
cum Morus ille sit author ? Cæterum quod is ambigit de ædi-
tione : equidem laudo & agnosco viri modestiam. At mihi
65 vifum est opus modis omnibus indignum, quod diu premere-
tur, & cum primis dignum : quod exeat in manus hominum : id-
que tuo potissimum nomine commendatum orbi : vel quod
Mori dotes tibi precipue sint perspectæ : vel quod nemo magis
idoneus : qui rectis consiliis iuuet rempublicam : in qua iam
70 annis compluribus : summa cum laude verfaris : tum pruden-
tiæ tum integritatis. Bene vale studiorum Mœcenas : & huius
 sæculi decus.

Anuerpiæ Anno M.D.XVI. Cal. Nouembris

Utopia (1516), a i r-a ii v (= O)

MoreLuc., 160-164 (= ML)

Mechlin, <November> 1516

81. — TO THOMAS MORE

a This letter was composed at Erasmus' request to be added to the prefatory matter of *De Optimo Reip. Statu deque noua Insula Vtopia*, by Thomas More, in the first edition printed by Thierry Martens, Louvain, in the latter half of December 1516 (Iseghem, 267-269; Allen, II, 461, *pr*; Stapleton, 45; *MoreCorr.*, 549). It begins on a i r, following on some poems in *nouam insulam Vtopiam* : one of ten lines by John Paludanus, the Louvain Rhetor, and two of six, one by 'Gerardus Nouiomagus', the other by 'Cornelius Grapheus' : π 4 v-a i r. At the end of this letter, on a ii v, there is a space, and quite at the bottom, three lines : PREFATIO/ in opus de optimo reipublicæ statu/ THOMAS MORVS PETRO AEGIDIO S.P.D.—; that letter itself starts at the top of a 3 r, ending on a 4 v. The 'SERMO RAPHAELIS HYTHLODEI... de optimo reipublicæ statu' begins at the top of b i r. It follows that the text of the book itself began with signature b (b i r), extending to m ⁶ r (*sign.* b ⁴-1⁴, m ⁶), whereas the prefatory matter, which may have consisted at first only of More's letter to Gillis, was enlarged by Gillis' letter to Busleyden, Nov. 1, by that of Paludanus to Gillis, by the three poems and by Busleyden's epistle to More, as well as by the map of Utopia and a few Utopian quotations (from π 1 v to a 4 v; cp. *Epp.* 80, c). On that account a new quire (π) without signature was added before quire a, which caused some spaces on π 2 v, π 3 r and a 2 v, as the matter proved too scanty for two quires, and too abundant for one quire, a, in six. The three letters were

65 -nibus indignum &c.] on f π 4 r
70 summa] *orig.* : snmma 71 Mœcenas] O; ML Mœcenas

generally reproduced, although for the edition of Basle, 1518, Erasmus advised Beatus Rhenanus on December 6, 1517, to drop as well the poems, *Paludanica*, as the specimens of Utopian writing and poetry: Allen, III 732, 26-29. On the other hand a letter of William Budé to Thomas Lupset, Paris, July 31, 1517, which had been added to the second edition by Gilles de Gourmont, Paris, Sept-Oct. 1517, was introduced in that of Basle as well: *BudERép.*, 26-27; Allen, III, 664, 27, 785 14, sq.

- b Busleyden's letter to More is reproduced in Thomæ Mori *Lucubrationes* (Basle, F. Episcopius, 1563) at the end of the second book of *Utopia*: *MoreLuc.*, 160-164; but was omitted in the English translation. It is conceived as a congratulation on the work of the great English Statesman, who, through it, took a prominent place amongst the great thinkers of humanity bent on suppressing, or, at least, remedying the bad influence of some of the evils that infest society. Yet at the time, the author was still called 'Young More' by the London Merchants — thus testifying to his father's fame, — when, in May 1515, they pressed King Henry VIII to join him to Tunstall and Sampson, on their embassy to Flanders to settle hanging disputes about business and trade, and, especially, to protect the interest and the commerce of England threatened by the complete reversal of the policy at Charles of Austria's coming of age. Even Wolsey's vicar-general, Richard Sampson, on being informed of it by his master, called his new companion by that name, declaring to be highly 'pleased with the honour of being named in the King's commission with Mr. Tunstall and Young More': Brewer, II, 480, 534; Seebohm, 342-43; no doubt Nève *Busl.*, 33, is mistaken about the meaning, and *CHEL*, III, 18, about the authorship of this *preface* to *Utopia*. — For the edition of this letter, cp. the final remark of the introduction to *Epp.* 72.

HIERONYMUS BUSLIDIUS THOMÆ MORO S. D.

NON sat fuit ornatissime More olim omnem curam,
operam, studium, intulisse in rem & commodum lingu-
lorum, nifi vel ea (quæ tua pietas & liberalitas est) conferres
in vniuersum, ratus hoc tuum (qualecunque foret) benefi-
cium, eo maiorem hinc morari fauorem, venari gratiam,
5 aucupari gloriam, quanto illud & latius propagatum, & in
plures distributum, pluribus esset profuturum. Quod & si alias
semper præstare contenderis, tamen id maxime es nuper mira
felicitate adfecutus, scilicet pomeridiano illo sermone abs te
10 in literas relato. Quem de recte & bene constituta (ab omnibus
expetenda) Vtopienfium republica ædidisti In cuius pulcher-
rimi instituti felici descriptione nihil est in quo vel summa
eruditio, vel absoluta rerum humanarum peritia desiderari

possit. Quando ea quidem ambo in illo tanta paritate & æqua-
 15 bili congressu concurrunt, vt neutro alteri herbam porrigente,
 vtrunque æquo marte de gloria contendat. Tam siquidem
 multifaria polles doctrina, Rursum tam multa, eaque certa
 rerum peritia, vt prorsus expertus affirmes quicquid scripseris,
 Doctissime scribas, quicquid affirmandum destinaueris.
 20 Mira profecto raraque felicitas, ac plane eo rarior, quo
 magis ipsa sese inuidens plurimis, non prebet nisi raris, Maxi-
 me iis, qui sicut candore velint, ita eruditione sciant, fide que-
 ant, auctoritate possint, tam pie, recte, prouide, in commune
 consulere, sicut tu iam facis probe, qui quod non solum tibi,
 25 verum etiam toti te genitum orbi existimas, operæprecium
 duxeris, hoc tuo pulcherrimo merito, uel totum ipsum orbem
 demereri: quod præstare alia ratione neque rectius neque me-
 lius potuisses: quam ipsis mortalibus ratione pollentibus: eam
 reipublicæ ideam: eam morum formulam: absolutissimumque
 30 simulacrum præscribere: quo nullo vnquam in orbe visum sit:
 vel salubrius institutum: vel magis absolutum: vel quod magis
 expetendum videatur: vtpote multo quidem præstante: at-
 que longo post se interuallo relincente: tot celebratissimas:
 tantopere decantatas Lacedæmoniorum: Atheniensium: Ro-
 35 manorum: respublicas. Quæ si iisdem essent auspiciis auspica-
 tæ: iisdem (quibus hæc tua respublica) institutis: legibus:
 decretis: moribus: moderatæ. Profecto hæc nondum labefactatæ
 & solo æquatæ. Iam pro dolor citra spem omnem instauratio-
 nis extinctæ iacerent. Sed contra: incolumes adhuc beatæ:
 40 felices: fortunatissimæ agerent. Interim rerum dominæ: suum
 late imperium terra marique fortitæ.

Quarum quidem rerum publicarum: tu miserandam misera-
 tus sortem: ne aliæ itidem (quæ hodie rerum potitæ summum
 tenent) parem sustinerent vicem: prospicere voluisti: scilicet
 45 hac tua absolutissima republica: quæ non tam in condendis
 legibus: quam vel probatissimis magistratibus formandis:
 maxime elaborauit. Nec id quidem ab re: quando alioqui sine

17 Rursum] O; ML rursum 21 Maxime] O; ML maxime 33 relincente]
 42 -licarum: tu &c.] on f a ii r 46 probatissimis] O; ML pro beatissimis

15. herbam porrigente] cp. in perfect accordance with the
Epp. 6, 33, &c. humanistic principles: cp. be-
 16. æquo Marte] cp. Erasmus: fore, §§ 159, 167.
Æqua concertatio: *ErAdag.*, 912, r. 24. non solum tibi &c] cp. *Epp.*
 23. in commune consulere &c] 49, 124, sq and § 159.

illis omnes (vel optimæ) leges, si Platoni credimus : mortuæ
 censerentur. prefertim ad quorum magistratum simula-
 50 crum : probitatis specimen : exemplar morum : iusticiæ imagi-
 nem : totus status : & rectus tenor cuiusvis absolutæ reipubli-
 cæ sit effingendus. In quo imprimis concurrant : prudentia in
 optimatibus : fortitudo in militibus : temperantia in singulis :
 iusticia in omnibus : quibus quum tua (quam tantopere cele-
 55 bras) respublica sit tam pulcherrime : ut liquet : composita. Non
 mirum si hinc veniat non solum multis timenda : sed & cunctis
 gentibus veneranda : simul omnibus sæculis prædicanda. Idque
 eo magis : quod in ea omnis proprietatis contentione sublata :
 nulli sit quippiam proprii. Cæterum in rem ipsam commu-
 60 nem : communia sunt omnibus omnia : Adeo ut omnis res :
 quævis actio seu publica seu priuata : non ad multorum cupi-
 ditatem : non ad paucorum libidinem spectet : sed ad vnam
 iusticiam : æquabilitatem : communionem sustinendam (quan-
 tulacunque sit) tota referatur. Quo illa integre relata : omnis
 65 materies fax & fomes : ambitus, luxus, inuidentiæ, iniuriæ
 facessat necesse est. In quæ nonnunquam : aut priuata rerum
 possessio : aut ardens habendi fitis : omniumque miserrima
 rerum ambitio : mortales (vel reluctantes) protrudit : maximo
 suo idque incomparabili malo. Quando hinc sæpenumero
 70 dissensiones animorum : motus armorum : & bella plus quam
 ciuilia derepente oriantur. Quibus non solum florentissimus
 status beatissimarum rerumpublicarum funditus pessunda-
 tur. Verum illarum olim parta gloria : acti triumphi : clara
 trophæa, totiesque opima spolia, deuictis hostibus relata, peni-
 75 tus obliterantur.

Quod si in his hæc nostra pagina minorem forte, ac velim,
 fidem fecerit, certe in promptu aderunt testes, ad quos te

49 censerentur.] O; ML— : 60 Adeo] O; ML adeo
 66 facessat] O; ML facessant 74 trophæa &c.] on f a ii v

48. si Platoni credimus] the best laws are as good as dead without well-formed judges or magistrates.

52-54. prudentia... omnibus] cp. *More* Chamb. 127, 400; O. Ben-
 demann, *Staats- und Sozialauffas-
 sung des Thomas Morus* : Charlot-
 tenburg, 1928 : 19, &c. — Those
 four requisites of a good state are

represented as the solution of the
 irksome question of the evil re-
 sults of private property, for the
 absence of which More could not
 but threaten with the absolute
 abolition of the right to posses-
 sion : cp. ll 59, 66.

59. nulli sit quippiam proprii
 &c.] cp. *More* Luc., 81, sq, 162, sq.

relegem, locupletissimi, videlicet tot & tantæ olim vastatæ
 vrbes, dirutæ ciuitates, prostratæ respublicæ incensi & con-
 80 sumpti vici, quorum vti hodie vix vllæ tantæ calamitatis reli-
 quia, aut vestigia vifuntur, Ita nec nomina illorum, vlla quan-
 tumuis vetus, & longe deducta hiftoria, sat probe tenet. Quas
 quidem insignes clades, vastationes, euerfiones, cæterasque
 belli calamitates : nostræ (fi quæ sint) respublicæ facile eua-
 85 ferint : modo ad vnam Vtopienfium reipublicæ normam sese
 ad amuffim componentes, ab ea ne tranfuerfum quidem, vt
 aiunt, vnguem recedant. Quod sic demum præftantes, tandem
 re ipsa cumulatiflime agnoscent. quantum hoc tuum in se
 collatum beneficium profuerit, maxime quo accedente didi-
 90 cerint, fuam rempublicam faluam incolumem, triumphan-
 tem feruare. Proinde tantum tibi fuo præfentiffimo feruatori
 debituræ, quantum is haud iniuria promeretur, qui non tan-
 tum aliquem e republica ciuem sed vel ipsam totam rem-
 publicam feruarit.

95 Interea vale, ac feliciter perge non nihil vſque meditari,
 agere, elaborare, quod in rempublicam collatum, illi perpet-
 uitatem, tibi immortalitatem addat. Vale doctiffime & idem
 humaniffime More, tuæ Britannia, ac noſtri huius orbis
 decus.

100 Ex ædibus noſtris Mechliniæ. M. D. XVI.

Deventer MS, 91, f 172 v
 EE, 1575, D, E ; Allen, II, 484

Mechlin, November 9 <1516>

82. — TO DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

This letter accompanied *Epp.* 81, which Busleyden had composed at Erasmus' demand to be joined to More's *Utopia* : it expresses the usual protestations of inability and good will, as well as a request to alter whatever should want correcting.

81 visuntur,] O, ML 88 agnoscent.] O ; ML—, 90 saluam] O ; ML—,

86-87. ne transuersum... vn- sq ; Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum*, XIII,
 guem recedant] *ErAdag.*, 184, E, 20 ; Plautus, *Aulul.*, I, i, 18.

ERASMO SVO HIERONYMVS BVSLIDIVS S.

ECCE tandem quam conficere iusseras tenes epistolam ;
 qua si forte minus præstiterim quam aut expectatio de
 me tua aut rei de qua agitur dignitas postulabat, tu ipse vide-
 ris et tibi imputa, qui tam infanti et alias parum idoneo id
 5 negotii dederis : cui vel hoc sat erat, quod minus præstare
 posset, saltem conatum esse ; speranti etiam hac in parte
 suam nauatam operam tibi non omnino improbari, cæterum
 admodum gratam fore, maxime in qua nauanda non sine
 periculo famæ et dispendio æstimationis suæ tibi gratificatum
 10 fuit. Clarissimum certe et plus quam confessum nostræ in te
 obseruantiae argumentum, cui ergo bene consulas velim : quod
 ita tum maxime præstabis, hanc modo epistolam multa rubi-
 gine obsitam acerrima lima tersissimi eloquii tui duxeris expo-
 liendam. Interea recte vale, me plurimum commendando cla-
 15 rissimo Oratori serenissimi Regis Angliæ.

Raptim Mechliniæ 9^a Nouemb.

16 9^o Nouemb.] EE *adds* Anno 1516.

1. Epistolam] *Epp.* 81.

5-6. cui... esse] *Epp.* 6, 39, &c.

15. Oratori... Regis Angliæ]
 viz., Cuthbert Tunstall (1474-
 1559), who resided at the time in
 Brussels, where Erasmus dated on
 the same day, November 9, a
 letter to Andrew Ammonius :
 Allen, II, 483. Busleyden had

been Tunstall's fellow-student at
 Padua (cp. before § 26), and was
 connected with him 'longa fami-
 liaritate', as Tunstall wrote to
 Wolsey (Brewer, II, 1383), when, in
 May 1515, he had applied to him
 in favour of la Pole, the 'notorious
 rebel to Henry VII' : cp. before
 § 48.

THE END

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

used for the Introductions and the Notes

The Roman numerals in ordinary type added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, refer to the volumes (in capitals) and parts of the volumes (in minuscules); the Roman numerals in *italics*, and the figures indicate the pages — unless **stated otherwise**.

The Roman letters, a, b, added to a number indicate the obverse and reverse pages, or the columns of a page; the Italic letters, *a*, *b*, *c*, &c, the various paragraphs of a preface (= *pr*) to a letter or a poem. The very small figures indicate the lines.

Special abbreviations for the **Textual Notes** are explained on *pp* 162-63 and 204.

- AccMarvIII* = Account of the *Trilingue* rendered in Nicolas Wary of Marville's name for the period Febr. 1, 1529 to Dec. 1, 1529 = FUL, 1451, *pp* 71-160.
- ActAcLov.* = Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum <1520> (cp. *MonHL*, 235-36).
- ActaMori* = Henry de VOCHT, Acta Thomae Mori. History of the Reports of his Trial and Death, with an Unedited Contemporary Narrative (*HumLov.* 7) : Louvain, 1947.
- ActaArtV* = Quintus Liber Actorum ceu Conclusionum Facultatis Artium <in Univ. Lovan.>, inceptus ix novembris anno <M cccc> LXXXII (to Sept. 30, 1504, and from June 23, 1508 to Sept. 27, 1511) = FUL, 712.
- ActArtInd.* = Librorum VI ad XIV Actorum Facultatis Artium <in Univ. Lovan.> Index (1511-1676) = FUL, 729.
- Adagia* = <Joan. Jac. GRYNÆUS,> Adagia, Id est, Proverbiorum, Parœmiarum et Parabolarum... Collectio absolutissima : Frankfurt, 1670.
- ADB* = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56 vols.) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.
- AdriBau.* = Henrich BAUER, Hadrian VI. Ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation : Heidelberg, 1876.
- AdriBurm.* = Casp. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI., sive Analecta Historica de Hadriano Sexto Trajectino Papa Romano : Utrecht, 1727.
- AdriE* = M. GACHARD, Correspondance de Charles-Quint et d'Adrien VI : Brussels, 1859.
- AdriHöf.* = Constantin Ritter von HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI., 1522-1523 : Vienna, 1880.
- AdriLep.* = A. LEPITRE, Adrien VI : Paris, 1880.
- AdriPas.* = Guido PASOLINI, Adriano VI. Saggio Storico : Rome, 1913.
- AdriReus.* = E. H. J. REUSENS, Syntagma Doctrinæ Theologicæ Adriani Sexti, Pont. Max.,... cum apparatu de Vita et Scriptis Adriani : Louvain, 1862.
- AgricO* = Rodolphi AGRICOLÆ Lucubrationes (*ed.* Alard of Amsterdam : 2 vols.) : Cologne, 1539.
- AireSP.* = Jules ROUYER, Recherches Historiques sur le Chapitre et l'Église Collégiale de Saint-Pierre d'Aire (*in* Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, x, ii : St.-Omer, 1858 (*pp* 65-400).
- Albergato* = Eug. BACHA, Les Commentaires de Vianesius Albergatis (*BCRH*, v, 1) : Brussels, 1891.

- AlbHist.* = H. Van der LINDEN & H. OBREEN, Album Historique de la Belgique : Brussels, 1912.
- Albin* = Célestin ALBIN, La Poésie du Bréviaire. Essai d'Histoire Critique et Littéraire : I. Les Hymnes : Lyons <c 1900>.
- AleaE* = J. PAQUIER, Lettres Familières de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-1530 : Paris, 1909.
- AléaJour.* = Henri OMONT, Journal Autobiographique du Cardinal Jérôme Aléandre, 1480-1530, publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et Udine : Paris, 1895.
- AléaLiège* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre et la Principauté de Liège, 1514-1540 : Paris, 1896.
- Aléandre* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre, de sa Naissance à la fin de son Séjour à Brindes, 1480-1529 : Paris, 1900.
- Alexandre* = P. ALEXANDRE, Histoire du Conseil Privé dans les Anciens Pays-Bas : Brussels, 1894.
- Allen* = P. S. ALLEN & H. M. ALLEN, Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denvo recognitvm et avctvm (11 vols.) : Oxford, 1906-1947. *The figures refer to the letters and the lines.*
- Altamira* = Rafael ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA, Historia de España y de la Civilización Española (4 vols.) : Barcelona, 1900-1911.
- AltRel.* = J. J. ALTMEYER, Histoire des Relations Commerciales et Diplomatiques des Pays-Bas avec le Nord de l'Europe pendant le XVI^e siècle : Brussels, 1840.
- Anal.* = Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique : Louvain, from 1864.
- Anima* = Joseph SCHMIDLIN, Geschichte der Deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom, S. Maria dell' Anima : Freiburg i. B., 1906.
- AntvAnn.* = Daniel PAPEBROCHUS, Annales Antverpienses, ab urbe condita ad annum M. DCC. (edit. F. H. Mertens & E. Buschmann : 5 vols.) : Antwerp, 1845-8.
- AntvDiercx.* = J. C. DIERCXSENS, Antverpia Christo Nascens et Crescens, seu Acta Ecclesiam Antverpiensem... concernentia... Secundis curis collecta & disposita, ac in VII Tomos divisa (7 vols.) : Antwerp, 1773.
- AntvEpisc.* = <J. Fr. FOPPENS,> Historia Episcopatus Antverpiensis : Brussels, 1717.
- AntwHist.* = F. H. MERTENS & K. L. TORFS, Geschiedenis van Antwerpen (8 vols.) : Antwerp, 1845-1853.
- AntwWet.* = Wethouderen van Antwerpen van 1276 tot 1658 : *BelgArch.* : *Cart. & Manuscr.*, 914.
- AugO* = Sancti Aurelii AUGUSTINI Opera Omnia (ed. Migne : 12 vols.) : Paris, 1841-9.
- Bahlmann* = P. BAHLMANN, Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas. Eine Bio-Bibliographische Darstellung der Anfänge der Modernen Dramendichtung : I : Erste Dramatische Versuche. 1314-1478 ; II : Die Lateinischen Dramen von Wimpfelings Stylpho bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts. 1480-1550 : Munster, 1896 & 1893.
- BalanR* = P. BALAN, Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae, 1521-1525 : Ratisbon, 1884.
- BarlHist.* = Historica Hadriani BARLANDI Rhetoris Lovaniensis. Nvnc primum collecta, simulque edita : Cologne, 1603.
- Batavia* = Cornelius GERARD AURELIUS, Batavia sive de Antiquo Veroque eius Insulae quam Rhenus in Hollandia facit Situ, Descriptione & Laudibus ; aduersus Gerardum Noviomagum, Libri Duo (ed. Bonaventura VULCANIUS) : Antwerp, 1586.
- BatavMart.* = Peter OPMEER, Historia Martyrum Batavicornum, sive Defectionis a Fide Maiorum Hollandiae Initia : Cologne, 1625.
- BaxF* = J. L. BAX, Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis (5 vols.) : MS 22173 in the Royal Library, Brussels.

- BaxH = J. L. BAX, *Historia Universitatis Lovaniensis* (11 vols.) : Ms 22172 in the Royal Library, Brussels.
- BB = Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie Générale des Pays-Bas (published by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN and R. van den BERGHE, V. van der HAEGHEN and A. ROERSCH) : Ghent, from 1880.
- BbCzart. = z Biblioteka Pülawskiej XX. Czartoryskich, in Cracow.
- BbUpps. = Bibliotheca Regia Upsalensis, in Uppsala.
- BCRH = Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire : Brussels, from 1834.
- BeitClem. = Otto CLEMEN, Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte aus Büchern und Handschriften der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek (3 vols.) Berlin, 1900-1903.
- BeitFried. = Gottlieb FRIEDLAENDER, Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte. Sammlung ungedruckter Briefe des Reuchlin, Beza und Bullinger, nebst einem Anhang zur Geschichte der Jesuiten : Berlin, 1837.
- BeitSchlecht = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation Joseph SCHLECHT... als Festgabe... dargebracht : Munich, 1917.
- BelgAcM. = Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique : Brussels, from 1820.
- BelgArch. = preserved at the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels.
- BelgChron. = J. B. L. de CASTILLION, Sacra Belgii Chronologia : Ghent, 1719.
- BelgDom. = Bern. de JONGHE, Belgium Dominicanum, sive Historia Provinciae Germaniae Inferioris Sacri Ordinis FF. Prædicatorum : Brussels, 1719.
- Bergh = L. Ph. C. van den BERGH, Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas, avec ses Amis : 1506-1528 (2 vols.) : Leyden, 1845-1847.
- Berlière = Ursmer BERLIÈRE, Les Evêques Auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai : Bruges, 1905.
- BibBelg. = Valerius ANDREAS Desselius, Bibliotheca Belgica : de Belgis Vita Scriptisque Claris (2nd edit.) : Louvain, 1643.
- BibBelgMan. = Antonius SANDERUS, Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta, sive, Elenchvs Vniuersalis Codicum MSS. in celebrioribus Belgii Cœnobijs, Ecclesijs, Urbivm ac Priuatorum Hominum Bibliothecis adhuc latentium (2 vols.) : Lille, 1641-1644.
- BibBelgTop. = Valerius ANDREAS, Topographia Belgica (prefixed, with separate pagination, to) : BibBelg., A 1r - O 3v.
- Blunt = J. H. BLUNT, The Reformation of the Church of England : its History, Principles and Results (2 vols.) : London, 1896, 1897.
- BN = Biographie Nationale (published by the Académie Royale de Belgique) : Brussels, from 1866.
- BostE = P. S. Allen, Letters of Arnold Bostius (in English Historical Review, xxxiv, 1919, pp 225-236).
- BrabArchEcc. = Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant (in BelgArch.), inventoried by Alfred d'HOOP (6 vols.) : Brussels, 1905-32.
- BrabCon. = Histoire du Conseil de Brabant : manuscript in 3 vols. : BelgArch., Cart. & Man., 1762, 1763, 1764.
- BrabNobl. = (Jos. van den LEENE,) Le Théâtre de la Noblesse du Brabant : Liège, 1705 (the pagination, which stops at p 224, is continued to the end of the book).
- Brewer = J. S. BREWER, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. 1509-1530 (vols. 1 to iv) : London, 1862, sq. — The numbers refer to the letters and documents.
- Brieger = Theodor BRIEGER, Aleander und Luther 1521. Die vervollständigten Aleander-Depeschen nebst Untersuchungen über den Wormser Reichstag : Gotha, 1884.
- Brom = Gisbert BROM, Archivalia in Italie, belangrijk voor de Geschiedenis van Nederland (3 vols.) : The Hague, 1908-14.

- Brown = G. K. BROWN, *Italy and the Reformation to 1550* : Oxford, 1933.
- BrugEvVir.* = Antonius SANDERUS, *De Brvgensibvs Ervditionis Fama Claris Libri duo* : Antwerp, 1624.
- BrugEst.* = L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges* : Bruges, 1905.
- Brug&Fr.* = J. GAILLARD, *Bruges et le Franc, ou leur Magistrature et leur Noblesse, avec des données historiques et généalogiques sur chaque famille (6 vols.)* : Bruges, 1857-1864.
- BrugHist.* = Ad. DUCLOS, *Bruges. Histoire et Souvenirs* : Bruges, 1910.
- BrugInscr.* = J. GAILLARD, *Inscriptions Funéraires & Monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale* : Tome 1, Bruges (3 vols.) : Bruges, 1861-66.
- BrugSDon.* = <J. Fr. FOPPENS,> *Compendium Chronologicum Episcoporum Brugensium, necnon Præpositorum, Decanorum et Canonicorum, &c. Ecclesiæ Cathedralis S. Donatiani Brugensis* : Bruges, 1731.
- BrugWet.* = *Wet der Stede van Brugghe 1331-1792 (list of the mayors, aldermen, treasurers and 'hoofdmannen' chosen every year, as well as of the commissaries representing the Count and the States of Flanders)* : *BelgArch., Cart. & Man.*, 2159.
- BruxBas.* = <Joh. Bapt. CHRISTYN,> *Basilica Bruxellensis sive Monumenta ... et Coenotaphia ... Ecclesiæ ... SS. Michaeli ... et Gudilæ ... Sacræ (2nd ed. ; 2 vols.)* : Mechlin, 1743.
- BruxHist.* = Alexandre HENNE & Alphonse WAUTERS, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles (3 vols.)* : Brussels, 1845.
- Budé* = Louis DELARUELLE, *Guillaume Budé : Les Origines, les Débuts, les Idées Maîtresses* : Paris, 1907.
- BudERép.* = Louis DELARUELLE, *Répertoire Analytique et Chronologique de la Correspondance de Guillaume Budé* : Toulouse, 1907.
- Burckhardt = Jacob BURCKHARDT, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch (15th edition)* : Leipzig, 1926.
- BuslGén.* = (Col. de PATOUL,) *Généalogie de la Famille de Busleyden (in La Noblesse Belge. Annuaire de 1892)* : Brussels, 1892.
- BuslMS* = Hieronymi BUSLIDII *Carmina, Epistolæ et Orationes* : MS 15676-77 in the Royal Library, Brussels.
- CamChrist.* = J. Gh. LEGLAY, *Cameracum Christianum* : Cambrai, 1848.
- CantE* = Alph. RIVIER, *Claude Chansonnette, Jurisconsulte Messin et ses Lettres Inédites* : Brussels, 1878.
- Carm.* = the *Carmina*, 1 to xxvii, by Busleyden (except one by Vegetius), reprinted from *BuslMS* in this volume, pp 205-257.
- Cartwright = Julia CARTWRIGHT, *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan and Lorraine, 1522-1590* : London, 1913.
- CatCzart.* = Joseph KORZENIOWSKI & Stanislaus KUTRZEBA, *Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Musei Principum Czartoryski Cracoviensis (2 vols.)* : Cracow, 1887-1913.
- Caullet = G. CAULLET, *Musiciens de la Collégiale Notre-Dame à Courtrai, d'après leurs Testaments* : Courtrai, 1911.
- CeltE* = Hans RUPPRICH, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* : Munich, 1934.
- CHEL* = A. W. WARD & A. R. WALLER, *The Cambridge History of English Literature (14 vols.)* : Cambridge, 1907-1916.
- ChronMét.* = E. VANDER LINDEN, *Chronique des Événements Météorologiques... jusqu'en 1834* : Brussels, 1924.
- ClenHum.* = Henry de VOCHT, *Nicolaas Beken Clenardus Humanist (in Nicolaus Clenardus : Uitgave van het Museum Plantin-Moretus)* : Antwerp, 1942, pp 1-21.
- CMH* = *The Cambridge Modern History* : edited by A. W. WARD, G. W. PROTHERO & Stanley LEATHES : volumes I & II : Cambridge, 1904.

- CochlHum.* = Carl OTTO, Johannes Cochlaeus der Humanist : Breslau, 1874.
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To facilitate identification the name of Jerome de Busleyden and some titles are abridged: J., B.; amb(*assador*), chanc(*ellor*), contro-*v(ersionalist)*, pres(*ident*), &c. — or represented by sigla: **bp** (bishop), **cc** (councillor), **cn** (canon), **cv** (carver), **hm** (humanist), **ip** (*impressor*, printer), **jp** (jurisprudent), **md** (*medicus*, physician), **ms** (*musicus*), **pc** (preceptor), **pf** (professor), **pt** (painter), **sc** (secretary).

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